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THE ARENA

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR

The Economic Struggle in Colorado, - by J. Warner Mills
Divorce-Legislation of Switzerland, by Prof. Louis Wuarin
Municipal Black Plague, - By Rudolph Blankenburg
Homer Davenport: A Cartoonist of Democracy

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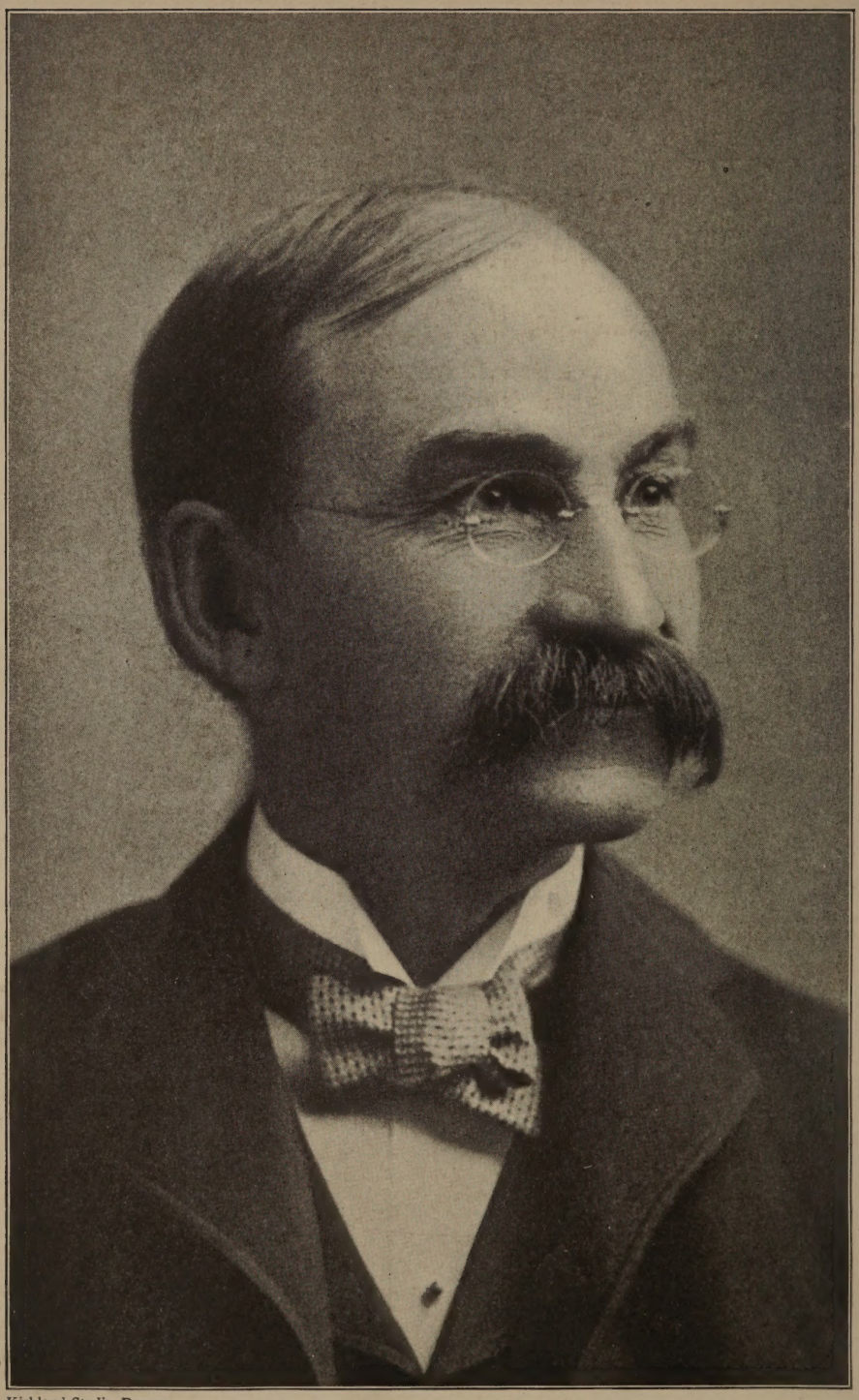

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HON. J. WARNER MILLS

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

The Arena

VOL. XXXIV JULY, 1905 No. 188

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.

I. THE VIEW-POINT.

BY HON. J. WARNER MILLS.*

(a) General Scope.

STARTLING events in Colorado have come to public notice with startling regularity. The panoramic unfoldment has given to view a series of economic pictures sufficiently important to arrest attention. At every turn we see strenuous striving and greed mixed with occasional tragedy, travesty, pathos and blunder. We see, in succession, franchise fights, railroad fights, smelter fights, eight-hour fights, sheep-and-cattle fights, political fights, and numerous other involved or collateral fights,—such as the fight for "Home Rule for Cities" and the "Bucklin Amendment."

The task now undertaken in this series of papers is not so broad as a consideration of all these numerous "fights," but still is broader than a mere consideration of the recent labor-troubles of the state. It will be a composite, perhaps, of the writer's ideas of the more comprehensive of these several struggles. It will treat of their causes, both immediate and remote, and will have something to say on the subject of remedies both superficial and economic. While nothing will be set down in malice, still no effort will be made to spare an honest opinion where one should be expressed, of men, measures or events.

In the earnest and sometimes spectacular contests we shall have occasion to review, we shall see that the whole or a part of the people generally have been the belligerant on the one side, and one or more corporations or trusts and their great retinue of agents, attorneys, retainers and employees have been the belligerant on the other. When we get a glimpse of the

*[Hon. J. Warner Mills, the author of this series of papers, is one of the leading legal authorities of the West. He is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. His father was a prominent circuit judge in Wisconsin at the time when Mr. Mills was admitted to the bar, 1876. Since 1877 he has practiced in Colorado; the greater part of this time in Denver. He is the author of *Mills' Annotated Statutes of Colorado* in three volumes; *Mills' Annotated Code of Colorado; Mills' Colorado Digest; Mills' Annotated Negotiable Instruments Law; Mills' Constitutional Annotations; Colorado Decisions;* and numerous other important legal works. He has also been prominently identified with the framing of a number of important laws passed in Colorado in recent years, and these papers will, therefore, be absolutely authoritative in character. In them the political draperies of Colorado are sufficiently pulled aside to let the people behold the true conditions, as they have obtained in recent years, and inasmuch as the conditions revealed, though aggravated in character, are not unlike in general temper those in other states where corporate wealth has gained control of state governments, they will prove of intense interest to all patriotic students of contemporaneous history.—THE EDITOR.]

issues and the lining-up at some of these corporation battles we shall also have a glimpse and a better appreciation of the real alignment of forces and sympathies in the more recent Titanic grappling, that has now become famous as the "Colorado Troubles of 1903–04."

Notwithstanding the particular aspects that attract our attention are at one time industrial, at another political, at another civic, and at still another legal or polemic; yet, it is my belief that in the last analysis, such changing aspects are but expressive manifestations of one and the same persistent struggle, and that that struggle is fundamentally economic. The word "business," perhaps, might often replace in these papers my frequent use of the word "economic." But the concrete picture that "business" suggests is too narrow a view to give a comprehensive interpretation of all I imply in the use of the generic term, "economic." It includes all that is implied by the words, "business," "industrial," "commercial," and probably all that is implied by the words, "political" and "institutional," and, as we shall see, even more besides. In the economic struggle, there is a striving by all of the participants to secure for themselves or for their kin or dependents, a larger portion of land or wealth to the end that they may enjoy a better and a surer living. This living, to some, means barely the chance to toil and exist, while to others, it means ease, luxury and power. In Colorado, the stakes to fight for are so vast and extraordinary, that, under the present economy, it is unreasonable to expect there can be anything approaching an equitable division of the products of labor without dispute, turmoil and friction. It was Sir Charles Dilke, I believe, who was so deeply impressed with the physical bearing of Colorado in connecting plain and mountains and through them the Far West and the Missouri Valley, that he declared it the real and dominant key to the perpetual union of the several states. This physical embrace of mountain and plain, if not such a key as suggested by Sir Charles, is still better than a key in another aspect,—it is a great empire where an energetic and progressive people themselves hold the key to a vast vault, filled full and running over with precious treasures, and to a still vaster land, "flowing with milk and honey." Let us consider this empire for a moment.

(*b*) *Imperium in Imperio.*

The total land-surface of Colorado is approximately 103,645 square miles. Population in 1900, 539,700, and in 1904, in this population, we had one hundred millionaires. The sunshine in Colorado extends to nearly ninety per cent. of the year.

There are fifty-nine counties in the state, in only four of which were there strike disturbances in 1903–04. In 1900, there were 165 incorporated cities and towns, twenty-seven of which had a population of more than 2,000. The seven that had a population of more than five thousand were as follows: Denver, 133,859; Pueblo, 28,157; Colorado Springs, 21,085; Leadville, 12,455; Cripple Creek, 10,147; Boulder, 6,151, and Telluride, 5,345.

Colorado's gold production for 1904 was $28,151,646, as against $3,363,217 in 1889. Cripple Creek's gold output for 1904 was $18,000,000, and her dividends, $3,663,433.

Despite all disturbances, the dividends declared by Colorado mines, smelters and reduction-works for 1904 were $13,697,548, equal to 29.6 per cent. of the total output. The average for seven years has been 24.9 per cent.

The Silver produced for the year 1904 was,	$8,998,215
Lead,	4,731,483
Copper,	1,132,578
Spelter,	3,387,989
Ferro-tungsten,	133,200
Chemicals from Colorado ores,	750,000
Making with the gold output above, a total metal output of	$47,285,111

In 1901, the number* of men directly

* *Rep. Labor Bureau*, 1901–02, p. 364–5. The figures here given were probably not materially different in 1903–04.

employed in the metal mining industry in Colorado, including miners, smeltermen, carpenters, blacksmiths, employees of stamp and cyanide mills and ore reduction works, was 37,260. Of these, 6,484 were in Teller county, of which Cripple Creek is the county seat; and 1,840 were in San Miguel county, of which Telluride is the county seat. These two counties were the chief fields of the strike troubles of 1903–04.

The coal production in 1904 was 6,776,551 tons, which, owing to labor-troubles, was about one million tons short of the production of 1903.* There are about 11,683 persons engaged in this industry.

The coal-area of the state is almost illimitable. In the Routt county fields alone there are over 1,000 square miles of the best class of coal-lands,—anthracite and bituminous. Boulder and Weld counties constitute the Northern field and Huerfano and Las Animas counties the Southern field. In addition to these important fields, there are the great coal-mines of Fremont, Garfield, Gunnison and La Plata counties.

The output of Oil for 1904 was,	$1,000,000
Stone,	1,000,000
Lumber,	2,500,000
Fruit,	3,522,000
Cattle,	6,300,000
Sheep,	3,100,000
Wool crop,	1,514,000
Agriculture, dairy, poultry and fruit,	47,456,264

The output of our agriculture, it will be noticed, is greater than the output of our mines.

The yield of the farms, taking an average of all the crops, was $55 per acre.

On January 1, 1904, the range-cattle in the state numbered 1,210,000 head, valued at $21,780,000. The sheep numbered 2,175,000, valued at $5,437,500.

The sugar-beet output in 1904 was $6,672,000, being a yield of an average of eleven tons to the acre. This industry is only four years old.

A native rubber-plant industry is just in its infancy, and promises much for the future.

In 1904, there were 1,987,421 acres of land under irrigation, under systems of reservoirs and ditches that cost $19,678,662. There are vast reservoir-schemes for Colorado projected by the Reclamation Service of the Federal Government, running into the millions,—$2,250,000 being allowed for the Gunnison Tunnel alone, which is now being pushed with great energy, and when completed will irrigate 185,000 acres.

There are in the state lands open to settlers, aggregating 1,912,156 acres.

About 8,000 persons are employed by the Pueblo Steel Works.

The deposits in the Denver banks for 1904, were $50,157,541.

The manufactured products in Denver alone, in 1904, amounted to $54,735,000, of which $11,105,000 were paid for wages and salaries to 16,202 persons.

Space will not permit further tabulation or data, and we are obliged to omit all mention of the vast banking, railroad, utility and commercial interests, but some of these will incidentally appear in other chapters. We must also omit all specific reference to the moral activities evidenced by our numerous schools, churches, libraries, sanitariums and other institutions, and their complements, jails, prisons, alms-houses and reformatories.

(*c*) *Disillusioned.*

I presume my observation and experience is similar to that of many others. If it is, then in the very commonplace of these experiences and observations there is common ground for reflection. Awry indeed, must be our perspective of events and misleading our conclusions when from the occurrences we project upon the public attention—we expunge the shadows and dark places that truth requires us to retain. Let the facts be what they may, if we would develop higher ideals and stronger character and disseminate more generally the sentiments of social

* But for these troubles the output would have been ten million tons. (*State Coal Mine Inspec. Rep.*, 1903–04, p. 5.)

justice, we should not efface or ignore any fact, but should bravely face it and consider it in every aspect.

Under the existing economy, however, it too often happens that the individual in whom these ideals and sentiments are developed, rises in moral stature so much above his fellows and stands out in such bold contrast to his social environment, —that he is soon the shining mark of the opprobrious epithets,—"disturber," "agitator," "crank," or "loon." To be in good form, one should accept with little questioning the institutions and happenings of his own surroundings, and look far from home, and often to foreign lands, whenever he attempts to invoice his ideas of justice or of ethics. If he is but half-honest with himself, he will note almost from the cradle to the grave, a succession of enterprises in the unmasking of what he had unthinkingly accepted as fact, when it has finally come within the reach of the bold hand of truth. Long observation, reflection and study have brought the writer into a deep appreciation of the supreme value of the economic measure in judging of men and of motives and of events and of institutions. At this point, perhaps, a few concrete illustrations will not be amiss.

Slavery.

Born and reared in a Northern home, I was early taught to believe—and I did believe, and the belief still hung on even into later years—that a Northern man was inherently better than a Southern man, and moved alone by his superior moral convictions would have spurned under all circumstances and at all times to have become the owner of slaves. Of course I understood there were economic reasons—climate, gain and easy access to slaves—explaining the introduction of slave-labor into the South; but I never understood that these economic reasons were stronger than the fine moral fiber of the average men and women of the North. I would say no word in depreciation of this fiber,—indeed there was no better in the world. The point I make is, that, in common with many others, I put upon this moral fiber a value too high, when a full appreciation of the economics of the matter is taken into account. Hitherto, in all the history of our country, there is no fact or institution that stands out like slavery in contrast with our political professions in the Declaration of Independence, and with our religious and ethical professions, both in the North and in the South. Such an apparent anomaly is worthy of a consideration that passes far beyond the limits of this paper. But I must not wholly pass it by, for it affords a striking analogy to another form of slavery, to which reference will presently be made, which, in my judgment, is so insidious and far-reaching that it seriously threatens our entire civilization. In all the dismal pages of chattel-slavery, read in my youth, there were but few that impressed me more than the sad story of a distinguished divine, in whom the sublime sentiments of humanity were turned by this institution into the satanic sentiments of economic robbery and greed. George Whitefield was celebrated as the most eloquent preacher of his day. He was the able coadjutor of the Wesleys. It was through the influence or advice of Charles Wesley that Whitefield crossed the sea. As a revivalist he had no equal, and his eloquence swept over the country and left a mark in the annals of the great Methodist Church of America that endures even to this day. In his zeal for humanity he founded, about 1738, near Savannah in the colony of Georgia, a home planned by Charles Wesley, for the care of orphan children. He was "touched with a fellow-feeling for the poor negroes." At this time slavery was not permitted in Georgia, but it was not prohibited in the adjoining Carolinas. Whitefield's early work in America teemed with vehement denunciation of slavery. Listen to these burning words:

"God is the same to-day as he was yesterday, and will continue the same

forever. He does not reject the prayers of the poor and destitute, nor disregard the cry of the meanest negroes. Their blood which has been spilt for these many years in your respective provinces, will ascend up to Heaven against you. I wish I could say it would speak better things than the blood of Abel."*

Now comes the economic phase. It took money to run his orphanage and it kept him constantly at work to secure enough money to keep it on its feet. In those days there was no Rockefeller to go to. Still there was a Rockefeller-short-cut,—a perfectly legal way to get money without work, if one's conscience were sufficiently seared to pursue it. At first Whitefield hesitated, like the recent Board of Foreign Missions with Mr. Rockefeller's check for $100,000. Like these modern mission-venders, too, he knew the source was tainted. But the "moderns" dallied and fumbled with the check with a moral sense much less acute than his. Not one of them stopped to wonder why the millions of Rockefeller's slaves did not take up arms against him; and not one stopped to declare such a rebellion would be just, even though they might have prayed that Rockefeller should prevail. But this is precisely what was done by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield. History tells us he said: "I wonder the negroes have not more frequently risen up in arms against their owners. And though I heartily pray God they may never be permitted to get the upper hand, yet should such a thing be permitted by Providence, all good men must acknowledge the judgment would be just."† Seeing thus so clearly, yet, as with the "moderns," the economic temptation to get something for nothing, was more than he could resist. On this point the historian says:

"He discovered what clear gain it was to rob the poor of their wages; how safe and expedient a thing to do if the law would sanction it; how much easier to support those poor orphans—the constant theme of his eloquence—if there was nothing to pay for the labor on which they depended."‡

Here we have the economic metamorphosis of morals performed before our eyes. And while we are looking at something in the past, let us not forget that it also brilliantly illumines the situation in the present. The economic pressure and conditions that changed the moral fiber of the Rev. George Whitefield as to chattel-slavery, are operating in vastly greater intensity through the wage-slavery of to-day, in changing the moral fiber of the "moderns,"—of our preachers and teachers, and of other professionals and citizens. A slumbering conscience and a servile homage are the sinkers that draw into moral ruin every partaker of the offered slice of unearned wages.

Mr. Whitefield with his new ethics cast in the mould of a hideous industrial institution—was now ready like the "moderns," not only to receive false doctrine but also to propagate it. He pleaded with the trustees of Georgia to permit slaves to be introduced for the benefit of his orphanage, and he exerted a most powerful influence in finally establishing slavery as one of its cherished institutions. And this he did, too, in a fashion that is not unfamiliar to us now. We quote the following from *Hildreth's History:*

"Even Whitefield and Habersham (his missionary co-worker) forgetful of their former scruples,—strenuously pleaded with the trustees in favor of slavery, under the old pretence of propagating in that way the Christian religion; 'many of the poor slaves in America,' wrote Habersham, 'have already been made freemen of the heavenly Jerusalem.' The Salzburgers (German immigrants) for a long time had scruples, but were reassured by advice from Germany: 'If you take slaves in faith and with intent of conducting them to Christ the action will not be a sin, but may prove a benediction.'

* 3 *Scribner's History U. S.*, 155.
† 3 *Scribner's History U. S.*, 154–5.
‡ 3 *Scribner's History U. S.*, 155.

Thus, as usual, the religious sentiment and its most disinterested votaries, were made tools of, by avarice, for the enslavement of mankind."*

For years the standing toast at Savannah was: "The one thing needful,"—meaning slaves. The leading citizens of the early settlement of the colony were traduced, threatened and persecuted, until the trustees, also harassed in similar manner, finally weakened, and by the potent influence of Whitefield, the preacher, and other insistent divines, united with the jester's toast and with persistent persecution slavery in Georgia became a fixed institution. What a spectacle! What a moral tragedy to be enacted with Christian aid and sanction! Full-grown men and preachers tearing like vultures the flesh from the living body of the slave and singing hosannas that the disembodied soul will become a freeman in the heavenly Jerusalem beyond. And yet, what was done by the Whitefields of yesterday, is also being done by the "moderns" of to-day. Of course it is easy and true to say, that Whitefield was morally weak; yes, even as weak as his moral descendant of to-day; yet, we know he was morally strong in many particulars. It is more to the point to enquire both of him and of his "modern" how could he be in some respects so great, and yet at the touch of a mysterious wand instantly crumble into moral ruin? A wand with a power so magic, it is worth our while to find, and understand and study. Its name is "Economic Pressure and Conditions," and if our study be deep we will find it not only makes morals for the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, but for every other conforming individual, and we will also find that it moulds our government, our religion, our ethics and our laws.† When it touched and shattered Mr. Whitefield, we ought to see in his collapse a new picture of the moral courage of John Brown. When it touched the mob of "gentlemen" in Boston, we ought to see in their desperate frenzy the moral grandeur of William Lloyd Garrison. When it touched and generally silenced pulpit, press and platform throughout the North, we ought to see in this universal cringing that the grand men and women who refused to cringe were the rare souls entitled to unloose the latchets of Garrison and Brown!

Who can now doubt, that if for a hundred years prior to 1860, places had been changed, and the men of the North had actually become the men of the South, and the men of the South had actually become the men of the North,—that the latter would then have developed the sentiment of abolition and the former would have become the slave-holding apologist and oligarch? Only by distortion of history and by contortion of facts can the great mass of the North arrogate to itself any moral supremacy over the great mass of the South. When on a point so important we are wholly disillusioned, we may then be able to see that the mass of men either in the North or the South, or in the East or the West, differ little in moral degree, and differ not at all in responding to their economic environment. We can also better appreciate the fact that the mighty wand of "Economic Pressure and Conditions" is again demanding that we shall cringe before the new slavery it has introduced; and that we shall make a sacrifice to it of manhood and womanhood and of blood and treasure,—surpassing even the frightful sacrifice of old,—beyond all compare.

Imperialism.

Next to slavery, the recent radical reversal of the fundamental traditions of our nation stands out in greatest prominence. And, to this great change of national front, I shall now refer for a second illustration of the economic measure as applied to men and events, and as an instance of the special need of disillusionment in order to fully appreciate the economic struggle in Colorado,—or anywhere else.

* 2 *Hildreth's History*, 417–18.

† Read in this connection *The Economic Foundations of Society*, Achille Loria; Labriola's *Essay on the Materialistic Conception of History.*

The life and trend of American thought is well-reflected by our magazines and newspapers. I now ask the reader to examine this vast thesaurus of information and detail, or jog his memory seriously as to its contents prior to the Spanish-American war. If his examination or his memory is anything like mine, he will say that in the press and on the platform, and in congress, the ambitious Anglo-Saxon, "Johnny Bull," for a hundred years or more, has been vehemently execrated as the great land-grabber of the world. He will further say that our people have been horrified at the great trail of blood left by the English in America, China, Syria, Afghanistan, India, Africa and elsewhere. Ever since the thrilling days of "'76" and 1812, every time England has seized an acre of land or driven a dagger to the heart of an aboriginal tribe, our outposts and sentinels on the towers of liberty have duly chronicled the startling event, and our statesmen, journalists and teachers have indignantly condemned it in unmeasured terms. Keenly touched by the cruel suffering inflicted upon our own fathers by the "red-coats" of England, we read with sympathetic approval the fierce invectives provoked by the English atrocities in the "Opium War," and by their shooting prisoners from the mouths of cannon in the Sepoy rebellion.

Commercial conquest and colonial aggression have always been offensive to American eyes, especially so since the trial of Warren Hastings for high crimes and misdemeanors in India was made historic by the pen of Macaulay, and classic by the eloquence of Erskine and Burke. The fine-phrased speeches of those famous advocates were familiar to our youth in every school-house and debating-club. Through the history of that great trial was given to many the first glimpse of the full meaning of a packed and prejudiced court. They saw the defendant wince before the terrific arraignment of Burke, and they saw his appaling crimes dragged into light by the most convincing proof. And yet to their profound astonishment they also saw that he "came clear" at the bar of the House of Lords! Not only so, but they further saw that he was officially decorated, sworn into the Privy Council, received with high honor at court, and given the "loving cup" in the shape of a large purse as a personal recognition by the East India Company.

When official England thus stooped to do obeisance to flagrant crime, the eyes of the world were opened to the pregnant fact that Burke failed in his prosecution because his indictment meant the conviction of the whole English nation, and Lord Erskine succeeded with his defence because he boldly planted it upon the criminal aggression of the nation. In his defence, the key-note was in admitting that Hastings "may and must have offended against the laws of God and nature" and then in telling *why* he was guilty, in burning words like these:

"If he was the faithful viceroy of an empire wrested in blood from the people to whom God and nature had given it, he may and must have preserved that unjust dominion over timorous and abject nations by a terrifying superiority. A government having *no root in consent or affection*, no foundation in similarity of interests, nor support from any one principle which cements men in society together, could only be upheld by alternate stratagem and force. To be governed at all, they must be governed with a rod of iron; and our empire in the East would long since have been lost to Great Britain if civil skill and military prowess had not united their efforts to support an *authority which Heaven never gave—by means which it never can sanction!*"

Think of it, the fountains of justice corrupted, every arm of the government palsied and manacled; and admitted crime of the most appalling proportions deliberately hooted out of court, because the whole nation was guilty! Horrified by such a humiliating spectacle of a national break-down; and well-taught by

the myriad other examples of English plunder, rapine and bloodshed; and drawing valuable lessons also from other European aggressions; and, with the history before us of colonial oppression and collapse in ancient civilization,—it was easy to impress upon the youth and the citizens of this country an abhorrence of the English model, and to inspire them with the grand ideals given life and wing by the immortal Declaration of Independence. Though born ourselves of Anglo-Saxon blood, still, we were assured, we had been reborn and baptized in the fires of the revolution, and that the genius of a government founded in a new idea of liberty and justice would ever be a blazing torch to light the upward way of every oppressed and struggling people on the face of the earth.

This exalted construction of the Declaration of Independence is voiced in this phrase by the great Charles Sumner:

"The words that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed are sacred words, full of life-giving energy. Not simply national independence was here proclaimed, but also the primal rights of all mankind. All existing governments at that time, even the local governments of the colonies, stood on power without limitation. Here was a new government, which taking its place among the nations, announced that it stood only on right, and claimed no sovereignty inconsistent with right."

The immortal Lincoln inspired by this view, proclaimed it in these undying words:

"Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants; and so they established these great self-evident truths, that, when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men were entitled to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence, and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that no man should thereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the principles on which the temple of liberty was being built."

Animated by these ideas, for more than a hundred years, the United States was the one and only great world-power in existence. For more than a hundred years this torch of liberty was kept brightly burning, and in every part of the world it so inspired that more than a dozen republics saw its light and sprang into being. For more than a hundred years wherever there was oppression or wrong the anchor of hope was in the great American republic. For more than a hundred years we believed with Lincoln, that "no man is good enough to govern another without that other man's consent," and with that shibboleth to the fore, we won freedom for three million blacks. For more than a hundred years the stirring words of "America," even to the borrowed tune of "God Save the King," was a national air with power enough to make us split our throats, to send its thrilling strain in reverberating sympathy throughout the world.

But at last the economic moment came, and all was changed. Among the graphic illustrations of Herbert Spencer is that of the Assyrian pointing the finger of shame at his brother who owned a slave; but we note that that finger fell when he himself took the title to a slave. The American finger that for more than a hundred years pointed at England's shame fell itself in shame, when, ignoring the Teller-Cuba resolution, 7,000 miles away from home, American bullets flew, by the consent of American voters, to destroy a foreign republic. With the proverbial zeal of the newly-converted, we went at our task with such apparent relish that all official England clapped for joy, and Kaiser Wilhelm and the Czar of All the Russias were put to their spurs. We found ten million struggling souls fighting for a

fuller freedom, and we rushed upon them unawares, and at the moment of their best achievement. We claimed them ours to rule and govern, as booty of the Spanish war, or ours by purchase from a vanquished foe. When they answered with the words of Lincoln on their lips and shook our own American Declaration of Independence in our faces, then we charged and opened fire! We shot and ravished, burned and tortured. We spared not even women, or children or babes. Where there were thousands and hundreds of thousands of human beings before, there were now gaping cemeteries and desolate wastes. Thus, we took from England the curse of the Black Hole at Calcutta. We took from Lord Kitchener the shame of his butchery of the Dervishes in the British campaign in the Soudan. We took from Spain the reproach of reconcentration in Cuba, which we affected was a just cause for war. We took from Russia the wickedness of her atrocities in Siberia and Warsaw. And we even took from the Turks the ignominy of their planned and plotted massacre of the Mamelukes!

Ready now to invoice our military loot, every emperor and king and oppressor of man agreed with us that the chief asset of all our martial glories was our right to associate with kings and princes, and to share with them the supreme function of controlling or crushing men and nations; and thus to be heralded to mankind as a great and new world-power!

But, what of our other world-power, founded upon human rights and upon the moral uplift of "the consent of the governed," which as Sumner says, proclaimed "the primal rights of all mankind?" That, the greatest power in all the world we found was gone. We looked for it in vain. In vain, did we seek to recall it into life when a mere word of sympathy might have saved from the crunching jaws of monarchy two African republics. In vain, did we appeal to the old ideals that gave hope and cheer to the republic of Greece, encouragement to Garibaldi, and a God-speed to the patriotic strivings of Poland and Hungary.

Our moral uplift and patriotic spontaneity was gone. Manufactured patriotism sought now by law to compel artificial respect for the flag. While still toying with the great names of Jefferson and Lincoln, we seek to save our ears from the false ring of our own professions. This we do by shunning the utterances of those great men that would shame our new ideals and our recent military deeds.

Of course we affect to believe we are still undefiled, and almost smother ourselves with self-adulation. But our pristine vigor and virtue was in a striving so exalted, that tyrants trembled in anger, and the humble and oppressed sang our praises from the dungeons of tyranny in every part of the earth. We seem to have forgotten that true greatness is not measured by our own thought of ourselves, but by the thought of ourselves as thought by others. Tried by this measure, where is our shame when former love is replaced by distrust and hate in the bosom of every American Republic? What recompense have we for our perfidy in the Philippines and for our rough-riding on the isthmus of Panama? What struggling soul is cheered by our naval hold-up of San Domingo, or by our strenuous support of the asphalt-trust in Venezuela? If we were sane and just, well might we exclaim: "What does it profit a nation to gain the whole world and lose its own soul?"

The cry of "destiny" has swept our people off their feet. And yet this is but a muffled cry for markets, power and greed. "Set [the Philippines] free tomorrow," says Charles Denby, "and let their people, if they please, *cut each others' throats, or play what pranks they please.* Unless it is *beneficial for us* to hold these islands, we should turn them loose."*

It is the same old story of familiar deception. Pressed on by economic fervor we are always after something "beneficial

* Mr. Denby, in *The Forum*, Feburary, 1899. He was Minister to China and member of President McKinley's Phillipine Commission.

for us"; and with the "browns" as with the "blacks," we are always willing "to make freemen of them in the heavenly Jerusalem beyond."

"Thus, as usual," in the language of Mr. Hildreth, "the religious sentiment and its most disinterested votaries, are made tools of, by avarice, for the enslavement of mankind."*

Here, too, as in the case of slavery, the wand of "Economic Pressure and Conditions" works its magic way. At its touch we repeal the Declaration of Independence, and destroy the oldest traditions of the nation. In vain have millions here, as have other millions in Great Britain, tried to temper and restrain this magic wand in behalf of humanity and freedom. Though by the economic rule, where there is no radical change in the economic basis, the crisis can fairly well be foretold from the beginning; still, there is dismay and shock when one year we see a nation on a course of conduct that pursued but a few years back would have provoked internal revolution. When the clock of economics strikes, old and cherished institutions and ideals suddenly go down in the inevitable crash. But the suddenness is all in seeming and not in fact. That moment is the result of years of preparatory tendency and bias. In the case in hand,—the exploitation of the Philippines and the seizure of the isthmus of Panama and similar aggressions,—could well have been foretold in the unchecked evolution of gigantic trusts and corporations; and in governmental sanction of special privileges and monopoly; and in the encroachments of trade expansion far out in the Pacific ocean, even to the Hawaiian islands. This great economic catastrophe, and the significance of our experience as outlined above with the slavery question, ought to dispel our narrow notion that we as a people are better than any other people similarly tempted and circumstanced. We ought to be disillusioned and to be able to see that under the same economy there is no towering into ethical heights by one nation over another. We ought, also, to be able to see that the same economic law that works upon nations, works at the same time upon smaller groups of men,—whether they be groups of working-men or groups of employers. They are all conditioned by the same economy, and they must all be judged by their conditions and environment. None of them rise in moral heights far above the others, and all of them, under similar temptations and pressure, afford at times the most striking illustration of "man's inhumanity to man."

(*To be continued.*)

J. Warner Mills.

Denver, Colo.

* *Hildreth's History*, 417–18.

THE DIVORCE-LEGISLATION OF SWITZERLAND.

By Professor Louis Wuarin.
Of the University of Geneva.

As to the development of legislation on the question of divorce, Switzerland has only the results of fresh experiments to relate, if we limit ourselves to the intervention of the general government itself, things having been left for a long time with the separate cantons. At present, however, the old republic has two recent conquests to show.

It is, first of all, interesting to see how, starting from a *régime* absolutely multiform and autochthon as to the organization of the family, Switzerland has been brought by the force of events to an ever-increasing unification. And, secondly, if she does not yet possess a legislation in regard to divorce that satisfies her at every point, she knows at least, having learned it to her detriment, what are the weak

sides of the *régime* now existing. Moreover, new measures are at hand, as we shall have to show at the end of this brief survey of the situation. We shall confine ourselves to the essential points of interest to transatlantic readers desirous of studying the question in its special bearings on their own peculiar circumstances.

It was a strange state of things that prevailed when the fall of Napoleon allowed Europe to resume her normal life. The Swiss Confederation, with her nineteen cantons, had foundered in the terrible storm, and was resuscitated with twenty-two. Among the three new accessions was the canton of Geneva which, until its annexation to France in 1798, had formed that little independent republic dating from the days of the Reformation, which Jean Jacques Rousseau had contributed to render so celebrated by signing his writings as a citizen of Geneva.

We can understand that in 1815 the canton of Geneva, when joining, to her great satisfaction, the great Helvetian family, had her own matrimonial laws, which were the result of a long, slow evolution. But all the other cantons were similarly situated, and on the question of divorce they retained their own institutions. Switzerland was then a federation of States in which the central power scarcely made itself felt. There was even no national government, properly speaking, but only certain cantons in turn commissioned to "direct" the nation; and this gave them very little to do. But in 1848 all was changed; the people gave themselves a new constitution, introducing a representative government with two houses, in imitation of the American Congress, an executive power, and a federal tribunal. The citizens became conscious of their unity, and soon their institutions and laws manifested the effect of the internal change which had taken place.

It was not long before the attention of the supreme authorities was drawn to the marriage question. The first step was a law in regard to mixed marriages, especially between Protestants and Roman Catholics. At this period the ministers of the different churches were, as a rule, the civil registrars, and they were often inflexibly opposed to unions in which one of the applicants did not belong to their own faith. This was a difficulty to be overcome.

However, while rendering mixed marriages possible, the new law did not concern itself with their dissolution, which, also, sometimes presented grave complications. It was then supplemented by a measure dating from the year 1862 which opened the way to divorce between consorts of different religious faiths. Many points in the new law were still left undecided, but the Federal Tribunal was invested with power to settle the matter, overruling the discrepancies existing among the different cantonal legislations.

Here we see the dawn of the unification of matrimonial law on the whole of the Swiss territory. The present Federal constitution of 1874, which succeeded that of 1848, consecrated this principle by an article laying the foundation of the new *régime;* and it stipulated at the same time that the registers of births, marriages and deaths were to be handed over to the civil authorities who were to apply uniform principles.

Before the close of the same year, 1874, the Federal authorities had enacted measures which would henceforth make marriage entirely independent of the intervention of the cantonal authorities. The latter, it is true, were not set aside (the officials, for instance, were supplied by the cantonal administrations), but the Confederation had supreme control over the whole of the system which it had created, and this was destined to gradually develop.

Below we give the principal provisions of the law of 1874, still in force, in regard to divorce.

The suit for divorce or annulment of marriage must be brought before the tribunal of the husband's domicile, or, if he has no domicile in the Swiss Confederation, before that of his native place or last abode in Switzerland.

"ART. 45. When both parties claim the divorce, the husband grants it, provided there are reasons to show the continuation of the matrimonial union incompatible with the nature of marriage.

"ART. 46. On the demand of one of the consorts the divorce may be granted:

"(*a*) For adultery, if there has not elapsed more than six months since the injured party became aware of it.

"(*b*) For attempted murder, ill-usage, gross insult.

"(*c*) For condemnation to an infamous penalty.

"(*d*) For desertion, when it has lasted more than two years, and a judicial summons fixing a delay of six months to return to the conjugal roof has not produced any effect.

"(*e*) For insanity, when it has lasted three years and is declared incurable.

"ART. 47. If there exist none of these reasons for divorce, and yet it results that the conjugal tie is profoundly affected, the tribunal may grant divorce or *separation from house and hearth*, the latter not being pronounced for more than two years. If during these two years there is no reconciliation between the parties, the demand for divorce may be renewed and the tribunal then pronounce freely according to its conviction."

We still remember the deplorable effects of the new law at the beginning. The Catholic cantons were indignant at the facilities afforded by an act contrary to the teaching of the Church and their traditions. With the Protestants these facilities resulted in a great increase in the number of divorces. The judges called on to grant divorces complained because the law was not more severe, for in fact they often found themselves unable to prevent what they considered abuses. I might quote the case of one of these judges at Geneva, who declared with sorrow that he saw only one means of checking the evil, and that was to apply the law, *viz.*, to multiply the divorces, which he hoped would cause a reaction and furnish, in that way, the remedy for the evil.

I have before me in the *Statistical Yearbook of Switzerland*, an official organ, the table of divorces pronounced in the Confederation during a series of more than twenty years, and below are some remarks suggested by the examination of these figures.

In the Catholic cantons the divorces continue very rare. For instance, in that of Uri, a small community of twenty thousand souls, there was not a single divorce in the last year (1902) mentioned in the official report. But side by side and in the same year the canton of Glaris, mainly Protestant and with a population of thirty-two thousand, there were fifteen. In 1880, with a total population of 2,327,000, Switzerland had 856 divorces; in 1902, with a population of 3,325,000, she had 1,105 divorces.

In the large Protestant cantons of German Switzerland—Zurich, Berne and Basle—the increase in the number of divorces seems to correspond very nearly to that in the population, but in the cantons of Vaud and Geneva the divorces gain more than their due, and this in spite of the earnest Roman Catholic minorities opposed to divorce. This result is due in a certain measure to the presence of a large foreign element (in Geneva, 40 per cent.; in Vaud, 11 per cent., of the total population) making free use of the facilities for divorce and often coming here for the purpose of obtaining it.

At certain periods, impressed by a manifest increase in the number of divorces, and as if they considered it necessary to declare that such a facility is not, however, to be taken advantage of by every one, the judges evince a severity which is not theirs habitually; but, generally speaking, people seem to admit that the granting of divorces is not attended by sufficient guarantees for the preservation of the family ties.

A few more statistics may prove of interest to the reader:

In the year 1902 the lawsuits in the whole of Switzerland amounted to 1,258; the divorces granted numbered 1,105, which is 2.05 per cent. of the entire marriages.

In the year 1892 there were 1,035 lawsuits and 881 divorces, or 1.83 per cent. of the marriages.

In the year 1882 the lawsuits numbered 1,161 and the divorces 964, or 2.08 per cent. of the marriages.

The highest proportion of divorces is to be found in the years 1876–1880, the first five years in which the present law was in operation. The average was then 994 divorces per annum, or 2.2 per cent. of the marriages. The reason for this phenomenon is obvious. There were large numbers of people who were disposed to avail themselves of the facilities for divorce which had just been introduced into the legislation of Switzerland.

There are in particular two provisions of the present law that have given rise to lively and well-founded criticism.

First: that of Article 47 stating that in addition to the various motives which have been enumerated, there is also one arising from circumstances which show that the conjugal bond is virtually destroyed. What are these circumstances? It is evident that a law cannot foresee all the possible cases it is called upon to meet, but it is to be regretted that it does not point out at least some categories of facts which the applicant should be obliged to resort to. Under the present state of affairs a judge may always say to himself that the divorce can, whatever may be the circumstances, be granted. Now it is well that he should feel himself bound by the law; the more so as, if he is not, and does not grant divorce, persons subject to his jurisdiction will not fail to say that they have been victims of an arbitrary sentence.

On the other hand, Article 45 of the Federal law of 1874 has been also very violently attacked. It declares in fact that while the mutual consent of the two parties does not suffice to obtain the divorce, the circumstances of the case may give ground for it. This has reference to misunderstandings between husband and wife. Such a situation results from the simple declaration of one of the parties that their normal married life is no longer possible, and it is not even so much as mutual consent which then suffices to bring about divorce; it is the convenience of one of the applicants alone.

Recourse to this article offers besides this inconvenience: that many people can be divorced without the public being informed of the circumstances which have led to this grave resolution. This special form will be the appanage of people in easy circumstances, or of shrewd persons, whereas for many others the cause of divorce will be crudely stated. Why enumerate in a series of articles facts which are of such a nature as to lead to divorce, when, side by side, another article provides that divorce can be granted for undetermined causes? It is not to be presumed that, having to choose between the two, the applicant for divorce will not take the one that spares his personal feelings rather than the one which best corresponds to the real condition of affairs.

Here are the two principal criticisms to which the present law on divorce is exposed; and they are summed up in the remark which has been frequently made, that the ease in obtaining a divorce depends in an extraordinary degree on the character of the judge himself. Now the law ought to be impersonal and not so readily affected by the disposition of mind of its interpreters.

For many years the necessity for a revision of the law in question has been generally admitted. Nothing has been as yet accomplished in this direction, but important changes are probable in the not far distant future.

In consequence of the introduction of the new German civil code, Switzerland has found it necessary to unify her private code in its entirety. A vote of the nation declared some years ago the urgency of such a measure. This work, which has been entrusted to Professor Haber, of the University of Berne, who proved quite equal to his task, is already far advanced. We are, indeed, in possession at this time of a project which has been discussed and revised by committees of jurists, and which will soon be sub-

mitted to the Swiss Chambers. As was to be expected the question of family law underwent the greatest alterations. In respect to betrothals the code already provides a legal reparation in the case of breach of promise, which is an important innovation. The legal age for contracting marriage is fixed at twenty years for the man and seventeen for the woman, instead of at eighteen and sixteen. Let us observe, by the way, that in the opinion of many thoughtful students of the question, too early marriages, besides being dangerous to health, are among the most fruitful causes of divorce.

In addition to the divorce itself there has been introduced the personal separation which exists to-day only as a temporary measure. This new dispensation, which has been manifestly borrowed from the new German civil code, will be welcomed by the Roman Catholics who look upon divorce as contrary to the teachings of the Church. There are also wise provisions regarding the civil rights of woman; guarantees relating to her maintenance and to the preservation and management of her fortune. All these things will tend to remove many causes of dissension which at the present time lead very quickly to an action for divorce.

Finally, in regard to the two principal criticisms made against the present law on divorce, relating, as we have seen, to the indeterminate causes which may be resorted to, these will be merged in a single test and lose part of their importance. All this, be it understood, is not yet the definite code that Switzerland has resolved to adopt, but it is a forward step which will certainly meet with approval and which will give great satisfaction to the persons who wish to see the Swiss divorce laws improved.

However, the experience of the last thirty years has tended to bring out a fact whose importance is apparent to all: in the matter of divorce we should not attribute too much to legislation. The law has diverse effects, which in a general way result from the habits of the people. We have seen the wide difference separating Protestants and Catholics on the subject of divorce. It shows strikingly the influence of religion and education on the destinies of family life. We should commit, it is true, a grave error in thinking that religious doctrines and education are the only factors at work in this instance. In a general way the Protestant population in Switzerland represents industry, riches, refined living; the Catholic population rural, simple and plain living, not complicated by delicate questions, material and moral; and these economic and social contrasts have a certain bearing on the subject of divorce.

From a little investigation which I conducted recently among persons belonging to diverse social classes and callings, it would appear, even in a community like the canton of Geneva, where the proportion of divorces is high, that:

1. The question of the revision of the law on divorce is not agitated at present.

2. The preparation of the new civil code seems destined, however, to bring about needed progress, by causing the granting of divorces to be dependent upon more clearly defined causes.

3. Obstacles to divorce would seem grievous if they obliged persons to live together when such a life would be insupportable and would create vicious temptations.

4. Divorce is sought by persons in all ranks of society, and Roman Catholics of high standing have recourse to it, in spite of the hostile attitude of the Church.

5. The unification of matrimonial laws is considered essential to a progressive improvement of marriage, and as the only way to prevent people from going wherever divorces may be most easily obtained. Local lawmakers should not be permitted to enact laws which practically are for other communities than their own and thus by their rashness perturb the life of a whole nation.

Louis Wuarin.

University of Geneva,
Geneva, Switzerland.

FORTY YEARS IN THE WILDERNESS; OR, MASTERS AND RULERS OF "THE FREEMEN" OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

VI. MUNICIPAL BLACK PLAGUE.

By Rudolph Blankenburg.

Chapter II.

UTTER DARKNESS.

LINCOLN STEFFENS in "Philadelphia, Corrupt and Contented" advances an amusing though aggravating paradox in his statement that, while we admit that we live in abject serfdom and are dominated by a corrupt machine, the equal of which cannot be found in America, our citizens have, as some approvingly suggest, at least the satisfaction that "our political machine is the best you have ever seen!"

Unfortunately, Mr. Steffens' statement comes cuttingly near the truth.

It is worth our while to take a cursory glance behind the scenes and analyze the construction of a pernicious machine, which, well-greased, runs smoothly and unchecked on the highway of vice, graft and civic demoralization.

It is constructed on military lines, "Obedience" is its watchword! Every election division or precinct is ruled and owned by two Ward Committee men of whom one is the Division "boss," and as such recognized by the "Organization." He is primarily responsible to the Ward "leader." Residents of the precincts who want a job or favors of any kind have to apply to the division or precinct "boss." He hears the applicants for a railroad pass, a suit of clothes, medical attention, coal, flour, admission to hospital, payment of rent, groceries, letter of introduction, employment by city contractors, position in city departments, conductor or motor-man, a place on the railroad and what not, and tells them that he 'll see what can be done. He also has a strong hold on the dangerous and criminal element through his influence with "magistrates" and officials of the House of Correction which enables him to have "useful" convicts, who are sent up for thirty days or more, discharged and returned to their haunts. He is ever ready to hunt bail for his "clients" or to have them discharged on their own recognizance.

The Ward leader or City Committeeman decides requests of a minor character, while those of greater moment are referred to various members of the "Organization," and important ones, such as nominations for office, whether municipal, state or national, are taken charge of by the "Big Four."

It is the distinct understanding, however, that from the smallest to the largest favor the aspirant must realize that, while he can be recommended by the "Organization" "lieutenants and sergeants," the granting of all favors—to janitor or mayor, constable or judge, school director or congressman—depends upon the good graces of the great, humane and unselfish "Field Marshal and Generals of the 'Organization,'" men who have at heart the interest of the municipality, and who give their time "free and without reward to themselves" to their constituents.

Disobedience to the orders of the "Organization," whether from the rank and file or those higher up is a cardinal crime, and is meted with instant punishment. The Machine takes care of its criminals, protects law-breakers who carry grist to its mill, is ever ready to grant contracts

*The first of this series of articles appeared in the January, 1905, number of The Arena.

to the "highest responsive instead of the lowest responsible" bidder, but it cannot and does not brook insubordination, which, in fact, is about the only "crime" it is unwilling to tolerate.

With such an "Organization" holding or controlling at the present time almost every political office, and all incumbents knowing that their tenure and future chances depend upon service they render the masters, it is almost invincible, while it fortifies all weak spots as soon as they become visible.

Few people have any conception of the vast power wielded in the city by the army of officers and privates enlisted in the service of the Machine. Two leaders or Committemen, in each of the 1,109 divisions, and the 42 Ward leaders, give us an aggregate of 2,260 officers of various rank, who are required to act as drill-masters of an army of upwards of 14,000 city employees of all kinds, who are on the municipal pay-roll and draw, approximately, $14,000,000 in salaries per annum.

This gives us about 17,000, more or less, "dependents" who look for their bread and butter to Durham & Company, and who are pledged to allegiance to their bread-givers. They have to evidence their loyalty by contributing a certain percentage of their salaries to the "Organization" treasury whenever called upon, and, more important, they are, each and all, required to line up a certain number of relatives or friends to support the "Gang" and vote the regular ticket on election day. The average to each employee is four "specimens of American manhood," and when we add these 68,000 "impressed voters" to the more than 14,000 employees, and the nearly 2,500 division and ward leaders, we have an army of 85,000 "Regulars" on whom the "Organization" counts at all times for effective work.

Tammany was never more thoroughly organized.

Those who fail to come up to the requirements are court-martialed at once. Not long ago a teacher came to me to ask my influence to have her restored to her position in the Public Schools, of which she had been deprived because her brother was a member of the Municipal League. She was not reinstated!

It is but just to the vast number of employees and their friends to say that thousands of them, whether police, firemen, teachers, clerks or others, are smarting under this unbearable bondage and that they would join any promising movement for their emancipation with earnest enthusiasm—and that day will come!

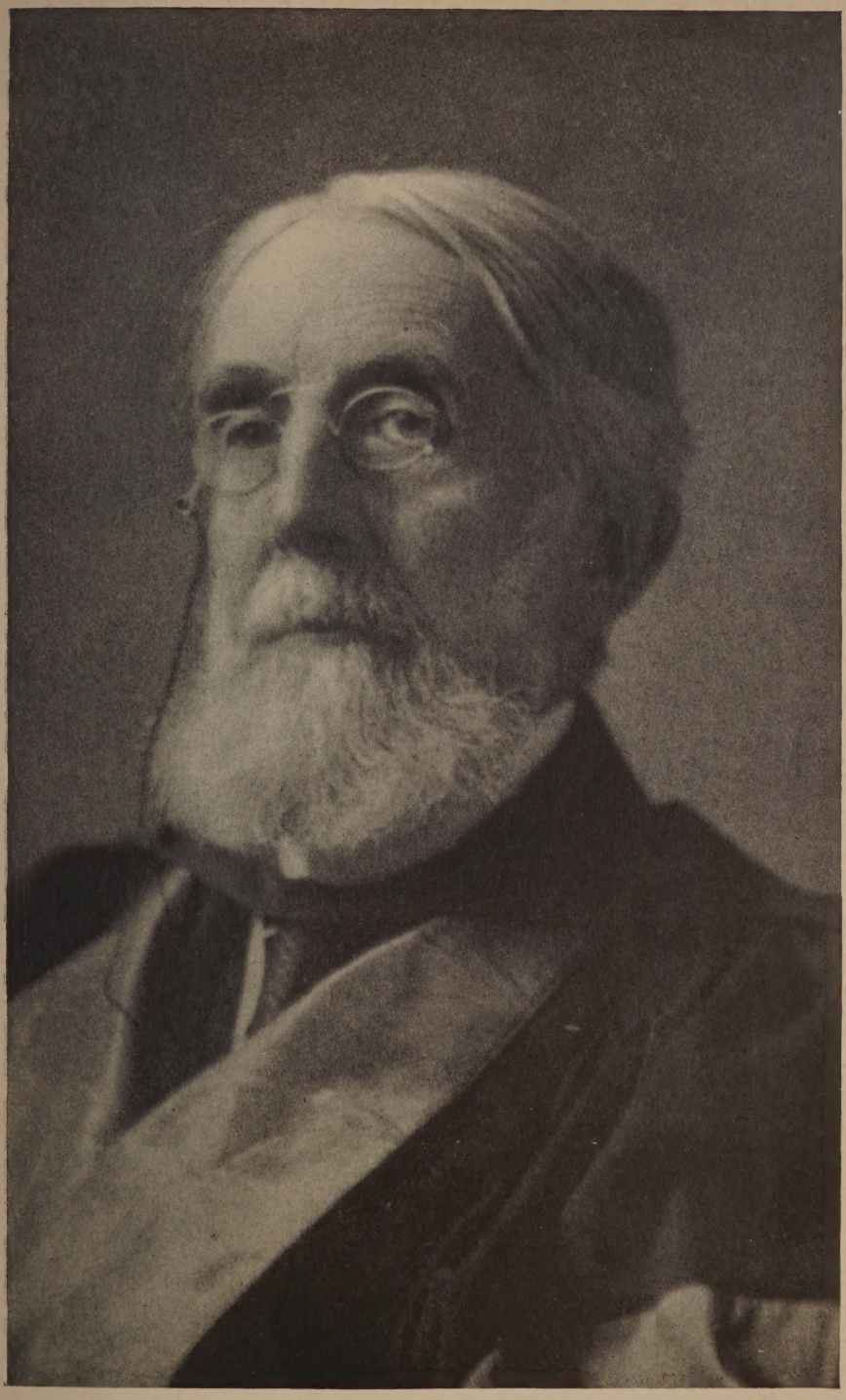
At this writing (May 5th) a bomb was exploded upon an anxious and expectant community by Governor Pennypacker that has shocked and startled even his unwavering friends. He placed the stigma of his approval upon the vital part of the "Ripper"-bill discussed in the previous article and thus deliberately contributes his full share to the perpetuation of the evil, which all friends of good government thought he would help abrogate and not encourage.

As said before, the Governor will be sorry but once for his approval of the "dark-lantern" ripper-bill—and that for the rest of his life.

His action is enough to make us converts to "Oslerism." The reasons given for signing the bill are so puerile, far-fetched, untenable, contradictory and doltish that one can scarcely recognize in the writer the man who won golden opinions when he was himself, at the time he occupied a seat on the bench, when he was not beguiled and decoyed by the artful "Machiavellians" who have been the ruin of more than one good and honest man.

The stealthy introduction of the bill, the entire absence of discussion, the popular demand for its defeat, the indecent and suspicious haste of the Philadelphia gang to railroad it through both houses, all these should have guided the Governor's hand for an emphatic veto.

Instead of this he trails us in his "mess of verbiage" from Esau and Jacob to Nero, Charlemange and Robespierre; he



HON. ANDREW D. WHITE

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cites Cromwell, the Anabaptists of Munster, Washington, Napoleon and Lincoln and then leads us up to Durham! The crowning piece of fatuous argument and farcical deduction is his logic that, because the most influential political leader in Philadelphia (Durham) is of the opinion that the power of the Mayor has "proven" to be harmful, therefore the bill must have merit.

Of course, Governor, the power of an honest, courageous, aggressive Mayor would prove harmful to the "Organization." It would sweep the banded despoilers of Philadelphia, the men who defame and blacken the fair name of the city, from their entrenched positions and would in all likelihood legally "entrench" many of them behind four walls, where "numbers" take the place of "names."

The Governor speaks of Jacob wanting to deceive his father into conferring upon him the blessing intended for Esau. Does it occur to "Samuel" that "Israel" has succeeded in deceiving and decoying "Samuel" in broad daylight without covering his head and neck with goatskin, as did Jacob?

While the Governor was delving after parables he should have cited the story of Nathan and David (II. Samuel, 12.): (*à propos* of the contemplated steal of the gas-works, of which more anon).

The rich man the "Organization" had many flocks and herds while the poor man "Father Penn" had only one little ewe lamb "the Gas-Works!" But when a traveler came along he spared his own flock and took the poor man's lamb and served it—to "the United Gas Improvement Company."

And David's anger was greatly kindled against the rich man the "Organization" and he said to Nathan: "As the Lord liveth the man that has done this shall surely die."

And Nathan said to David: "Thou art the man."

What influence the Governor's action will have on the proposed "gas-works steal" was made apparent by the exultant reception of his approval of the "ripper bill" on the part of the "Gang" and the defiant claim that the "Organization" will whip whatever bill it chooses through councils. We can with Nathan, say to the Governor, "thou art the man," who has by his approval of the "Ripper" given heart and courage to the monstrous combination of grafters to accomplish one of the most gigantic steals of the ages. With the Governor of the Commonwealth taking the backbone out of the Bullitt Bill and making Councils all powerful the "Gang" may even mortgage Independence Hall and sell the "Liberty Bell" to the highest bidder!

We are not at this time interested in ancient history but in matters that nearly

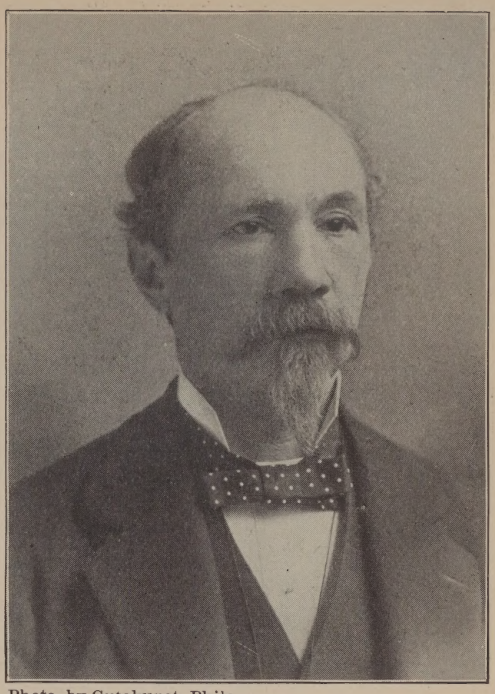
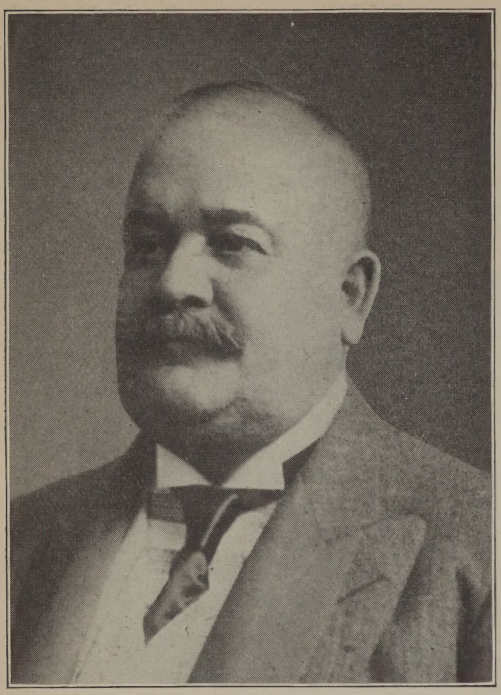


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

DAVID H. LANE,

STALWART AND UNCOMPROMISING IN HIS ADHERENCE TO THE MACHINE.

He is its patriarchial survivor, being the only living representative of its halycon days, a generation ago. He proclaims that the "Organization" is as indispensable in its sphere to the city, as lawyers and doctors are to the citizens in theirs. He advises all reformers (he calls them croakers) to move, if they do n't like things.



GEORGE A. CASTOR,

One of the galaxy of Congressmen who are sent to Washington by the "Organization."

affect the present generation; we are not concerned in men dead for ages but in the Penroses, Durhams, and McNichols of to-day, by whom and in whose interest and "temporal" welfare the ripper bill was passed.

We may well exclaim, almost despairing of the future, "Save us from our friends, we can take care of our enemies!"

There has been a decided and, for the Governor, an unfortunate change in the good opinion held of him by many of those who hitherto believed that, while simple-minded and whimsical, he was a thoroughly sincere man, to whom anything akin to double-facedness must be a stranger. His "ripper" message is deservedly called the act of a vaulting, juggling, maneuvering pretender who, while he plays into the hands of the powerful dispensers of office, tries to save a few shreds of a once proud judicial ermine by silly allegories and by giving us the shell as he delivers the oyster to the "Organization"!

The statement that the Governor is to be rewarded by a place on the Supreme Court is presumably inaccurate; he would, under the circumstances, hardly want to appear as a candidate for any elective office.

But we must return to our story.

Graft is so much in the Philadelphia atmosphere that even a Congressman caught the contagion, and sought to secure damages through the assessment of a Road Jury for an insignificant revision of street grades, to the extent of nearly ten times the original cost of all his holdings and twice their assessed taxable value at the time the award was made.

It is probable that the revision of the grades, instead of damaging him, increased the value of his land materially, a fact, however, that both owner and jury seem to have overlooked.

The history of this attempt to make the city pay many times the original cost of a landed estate for the improvement of the streets that made it marketable and gave it its chief value, is an interesting one. Prior to May 15, 1896, George A. Castor, then a private citizen, but now a member of Congress from the Third Philadelphia District, bought fifty-one lots in the 35th ward, which comprise his principal resident estate, at an average price of $225.00 per lot, or a trifle less than $12,000 for the entire purchase. On May 15th of that year he transferred this property to his attorney, W. Nelson West, for two dollars, and the latter on the same day transferred it to Mrs. Kate Castor, wife of the Congressman, in whose name it now stands. The property is said to contain a stone quarry, which has added greatly to the wealth of the owner, but be this as it may, the growth of population in the vicinity of Holmesburg, where the land is located, increased its value at a rapid rate. Mr. Castor's large stone residence, at the time the street grades were revised, three years later, was assessed at $25,000, forty-two

acres of farm land at $12,600, and the separate lots at a sufficient amount to bring the total taxable assessment to $58,375.

The revised ordinance affected but three streets, and the main improvement involved simply the lowering of one driveway five or six feet, and the elevating of another a similar amount. The earth removed from the land that was above the street lines had to be carted but a short distance to fill up that which was below the grade, and at most, probably cost a very insignificant sum. An accommodating Road Jury, however, after taking a year to consider Congressman Castor's claim for damages, reported that his land had been injured to the extent of $104,745.50, or double the amount of its assessed value! It required an appeal to the courts on the part of the Law Department of the City, and a vigorous contest before a jury of twelve men, to get this dishonest award reduced to $65,000, which was still several thousand dollars above the assessed taxable valuation of the entire property! Congressman Castor poses as an official public servant, who is unselfishly devoting his life to the service of his country. It is apparent, however, that he has permitted the taxpayers of Philadelphia to provide him a liberal sum which he is at liberty to use if he chooses, for campaign expenses.

A marvelous and unexplained growth in the cost of garbage removal constitutes another item of municipal expenditures in which the evidence of graft is too apparent to be seriously disputed. It is a well known fact that methods of utilizing city garbage, by which the salable products more than cover the cost of collection and manufacture, have been devised, and are in operation in several of the large cities. This practical method of making one hand wash the other has not reached poor, boss-ridden Philadelphia. In proportion as the garbage has grown more valuable, the cost of collecting has increased as the following table will show.

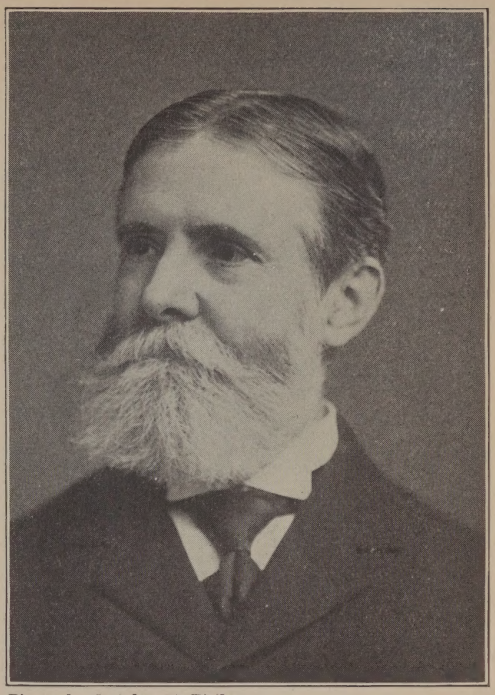


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

ROBERT DORNAN,

A Prominent Manufacturer and Highly-Respected Citizen,

Who, under oath, charges that the United Gas Improvement Company, through its president, Thomas Dolan, secured the lease of the Philadelphia Gas Works by the corrupt use of money. These charges are denied by Mr. Dolan.

The table covers a six-year period from 1900 to 1905 inclusive, and shows the contract-price paid by the city for the collection of its garbage each year:

Year.	Cost.	Year.	Cost.
1900	$398,500	1903	$516,700
1901	440,923	1904	536,700
1902	488,920	1905	560,000

The award for 1905 was given in the face of an offer made in the previous October, by a company represented by the late John D. Pessano, which would have paid the city a material revenue for the garbage, instead of exacting from the taxpayers nearly $600,000 for its collection, the total difference between the two offers, in the city's favor, amounting to $718,000. This offer was referred by the Mayor to Councils, and pigeonholed by that delectable body in favor of the old method of advertising for a yearly

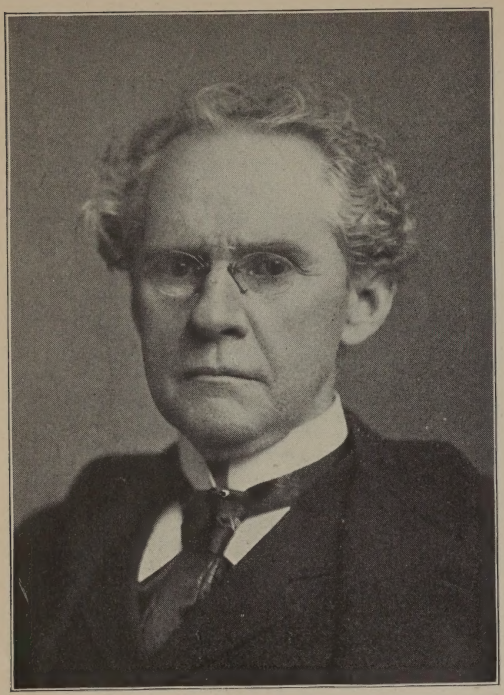


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

THOMAS DOLAN,

PRESIDENT UNITED GAS IMPROVEMENT COMPANY,

A man of great power and executive ability, in whose memory his fellow-citizens will not erect a monument, if his Company becomes the beneficiary of the proposed steal of the Gas-Works. He is accused by Robert Dornan of having secured the original lease by corrupt methods.

contract under specifications which virtually suppressed competition. Thus the American Product Company, which had been for five years collecting the garbage at its own price, secured another year's lease of the business, and a further lump sum exceeding a half a million dollars, which the Pessano bid demonstrated to be a gift from the City Treasury pure and simple. Philadelphia's grafters are not loath nor too modest to accept as many gifts of this kind as the patient and overburdened taxpayers are willing to make.

The device by which the price of removing garbage steadily increased during this six-year term, was a very simple one, namely, that of deferring the advertisement for bids until the month of December, the work to be entered upon the beginning of the following January. The American Product Company had a plant in operation. No new competitor could erect a plant in a few weeks, and be ready to collect and reduce garbage at the beginning of the new year.

Consequently the American Product Company, which included among its stockholders the principal local political leaders, was without a competitor, and could name its own price. Mayor Weaver is entitled to the credit of trying to inaugurate a new policy, by advertising early this year for bids for the removal of the garbage for the year 1906, the first effect of which has been to introduce three competitors, the bid of the Urban Waste Disposal Company, the lowest of the bidders, being $444,000 or $116,000 less than the amount being paid the American Product Company for the removal of the garbage this year. This new company, under the provisions of the law

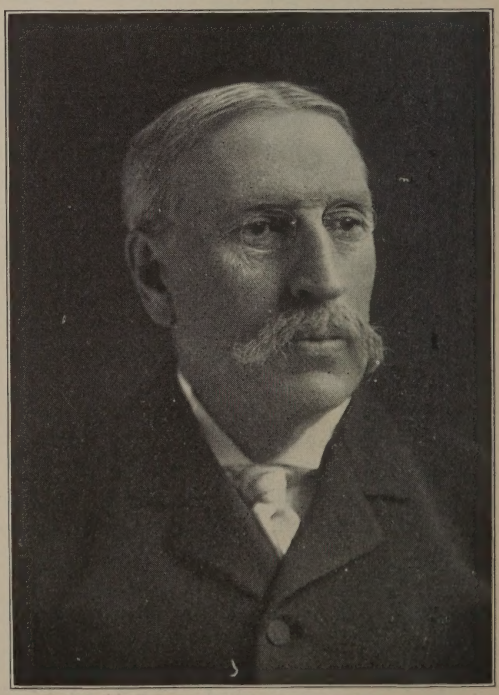


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

JOHN H. CONVERSE,

PRESIDENT BALDWIN LOCOMOTIVE WORKS,

Who presided at the Town-Meeting. Member Citizens' Permanent Relief Committee, and deeply interested in church and charitable work.

can be awarded the garbage contract for one year only, and yet it is willing to assume the risk of building a costly plant for this single year's contract, and has offered to collect and dispose of the garbage at a sum more than 20 per cent. less than is being wasted at present. With any proper assurance of fair play in competition for the future this company would doubtless be willing to quite materially decrease its bid for the coming years, as it is likely to more than secure the cost of its plant out of the profits of the first contract.

The same policy of suppression of competition and rapid increase in cost is shown in the contracts for cleaning the streets and removing ashes. Philadelphia, within the past ten or twelve years, has secured through the surface railway companies and large city appropriations for this purpose, a new and modern system of street-paving. The old cobble and rubble pavements have nearly disappeared, and their place has been taken by new and up-to-date pavements of Belgian block, vitrified brick and asphalt, thus rendering it possible to keep the entire series of streets measurably clean at a much decreased ratio of cost as compared with ten years ago. In addition, too, effective modern machinery for sweeping the streets has steadily tended to reduce the relative cost of this work, but the taxpayers of Philadelphia have failed to profit either by modern pavements or improved street-cleaning methods, so far as reducing the cost of cleaning their streets and collecting their ashes is concerned.

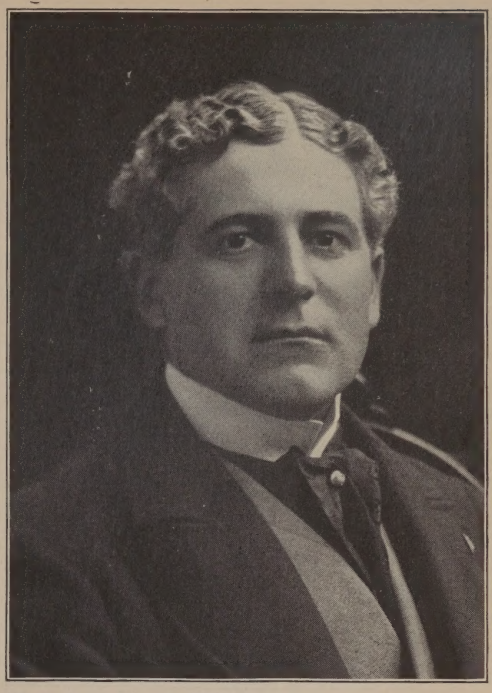
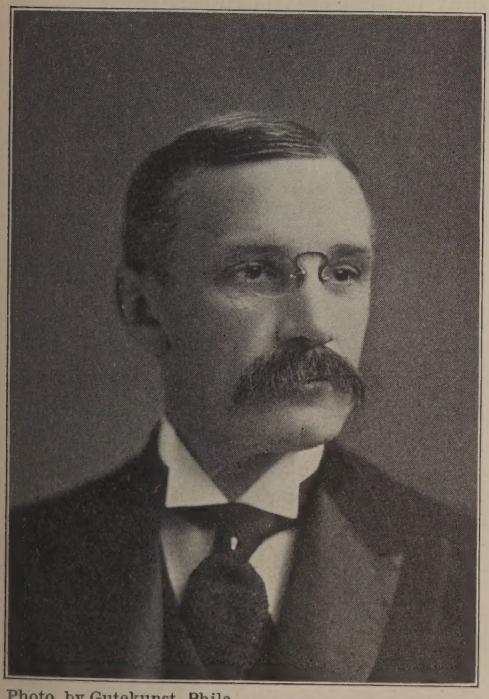


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

THIS IS A. L. ENGLISH.



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WILLIAM T. TILDEN,

SECRETARY OF TOWN-MEETING, MEMBER BOARD OF EDUCATION, VICE-PRESIDENT UNION LEAGUE.

A persistent fighter for honesty in public affairs.

On the contrary, there has been an amazing as well as mysterious increase in the cost of this work. The contracts for cleaning the streets and removing the ashes for 1903 amounted in the aggregate to $693,850. The following year the price jumped nearly $300,000, or to be

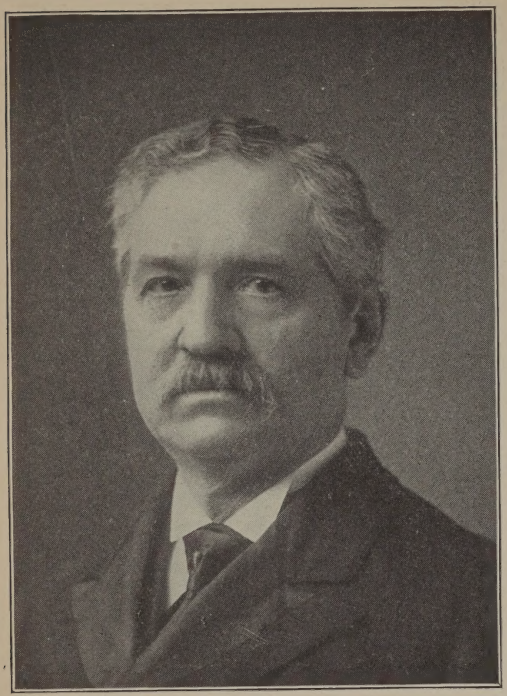


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

HON. CHARLES EMORY SMITH,

EX-MINISTER TO RUSSIA, EX-POSTMASTER-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE PHILADELPHIA PRESS.

His eloquent voice was heard at the Town-Meeting in fierce denunciation of the proposed steal of the Gas-Works.

exact, to $981,190, an advance of nearly fifty per cent. in a single year. The only reasonable explanation that can be given for this sudden jump was that the local contractors farmed out the work among themselves, each agreeing to keep out of the districts in which the others operated, thus removing all local competition. Besides this, the short time allowed between the opening of the bids and the beginning of the work effectively excluded outside competitors. Under this arrangement the various contractors were neither expected nor compelled to keep the streets any cleaner nor to remove any greatly increased bulk of ashes over that of the previous year, but they were enabled to divide nearly $300,000 more among themselves. The following year the contract-price was decreased $31,000, one firm being given all the contracts. This firm explained its lower bid by the statement that it had likewise secured an extensive boulevard contract which furnished a convenient place for dumping ashes, and that by running the two contracts as companion enterprises it was able to save the city $31,000. It is entirely safe to assume, however, that if these contracts had been widely advertised early in the season each year, there would never have been any fifty per cent. advance in the cost, and the probabilities are that the city of Philadelphia would be getting its streets cleaned and its ashes removed for half a million dollars or less instead of the nearly one million which its confederated contractors are extorting for this work at the present time.

Another important item of municipal expenditure is worth citing, as indicating the extent to which Philadelphia has been mulcted by its graft-politicians and favored contractors. By a system of carefully-juggled specifications, shrewdly designed to exclude competition, the Asphalt-Trust for years succeeded in securing enormous prices for the asphalt paving done at the city's expense. A comparative table covering the six years from 1899 to 1904 inclusive shows the price of asphalt paving per square yard to have been as follows:

	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Trinidad Lake,	$2.25	$2.25	$2.21	$2.57	$2.38	$2.00

During these years of extortionate prices, John M. Mack was the controlling spirit of the Asphalt-Trust, as well as being concerned in a series of "midnight" surface-railway franchises, the Keystone Telephone Company, and a lot of rural real estate through which the city was expected to build a costly ten-mile boulevard. While promoter Mack and his fellow-grafters in these several profitable enterprises were able to agree among themselves, all other paving concerns were successfully excluded from participation in the paving contracts of Philadelphia. Mr. Mack's Asphalt-Trust set its own prices and did its work in its own way for a period of six years, the prices being much above those paid by other

cities and the work and material being, to say the least, no better than they should have been.

The following passage from an editorial in the Philadelphia *Times*, July 24, 1902, throws additional light on this phase of "highway"-robbery:

"How dishonest they (the Asphalt Brigands) are is further shown by the fact that the average price thus established, by the exclusion of competition, is nearly double the price bid by the same companies in cities where competition is admitted. The Mack Company, a few weeks ago, bid $1.23 on a paving contract at Wilkes-Barre, in actual competition, upon specifications not materially different from those upon which it conspires to charge Philadelphia $2.49. Another of the constituent companies of the Trust only last week bid for a paving contract in New York at $1.46 against a competing bid of $1.18.

"There is no competition in Philadelphia because it is deliberately excluded by the machine-control of the city government, and by this means the cost of paving is actually doubled. If the pending contracts be awarded to Mr. Mack's companies, the city will be robbed to the amount of nearly half a million of dollars."

The extent to which the city was being mulcted in these paving contracts was not definitely known until Mack and his fellow-grafters "got by the ears" over a proposed lease or sale of the Keystone Telephone Company. This proved a repetition of the oft-told story of the public getting its dues when rogues fall out. Mack's municipal foes undertook to freeze him out of any future participation in paving-contracts, and he retorted by a series of bids for contracts amounting to upwards of $1,000,000, and so far below those of any other competitors that the city administration was compelled to award him the entire series for the year 1905. Mack's bids for asphalt paving, in this instance, average $1.56 per square yard, and for re-paving $1.50 per square yard, which is a reduction of fifty cents from the lowest price paid during the previous six years, and of one dollar from the highest. Even at this lower bid there is said to be a margin of twenty-eight cents per square yard for profit to the contracting company. As Mack has fallen out with his fellow-grafters, he will not be expected to share his profits with them, and it is quite possible that the contracting company which he represents will really lose nothing by the change, while Philadelphia will gain not less than $400,000 upon this single series of contracts. Mack's enemies, having official supervision of the work, can be depended upon not to permit him to slight it.

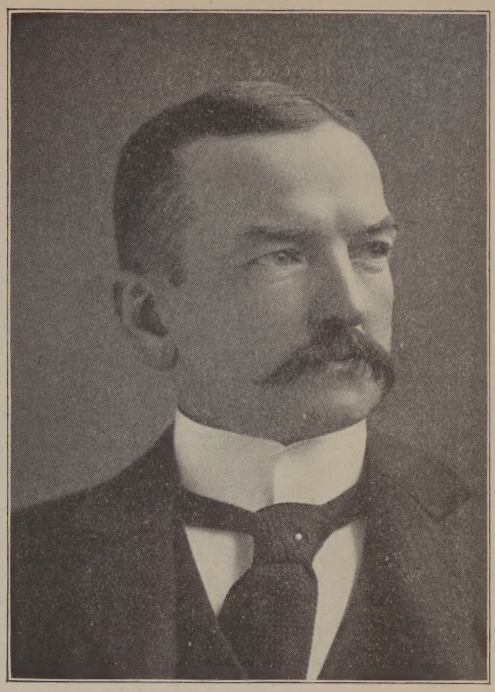


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

HON. WILLIAM POTTER,

Ex-Minister to Italy, President Jefferson Medical College,

Member of Citizens' Permanent Relief Committee, who spoke in unmistakable language on behalf of the people at the Town-Meeting.

It is impossible to follow the Ashbridge administration in all its ups and downs,—from bad to worse, from reproach to dis-

Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

THE CITY HALL,

Philadelphia's $25,000,000 municipal building, "the supposed" seat of the City Government!

grace; a few more prominent incidents will throw additional light upon its black history.

We have already spoken of the filtration job, which, when completed, will give our citizens, at an expense of probably thirty million dollars, an inadequate supply of "filtered filth," instead of the pure water we could have had for one-third the money, either from the upper Delaware or from Pike county.

The incident which gave the Ashbridge administration the widest notoriety was the attempted blackmail of John Wanamaker at the hands of A. L. English, the Director of "Public Safety." The gang was smarting under the merciless castigation it constantly received from the *North American*, a fearless and incorruptible paper owned by Mr. Thomas B. Wanamaker, the ex-Postmaster-General's eldest son.

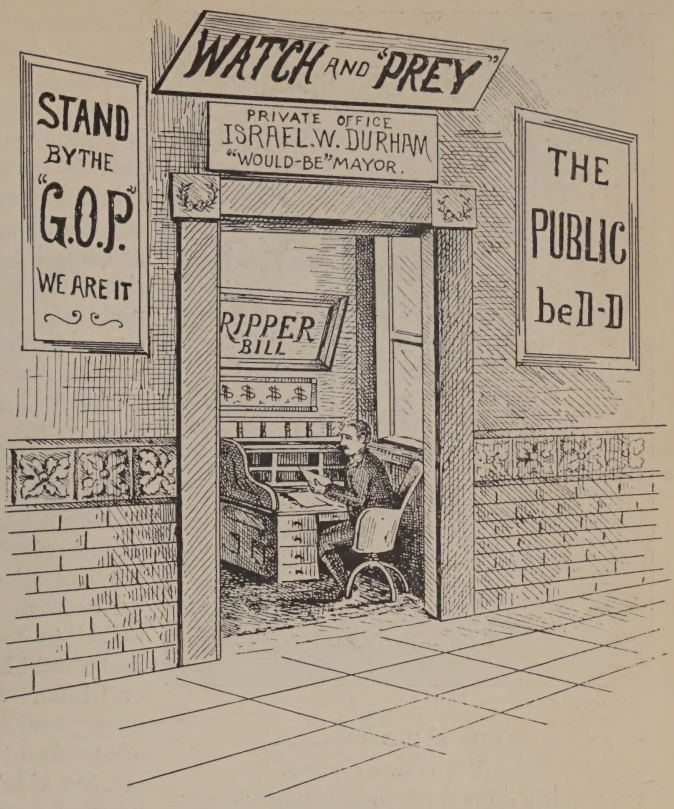
English called at Mr. Wanamaker's private office in May, 1900, and demanded that the *North American's* attacks upon the administration be stopped, and although Mr. Wanamaker informed him that the paper was owned and controlled by his son and that he had nothing whatever to do with its management, English insolently reiterated his demand and declared nobody would believe Wanamaker's statement, and that while he did not say he was a liar, he wanted Mr. Wana-

maker's answer, "Yes" or "No." The latter firmly declined to interfere with his son's paper, whereupon English threatened him with exposure of his personal record, adding that they had for eight months looked up his history and were fortified with affidavits against him.

Mr. Wanamaker, instead of ordering one of his porters to "expedite" the blackmailer down stairs, commanded him to leave the office, with the words: "Your language is offensive and insulting; I can hold no further conversation with you."

English slunk out of the great merchant's office with face blanched and eyes cast down; he had entered the arrant braggart and departed a humiliated nobody. An amusing incident of English's retreat was his pitiable confusion when ordered to leave, which resulted in his forgetting to pick up his hat. This placed him in the embarrassing position of having to reënter Mr. Wanamaker's private office and again face the man who had routed him so quickly and ignominiously and ask for his head-gear. One outcome of this unwarranted attack upon a prominent citizen was a town-meeting at the Academy of Music, attended by a multitude of men and women who entered a loud protest against the blackmailing administration and demanded the dismissal of English. Ashbridge, of course, ignored this demand, for "birds of a feather," etc., etc.

Ashbridge had the distinction of having the Presbyterian Ministers' Association make the declaration that "every decent man should, in the name of every decent woman in Philadelphia, resent the speech made by him to the Junior Order of the American Mechanics." This speech made by the Mayor of the city was of a character lewd and offensive in the extreme.



The 12 x 16 private office of Israel W. Durham, on the eleventh floor of the Betz Building. The "usurped" seat of the City Government!

A kaleidoscopic view of this remarkable administration exposes, besides the incidents already related, nearly everything else that is bad and vile, from the Keystone Telephone grab to the Electric-Light jobbery, from policy-playing to white slavery, from speak-easies to protected gambling-dens. Some of the ills which flourished under Ashbridge will be discussed and dissected in the next number of THE ARENA under the title "Law and Order."

There was one event in these days, "dark and never to be forgotten," that demands a more detailed recital, as it fastens upon us, perhaps for all time, the

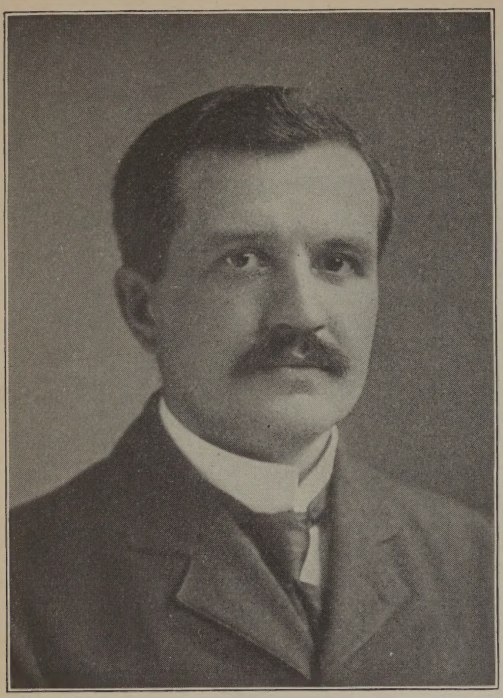


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

WILSON H. BROWN,

MEMBER OF COMMON COUNCILS,

Who has given notice to the "Organization" that he is utterly and unalterably opposed to the lease of the Gas-Works. His position, together with that of other Councilmen, has greatly strengthened the opposition to the seventy-five-year lease.

claws and fangs of an all-powerful corporation, which by the help of Ashbridge robbed our people of the control of their streets.

When Albert L. Johnson applied to Councils for the right to build trolley-lines upon unoccupied streets, with an offer of three-cent fares and free transfers, the "Organization" and its beneficiaries at once saw an opportunity for a big steal. Bills were introduced in the legislature,—then in session,—granting franchises to the public robbers; they were railroaded through with lightning-speed, signed by the "Gang" governor at a midnight conclave, at which were present the great Pennsylvania patriots, Penrose, Quay, McNichol and others.

Immediately afterwards thirteen franchise ordinances covering all unoccupied streets were introduced into Councils and forced through in three days and sent to Ashbridge for approval. In the meanwhile, John Wanamaker offered the Mayor, in a written communication, $2,500,000 for the franchises, and as an earnest of his offer deposited $250,000 in a trust company. Ashbridge, in his anger at being interrupted in the game, literally threw the offer in the street and at midnight signed the ordinance robbing the city of two and a half million dollars, and making the grafters a free gift of many times that sum. How the spoils were divided has never been definitely ascertained; it is said however, that one of the participants demanded and received as his share $400,000!

The result of this steal—the death-knell of all competition—is daily felt by the users of our street-cars, who are compelled to put up with accommodations that would hardly be tolerated in Turkey or China. Our car-service is indescribably poor; the cars, during rush-hours are packed to suffocation; many of them are the old "bob-tail" kind, that would be hooted out of even an unpretentious village. The jerking and jolting when the cars stop and start are exasperating to a degree; many of the summer-cars are of a pattern long discarded in other cities. They are simply intolerable in rainy weather, as the rain beats in on all sides in spite of the antiquated "pull-down" duck curtains. It is a common thing to have nearly all passengers stand up, because no provision is made to wipe off the wet seats. It is useless to enlarge upon this subject; the millions of riders know it too well.

A comparison with other cities is of interest as shown by figures taken from the *North American*. The average number of passengers carried per car per day is, in

New York	403	Chicago	345
Boston	367	Philadelphia	624

Between 1895 and 1905 the number of passengers in Philadelphia increased 66.2 per cent.; the net earnings increased

60.4 per cent.; the number of cars was increased 10.3 per cent.!

Dividends paid by traction companies per mile of track:

New York.....	$4,483	Chicago.....	$3,933
Boston.....	1,561	Philadelphia...	11,264

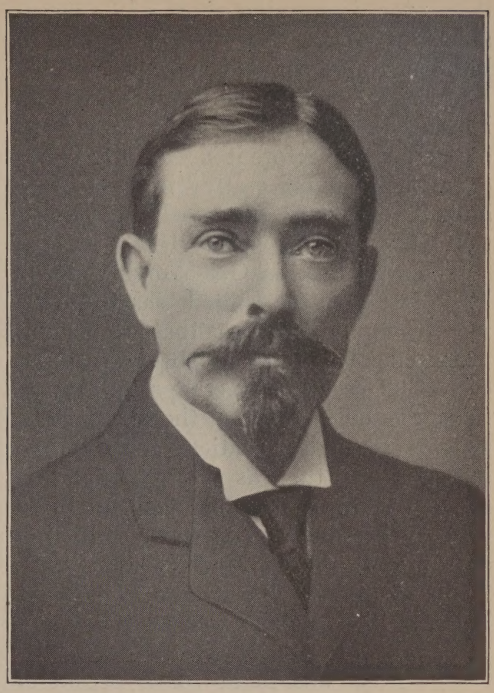
If honest business principles had prevailed; if the actual paid capital had not been watered to an extent that surpasses belief; if dividends depended upon the real capital invested and not upon the scores of millions of dollars piled up by voracious manipulators and financiers; if a corrupt Legislature, a discredited Governor and an unspeakable Mayor had not stifled all competition, we might some day hope for decent service.

The citizens of Philadelphia are here presented with indisputable facts and figures. Let them compute the aggregate amounts they yearly lose by keeping in power "Republican" grafters and "Organization" looters; let them consider how much they would gain if they installed into public place and authority defenders of "American" ideals and honest business administration of public affairs!

And how much all of us would gain in a resurrected, proud and righteous citizenship!

The Ashbridge administration came to a close in April, 1903; a sigh of relief was heard all around when John Weaver entered upon the duties of his responsible position, and no man ever assumed the office of Mayor of Philadelphia under more promising circumstances. He had the confidence of a large majority of his fellow-citizens. At the same time the appointment, at the "suggestion" of the "Organization," of Costello and Smyth as the two leading members of his cabinet did not strike a responsive chord on the part of his unselfish friends, but they argued that a "real" Mayor would not permit himself to lose control and direction of any of his subordinates.

While there was no repetition of the scandals of the former administration, so far as the Mayor was personally concerned, it soon became noticeable that a will stronger than his own appeared to control his actions whenever he showed signs of self-assertion, and made him slave instead of master of the situation.



SAMUEL CROTHERS.

SELECT COUNCILMAN, 40TH WARD.

A man of unflinching courage, who has bid defiance to the grafters and public thieves, and is one of the leaders of the hosts of Philadelphians who have proclaimed a new declaration of independence.

He had committed the indiscretion of publicly calling Durham "our peerless leader," and the latter soon made it apparent that, while he felt fully entitled to that flattering appellation, he also considered himself the "all-powerful master" of the Mayor.

While Weaver was Mayor *de jure*, Durham usurped the position of Mayor *de facto*.

How this analogous position will develop in the near future, and whether the Mayor will have the courage to disenthrall himself from the vise in which Durham is holding him is of special interest at this moment.

The "Organization," more rapacious

than ever, is running short of "squeezable" material. Everything within reach has been appropriated or pledged and the hungry maw is open and eager for more. Increased "direct" taxation would be dangerous; therefore it is resorting to less open but far more costly "indirect" taxation in the most approved "Organization" fashion.

The Philadelphia Gas-Works were, in 1897, leased to the United Gas Improvement Company on terms that seemed advantageous to a large number of disinterested citizens, while a perhaps equal number strenuously opposed the lease. The gas-works, under political control, had deteriorated; the gas was poor and of high price, while the management in all its branches and outlets was a hotbed of corruption, especially at election time. A direct annual money loss of perhaps half a million dollars was another argument in favor of the lease.

The lease was made for a period of thirty years, the city to have the privilege of terminating it after ten years by paying the lessee for all improvements and enlargements, plus six per cent. interest. In return the company was to furnish free gas to the amount of 700,000,000 cubic feet for city purposes annually, and to pay the city of Philadelphia on the price of one dollar charged to all consumers, ten cents per 1,000 cubic feet until December 31, 1907; fifteen cents until December 31, 1912; twenty cents until December 31, 1917, and twenty-five cents until December 31, 1927.

In its prospectus the U. G. I. gave as a "reasonable estimate" of the amount to be paid to the city:

For the year 1903, . . $450,000, but it actually paid, ...	$636,859
For the year 1904, . . $470,000, but it actually paid, ...	$650,683
Or a total of . . . . . $920,000, estimated and a total of	$1,297,542 paid.

In other words, the city received during these two years $368,000, or almost exactly *forty per cent.* more than the original estimate of the U. G. I. It is reasonable to suppose that this increase will not only maintain but it may steadily grow during the remainder of the lease,—until 1927.

According to the U. G. I.'s original estimate, the city would receive for the years 1905–1927, a total of $33,855,000. If we add to this amount the same ratio of increase as that for 1904 and 1905 (forty per cent.), we have as the prospective income from the lease of the gas-works from 1905 to 1927 the sum of $47,397,000. Besides this, at the termination of the lease in 1927, all expenditures incurred by the U. G. I. for extensions and improvements, estimated to aggregate $25,000,000, would revert to the city and give Philadelphia, free of cost, a modern up-to-date gas-manufacturing plant, to manufacture its own gas. It would thus be benefited not only to the tune of the constantly increasing annual payments theretofore made by the U. G. I., but also by the vast profits annually gathered by that company.

The gas-works, if managed on strictly business principles like the Pennsylvania Railroad or the Baldwin Locomotive Works, and not as a "political caldron" for the benefit of the "Organization," would yield to the city after 1927:

(*a*) Under a lease continued from 1927 until 1980, or a period of fifty-three years, at not more than $2,325,000 per annum (the sum stated in the original U. G. I. prospectus as a "reasonable estimate" for the last year of the present lease), a total sum of $123,225,000.

(*b*) If we accept the reasonable increase of forty per cent. (over the U. G. I. estimate) during 1903 and 1904 as a criterion, the city would, under a prolongation of the lease until 1980, receive the sum of $172,515,000.

In making these calculations it must not be overlooked that they are based upon Philadelphia's population and consumption of gas in 1927. The city has grown as follows:

1880— 847,170 inhabitants.
1890—1,046,964, an increase of 199,794, or nearly twenty-four per cent.
1900—1,293,697, an increase of 246,733, again nearly twenty-four per cent.

To be moderate, however, let us base our figures upon an increase of only twenty per cent. for each decade; this would give us in 1980 a population of 5,589,759. But to be entirely on the safe side, let us estimate the increase at only 250,000 (same as 1890–1900) for each census period, we would then in 1980 have a population of 3,500,000.

It is rational to suppose that a city of 3,500,000 people will use seventy-five per cent. more gas than one of only 2,000,000; so let us figure the future consumption on an increase in population of only 250,000 per decade and we will have to add an average of 37½ per cent. to the above estimates, with the result, that if the lease is continued to the U. G. I., even on the low basis of receipts for 1927, the city would receive:

Under heading (*a*),	$123,225,000
Plus 37½ per cent.,	46,209,375
Or a total of	$169,434,375
Or under heading (*b*),	$172,515,000
Plus 37½ per cent.,	64,693,125
Or a total of	$237,208,125

Nor is this all.

If the city assumes ownership in 1927 and works the gas-plant for the benefit of the public, it will earn, not only the large sums cited above, but in addition the vast net profits now accruing to the U. G. I. These profits, at present distributed among the few shareholders of the U. G. I., would be made to benefit every shareholder in the great corporation called the "City of Philadelphia."

In even greater proportion would we be benefited if the lease should be abrogated in 1907, and the gas-works turned over to an awakened municipality that would put the brand of everlasting infamy upon the combination of looters so long tolerated in our midst.

And what does the rapacious, infamous and audacious "Organization" propose to do?

It had introduced into Councils an ordinance to prolong the lease to the United Gas Improvement Company until the year 1980, for a lump sum of $25,000,000, to be paid within two years! In other words, by paying this sum the company would be released from the payment of nearly $48,000,000 in yearly instalments by 1927, besides forfeiting to the city $25,000,000 expended for improvements, while the gas-works would be its absolute property for seventy-five years to exploit at its pleasure and at the cost and to the incalculable loss of three generations of our citizens.

Fortunately the arrogance and perfidy of the "Organization" seems to have reached the limit which even some of its friends and quondam supporters are willing to endure.

Mayor Weaver, of whose absence from the city the bandits tried to take advantage, hurriedly returned when he heard of the proposed steal and emphatically declared against the bill introduced into Councils by the "Organization."

Durham and consorts, with the arrogance born of unbroken success in their predatory operations upon a torpid and helpless community, declared that they controlled an impregnable majority of "city fathers" and defied the Mayor's veto, no matter how strong and unanswerable. They insolently proclaimed that a veto-message from the Mayor would have no more effect upon Councils than the protest of the Italian peanut-vender on the street-corner.

It is an open secret that needy, seedy, weedy and greedy councilmen are in the regular pay of the "Organization"; sums of three hundred dollars and upwards were allotted to this kind after the February election, and during "good behavior" allotments are repeated from time to time, while enterprises such as big contracts, the steal of the public highways and the proposed theft of the gas-works, carry in their wake a carnival of graft that makes some of the participants independent until the next chance for pillage comes along.

The monstrous proposition to mortgage three generations for the benefit of a few

brigands stirred the whole community to action, and to their honor several councilmen—though few in number so far—have openly and emphatically declared against the lease. A town-meeting was called and addressed by men who stand for what is best in the community (though they sometimes slumber when they should be awake); strong resolutions were adopted and the appointment of a committee was authorized to combat the steal.

An amazing disclosure was made at the meeting by the reading of an affidavit in which Robert Dornan, a well-known and universally respected citizen, charged that Thomas Dolan, President of the United Gas Improvement Company, had secured the original lease through the corrupt use of money. Mr. Dolan denies the charge and an expectant community is waiting for further developments.

The most effective and telling assault upon the marauders was made by the *North American* in an offer to subscribe $5,000,000 cash to a syndicate that would take over the present lease, pay the city $25,000,000 within two years, reimburse itself by an assignment of the amounts payable by the United Gas Improvement Company to the city until 1927 and, at that time, deliver to the city an entire, modern and up-to-date gas-plant, free and unincumbered!

The timely offer of the *North American* resulted in the postponement of action by Councils, and in a perfunctory resolution asking for "go-as-you-please bids" by any or everybody. It is safe to say that any bids outside of the one made by the United Gas Improvement Company will be rejected.

The eyes of the whole country are upon Philadelphia in this struggle against the most corrupt band of spoilsmen that ever infested any community. Our hope for relief and emancipation rests upon Mayor Weaver; may his hands be strengthened by an awakened public-conscience to battle the "Organization" to the bitter end and redeem Philadelphia from the stinging odium that we are "corrupt and contented."

Altogether the proposed steal would aggregate not less than $300,000,000, while one of the most expert statisticians places it as high as $440,000,000. The total assessed value of all the real-estate in Philadelphia for 1904 is $1,160,392,710. The steal underwritten by the "Organization" is equal to more than one-third of the entire realty owned by our people in the Philadelphia of to-day. What will the Philadelphian of 1980 say if this iniquity is consummated?

Alaric the Goth and Atilla the Hun, with their followers, never pillaged European cities in the fourth and fifth centuries as the "Organization," through its mercenaries in Councils, proposes to sack Philadelphia in this year of grace 1905!

(To be continued.)

RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG.

Philadelphia, Pa.

THE CHARM OF EMERSON.

By J. R. Mosley, Ph.D.

THOSE who came under his personal influence tell us that there was something finer about Emerson than anything which he said or did; that his character was even superior to his achievement. The children of Concord raised their hats to him when he passed them on the streets, not because anyone told them to do it, but because they instinctively felt the impulse to do it. A New England housewife left her washing and paid fifty cents to hear him lecture, not because she felt she could understand him, but because she felt it was worth her time and money "to see him smile and look as though he thought everybody else was as good as himself." Mrs. Carlyle, recounting her first impression of Emerson, said: "I shall never forget the visitor who years ago in the desert descended on us out of the clouds as it were, and made one day there look like an enchantment for us, and left us weeping that it was only one day." Carlyle, speaking to Lord Houghton of the same visitor, said: "That man came to see me; I do n't know what brought him, and we kept him one night, and then he left us. I saw him go up the hill, I did n't go with him to see him descend. I preferred to watch him mount and vanish like an angel."

An orthodox minister, Father Taylor of the Sailors' Mission, while he felt that Emerson knew "no more about the religion of the New Testament than Balaam's Ass did about the principles of Hebrew grammar," said of him: "He must go to heaven when he dies, for if he went to hell the devil would not know what to do with him." He is also reported to have said that "the climate would change and emigration would set that way." Lowell said: "There was a majesty about Emerson beyond all other men that I have ever known, and he habitually dwelt in that ampler and diviner air to which most of us, if ever, rise only in spurts." George William Curtis tells us that his brother, after hearing Emerson lecture for the first time, said that "he spoke as an inhabitant of heaven." Indeed, he impressed most of his contemporaries as one who was of the heavens heavenly rather than of the earth earthy.

But Emerson's own best sayings are still better than the best things that have been said about him. His writings are the best key we have to his biography, though these do not justify our estimate of his genius. After he has said all we could induce him to say on the deepest and most vital themes, we instinctively feel that he saw more than he has reported. But while the charm of Emerson is in itself indefinable, it is suggested by the fact that he is a transcendental and practical idealist, optimist, individualist, seer and poet, all in one.

1. He is the prince of philosophical idealists. He is the modern Plato and the New England Socrates. Emerson said as good things, and he said them almost as well as Plato would have said them, had Plato inherited with the American spirit the most liberal fruitage of the Christian religion. Socrates himself in Emerson's age and environment would hardly have been such an agreeable and practical idealist. Emerson's idealism has the individual freedom and independence of the subjective idealism of Fichte, the common-sense rationality of the objective idealism of Shelley, and the transcendental charm of the romantic idealism of Novalis.

To Emerson, God is infinite Cause and nature infinite effect; God is the Divine Mind, and nature the incarnation of this Mind; God is the Over-Soul and nature its universal parable or symbol. Nature, or the external world, is the realization of God in time and space, "the screen,

through which the glory of the one peeps out everywhere." But nature apart from its Cause is cruel and unspiritual. Man represents an intermediate phase of being, tending upwards towards freedom as he gravitates Godward, and downward towards slavery as he regards himself as a part of physical nature. To quote Cabot: "Man regarded as a part of nature is the victim of environment, of race, temperament, sex, climate, organization. But man is not simply a part of nature, not mere effect, but, potentially, shares the cause. His mind is open on one side to the Divine Mind, and, in virtue of that communication, he may detach himself from nature, and behold the world of facts aloof and as it were, afloat. To thought and inspired will nature is transparent and plastic. Man, when he thinks, is placed at the centre of beings, where a ray of relation passes from every other being to him; every natural fact is seen as the symbol of a spiritual fact, the expression of a thought that does not stop there, but goes on endlessly to embody itself in higher and higher forms. When he submits his will to the divine inspiration, he becomes a creator in the finite. If he is disobedient, if he would be something of himself, he finds all things hostile and incomprehensible. As a man is, so he sees and so he does. When we persist in disobedience, the inward ruin is reflected in the world about us. When we yield to the remedial force of spirit, then evil is no more seen."*

2. Emerson is the most joyous, hopeful and certain of all the philosophical idealists, and only a very few religious teachers are such serene and radiant optimists as Emerson. His optimism is the expression of his serene and hopeful temper, and of his radiant and joyous insight. As Arnold says: "The secret of Emerson is in his temper, in his joyous, serene and hopeful spirit. . . . Happiness in labor; righteousness in all the life of the spirit; happiness in eternal hope; that was Emerson's gospel."

* *A Memoir of R. W. Emerson*, page 260.

Through every medium of human expression that was available to him, he is forever asserting the same gospel of optimism, the omnipresence of God, the unity of the human race, the universality of spiritual laws, the correspondence of the ideal and phenomenal worlds, the impartiality of both God and nature, the impossibility of ever cheating or deceiving anybody except ourselves, the "duty of man to yield up his egotism to the universal soul and walk by the inner light."

Emerson perceived the higher utility as well as the truth of optimism; and to those who believe he is too sanguine, we answer with one of his own stanzas:

> "Some of your ills you have cured,
> And the sharpest you still have survived;
> But what torments you endured
> From the evils that never arrived!"

"Whilst we converse with what is above us," says Emerson, "we do not grow old, but young." "When a man lives with God, his voice shall be as sweet as the murmur of the brook and the rustle of the corn."

> "Spring still makes spring in the mind,
> When sixty years are told;
> Love wakes anew this throbbing heart,
> And we are never old."

Emerson recognized that sancity and soundness of thought tended to produce soundness and wholeness of body; and so noted a student of Emerson as Henry D. Lloyd says that Emerson felt that "sickness and wickedness are one and the same thing." He became healthier, stronger and more erect with advancing years, until almost the last. "He ate pie for breakfast," and never had indigestion. He seemed to enjoy a hot summer day, and it took a very cold New England winter day to induce him to wear an overcoat. Abbott says: "Up to the age of forty or thereabout Emerson was subject from time to time to a tenderness of the lungs and to fits of languor which sometimes alarmed his wife, though he always treated them lightly, as only a symptom of the want of sufficient preoccupation of mind,

which he looked upon as the disease of the times."*

He felt that optimism was a religious duty; he said nothing could warp him from "the belief that every man is a lover of truth. The entertainment of the proposition of depravity is the only profligacy and profanation. There is no scepticism and no atheism like that. Could it be conceived in common belief, suicide would unpeople the planet." Elsewhere in a finer strain he says: "That which befits us, embosomed in beauty and wonder as we are, is cheerfulness and courage, and the endeavor to realize our aspirations. Shall not the heart that has received so much trust the power by which it lives?" Emerson's optimism does not close his eyes to the fact that there are many things in human experience that ought not to be; and his sublime faith in the omnipotence, omnipresence and omniscience of the Good always tended to inspire the works of faith. As Dr. Chadwick says: "He did not think it possible for us to defeat by any ingenuity the blessed purposes of God. At the same time, he could wish that our will and endeavor were more active parties to the work."†

Emerson's life, as well as his writings, is full of the loftiest lessons of heroism, duty and renunciation. He understood his own defects and limitations better than did any of his contemporaries. He also understood their limitations almost as well as he did his own. His marvelous love and clear perception of the best enabled him to detect everything that fell below his standard of excellence. He appreciated the greatness of Webster as did no other American, but when Webster voted for the Fugitive Slave Bill, Emerson said: "Every drop of Webster's blood has eyes that look down." He saw the limitations as well as the splendid virtues of all his heroes. When urged by a Chicago woman to express an opinion upon Goethe's *Elective Affinities*, he replied: "I never felt that I had attained to the purity of mind that qualified me to read that book." After saying better things about Swedenborg than even his disciples are accustomed to say, he adds that Swedenborg's angels are enough like country parsons to warrant us to expect something different when real angels appear. He saw the weakness of Napoleon as clearly as he saw his strength: "He did all that in him lay to thrive without the moral principle"; he failed as "every experiment that has a sensual and selfish aim will fail." Emerson, himself an emancipated Puritan and a great admirer of the Puritan at his best, nevertheless remembers to have heard that "they had to hold on hard to the huckleberry bushes to keep from being translated." Himself a New England reformer and friend of universal progress, he said that "the young men of the New England reform period seem to have been born with knives in their brains," and that the "friends of universal progress" contained "many men whose church was a church of one member." He regarded America as the synonym of opportunity and the last and finest hope of mankind, and yet how keen he was to detect its present sensuousness, avariciousness and rottenness.

When he addresses himself to evil, he is all the time exposing its folly and asserting his lack of faith in it. He never pictures evil in a way to make it attractive, and in this respect he is a more wholesome ethical teacher than Milton or Goethe. Emerson, seeing the folly of all evil, as he did, looked upon the devil as being much more of an ass than a lion. "Curses always recoil on the head of him who imprecates them. If you put a chain around the neck of a slave, the other end fastens itself around your own. Bad counsel confounds the advisor. The devil is an ass."

3. Individualism is as much a part of Emerson's gospel as idealism and optimism. As an interpreter of individualism he has never been surpassed. His individualism cannot be rightly interpreted apart from his idealism. When he makes such enormous claims for the individual he

* *Memoirs of R. W. Emerson*, page 389.
† Boston *Transcript*, July 29, 1903.

necessarily has in mind the individual who is coming to his real self through the renunciation of his lower self. When he says:

"I am owner of the sphere,
Of the seven stars and the solar year,
Of Cæsar's hand and Plato's brain,
Of Lord Christ's heart and Shakespeare's strain—"

he is saying in a daring and to some people in a very shocking way, that all things are ours; that there is "one mind common to all individual men"; and that as we have access to this mind, we become parties to all that is, was or can be. When Emerson tells us to be ourselves and "never imitate," he does so because God is ever ready and ever near to reveal himself anew to every lowly listener and every independent thinker. "When we have broken our god of tradition, and ceased from our god of rhetoric, then may God fire the heart with his presence."

Emerson's individualism made him skeptical of all reform that does not begin with the individual. He saw that "Society gains nothing whilst a man not himself renovated attempts to renovate things around him"; that "there can be no concert of two, where there is no concert of one."

4. Emerson is a New England transcendentalist; an idealist, an optimist and individualist on Puritan and Unitarian soil. His transcendentalism is less a philosophy than an independent and receptive state of mind; it is "the opening of the human mind to a new influx of light and power from the Divine Mine"; it is "a feeling after the infinite"; it is Unitarianism stripped of its dogmatic and orthodox character; it is religion without a church, without a creed, without a dogma; it is a high tide of spirituality outside the church.

So far as Emerson had any church affiliations he was a Unitarian; and Garnett, with that clear insight which makes him such an admirable critic of Emerson, says that "when Channing told George Combe that he did not think much intellect was necessary to discover truth; 'all that was wanted was an earnest love of it; seek for it, and it comes somehow,' he gave Emerson his text to 'write large.'"* Mr. Haskins, however, reports Emerson to have said: "I am more of a Quaker than anything else. I believe in the still, small voice, and that voice is Christ with us."†

While Emerson had great imaginative sympathy for the ages of blind faith, "he did not want to go back to them." He longed for and looked for the appearing of a new church. "There will be a new church founded on moral science, at first cold and naked, a babe in the manger again, the algebra and mathematics of ethical law, the church of men to come, without shams, or psaltery or sackbut; but it will have heaven and earth for its beams and rafters; science for its symbol and illustration; it will fast enough gather beauty, music, picture, poetry."

Emerson was too sure of the superiority of the present over the past, and of the future over the present to allow him to "hitch his wagon to (anything but) a star." While he liked the church, and liked a cowl, he loved "a prophet of the Soul." He says: "A new church is the only living church"; but at the same time, he recognizes "that a dead church has enough life about it to resent being told that it is dead, and that the deader it is the more it resents it." Emerson also regards man as too fine a being to be too much enamored with the finite. This showed itself in the least of things as well as the greatest. When Mrs. Emerson wanted wood, he cheerfully left his meditations to get it; but as soon as it was supplied, he returned, as he expressed it, to "the real things." This is the charm of Emerson. He is always returning to "the real things." At the same time, he is always ready to cut wood for Mrs. Emerson, and to do everything that Mrs. Emerson, his neighbors, his friends, his country and his age needed him to do. His transcendentalism made him all the better, and decidedly more interesting as a lover, husband, father, friend and citi-

* Garnett's *Life of Emerson*, page 190.
† *Ibid.*, page 94.

zen. As Dr. Holmes has so truthfully and beautifully said of him:

"He seems a winged Franklin, sweetly wise,
Born to unlock the secrets of the skies.
. . . . . .
If lost at times in vague aerial flights,
None treads with firmer footsteps when he lights;
A soaring nature ballasted with sense,
Wisdom without wrinkles or pretense;
In every Bible he has faith to read,
And every altar helps to shape his creed."

The charm of Emerson's transcendentalism is enriched as well as ballasted by an exquisite sense of wit and humor. There is a keenness and radiance about Emerson's wit and a reserve and refinement about his humor that put him in a class all to himself. Mark Twain says that the secret of humor is in truthfulness, and George Meredith says that the test of humor is that it "makes the mind laugh," that it produces "a laugh of the order of a smile, finely tempered, showing the sunlight of the mind, mental richness rather than noisy enormity."

Emerson, according to both of these standards, is a great humorist, possibly the greatest American humorist. His appeal is always to the mind. We smile and laugh as we read Emerson, because he is always voicing the wise, true, fitting and inevitable word about the loftiest and most serious things; and the laughter he awakens is the refined laughter of the mind, nearer a smile than a laugh; "often no more than a smile."

His wit and humor have the additional virtue of wearing well; in fact, the best and wisest sayings of Emerson grow brighter with age; and familiarity breeds growing admiration and appreciation for the man's humor as well as for the man himself. Even the best stories about Emerson have the virtue of remaining fresh after many repetitions.

Another charm about Emerson as a humorist is that he is so perfectly natural and genuine. He never strives for effect, never goes out of his way to be witty or humorous. He sought first to be genuine and sincere, and everything needed was added unto him.

Still another charm as well as utility of Emerson's humor is that it enabled him to see the ridiculous as well as the genuine side of every interest that enlisted his enthusiasm and devotion. He was always a reformer, and yet no conservative ever said such bright and true things about the follies of reformers as did Emerson. Observing the tendency of one reformer to discredit the work and character of other reformers, he said: "There is nothing a reformer hates like another reformer." Himself the finest representative of early New England Transcendentalism, he observes that a transcendentalist is one who has more faith than common sense. He revealed the weakness of the abolition movement as did no one else who was in such hearty sympathy with its fundamental purpose and who rendered such conspicuous support to its success. He said to his Northern abolitionist friends: "The planter of the South does not want slaves; no, he wants luxury, and he will pay even this price for it. It is not possible, then, that the abolitionist will begin the assault on his luxury by any other means than by abating his own." He pointed out to his brethren how they were inclined to dodge the real problem and to march away to a "pretended siege of Babylon."

But the greatest charm and finest utility of Emerson's humor is that it made him so genial and delightful as a friend, so wise and kind in dealing with those whose views he could not share, and so patient and so saintly in dealing with his critics. The children and the common people not only loved him, but were so much at ease in his presence that they genuinely enjoyed him. Dr. Holmes says: "His friends were all who knew him." When one of his friends pointed out a defect in another, he pointed out a virtue. For example: when Trowbridge criticized Alcott's style as a speaker, Emerson said: "Alcott has splendid goods, but no show-windows." When others talked, he gave the most respectful attention and wondered how people could be so wise.

When he lectured, his manner as well as his subject-matter drew most people to him, and his audiences followed him with laughter and smiles. He was as bright as he was considerate in dealing with everybody and every thing. When the Adventists created a sensation in and about Boston by prophecying the immediate destruction of the world, he said: "We can do without it." He was once asked if he approved Platonic friendship between a man and a woman: "Yes," he replied, "but hands off."

But we see Emerson at his best when he is criticized, when he is thrown into what would be to other men a trying situation. When he addressed the students at Harvard, just before the breaking out of the Civil war, he found it difficult to proceed on account of the demonstrations of the pro-slavery party among the students. He smiled and said: "Southerners are eloquent." After the applause this called forth subsided, he said: "All Africans are eloquent." Addressing the literary societies of the University of Virginia in 1876, he found an audience made up almost entirely of young people; the day was hot, and the acoustics of the hall poor, and he failed to make himself heard except by a few attentive listeners who occupied the front seats. Noticing that the young people were whispering and making no effort to follow him, he cut his lecture short, but he did not show the least impatience with his audience; and all he was ever known to say about his reception was: "They are very brave people down there, and say just what they think." When he first gave his lecture on the *Methods of Nature*, an orthodox minister presided, and at the conclusion of the lecture this minister prayed that the audience might forever thereafter be delivered from hearing such transcendental nonsense. Emerson whispered to the man next to him: "Will you kindly tell me the minister's name? He seems to be a conscientious, plain-spoken man."

5. Emerson is always the seer; he never argues, never tries to prove anything, never tries to disciple us. This is the key to Emerson's greatness:

> "The passive master lent his hand,
> To the vast soul that over him planned."

He was content to be a witness, a seer, a beholder, a reporter. Even prayer to Emerson is divine contemplation, the beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord and being transformed into the image of this glory. "It is the soliloquy of a jubilant and beholding soul. It is the spirit of God pronouncing his works good." Emerson saw that all right desire and right action is true prayer, and that all wrong desire and wrong action is false prayer. His first sermon was on prayer, and it was divided into three heads:

"(1) We are all the time praying.

"(2) Our prayers are all the time being answered.

"(3) We should then be very careful what we pray for."

Emerson's fine attitude towards his his critics is also largely determined by the fact that he is always the genial and saintly seer, and never the champion of any human system of thought, creed or dogma. When the saintly Dr. Ware protested against some of the liberal tendencies of the famous Divinity School address, which was as truly a declaration of intellectual independence as the address on the American Scholar was a declaration of intellectual independence, Emerson characteristically replied: "I could not give an account of myself if challenged. I could not possibly give you one of the arguments you covertly hint at, on which any doctrine of mine stands; for I do not know what arguments are in reference to any expression of thought. I delight in telling what I think, but if you ask me how I dare say so, or why it is so, I am the most helpless of mortal men. . . . I shall read what you and other good men write, as I have always done, glad when you speak my thoughts, and skipping the page that has

nothing for me." Writing to Carlyle of the storm of criticism following the Divinity School address, he genially refers to it as this "storm in our wash-bowl." Reverend Converse Francis, who succeeded Dr. Ware in the professorship in the Divinity School, and who spent a night at Emerson's house when this "storm in the wash-bowl" was at its worst, says: "When we were alone, he talked of his discourse at the Divinity School, and of the obloquy it had brought upon him. He is perfectly quiet amidst the storm. To my objections he gave the most candid replies. Such a calm, steady, simple soul, always looking for truth and living in wisdom, in love for man and goodness, I have never met. He is not a philosopher, he is a seer. If you see the truth as he does, you will recognize him as a gifted teacher; if not, there is little or nothing to be said." This is a true picture of Emerson the seer. It is also a glimpse of the ever kind, genial and tolerant Emerson; the Emerson who never complained at anything except the untimely death of loved ones.

6. Emerson, to use his own happy phrase is a "born poet"; a poet not always great in actual achievement, yet always a poet. With his characteristic modesty, he says: "My singing for the most part is very husky, and is for the most part in prose. Still I am a poet in the sense of a perceiver and dear lover of the harmonies that are in the soul and in matter (nature), and especially the correspondencies between these and those. A sunset, a forest, a snow-storm, a certain river view, are more to me than many friends, and do often divide my day with my books."

Garnett writes: "He bought a piece of land to keep his view from being obstructed, and a field in which he had been accustomed to walk lest a new proprietor should turn him out, and a pine grove lest the proprietor should cut it down." The poet is all the more seen in these truly poetic transactions, when we remember the way Emerson made his money. The public bet him from ten to fifty dollars a day that he would not, as he expressed it, "go through all manner of indignities every day, and stand up reading in a hall every night," and he answered, "I bet I will."

His conception of poetry and of the mission and inheritance of the poet is the very highest. In his *Essay on the Poet* he says: "Poetry was all written before time was, and whenever we are so finely organized that we can penetrate into that region where the air is music, we hear those primal warblings, and attempt to write them down; but we lose ever and anon a word, or a verse, and substitute something of our own, and thus we miswrite the poem. The men of more delicate ear write down these cadences more faithfully, and these transcripts, though imperfect, become the songs of nations."

The poet according to Emerson is "the sayer," "the namer," "the emperor in his own right." "He is the true and only doctor. He knows and tells; he is the only teller of news, for he was present privy to the appearance which he describes." Addressing himself to the poet he says: "This is thy reward; that the ideal shall be real, and the impressions of the actual world shall fall like summer rain. . . . Thou shalt have the whole land for thy park and manor, the sea for thy bath and navigation, without tax and without envy; the woods and the rivers thou shalt own; and thou shalt possess that wherein others are only tenants and boarders. Thou true land-lord, sea-lord, air-lord!"

Emerson is this true poet, this "true land-lord, sea-lord, air-lord." His poetic nature and insight would entitle him to a place among the poets, if he had never burst forth in meters and rhymes; and there is so much poetry in all his best prose that Professor Sanborn says: "Instead of its being settled that Emerson could not write poetry, it is a serious question if he could write anything else."

Some few of Emerson's poems are models of perfection; and "could he have

always written," says Garnett, "with the mastery he shows in many of his detached passages, he would have stood in a class by himself." He comes nearer celebrating the insight of philosophical transcendentalism in creditable verse than any other poet, and scattered through all of his poems are diamonds of purest water.

"God hid the whole world in thy heart.
Love shuns the sage, the child it crowns,
And gives them all who all renounce.

O, when I am safe in my sylvan home,
I tread on the pride of Greece and Rome;
And when I am stretched beneath the pines,
Where the evening star so holy shines,
I laugh at the lore and the pride of man,
At the sophist schools and the learned clan;
For what are they all, in their high conceit,
When man in the bush with God may meet?

There need no vows to bind,
Whom not each other seek but find.
They give and take no pledge or oath,
Nature is the common bond of both.
. . . . . .
Their cords of love so public are
They intertwine the fartherest star."

We do not find a finer poetic sense of cosmic innocence and spiritual love than in *Forbearance:*

"Hast thou named all the birds without a gun?
Loved the wood-rose, and left it on its stalk?
At rich men's tables eaten bread and pulse?
Unarmed, faced danger with a heart of trust?
And loved so well a high behavior,
In man or maid, that you from speech refrained,
Nobility more nobly to repay?—
O, be my friend, and teach me to be thine."

Two Rivers is the flowering of Emersonian idealism with perfect poetry:

"Thy summer voice, Musketaquit,
Repeats the music of the rain;
But sweeter rivers pulsing flit
Through thee, as thou through Concord Plain.

Thou in thy narrow banks art pent;
The stream I love unbounded goes:
Through flood and sea and firmament,
Through light, through life, it forward flows.

I see the inundation sweet,
I hear the spending of the stream
Through years, through men, through nature fleet,
Through passing thought, through power and dream.
Musketaquit, a goblin strong,
Of shard and flint makes jewels gay;
They lose their grief who hear his song,
And where he winds is the day of day.
So forth and brighter fares my stream,—
Who drinks it shall not thirst again;
No darkness stains its equal gleam,
And ages drop in it like rain."

Rhodora is a piece of such faultless perfection that it is worthy of the world's anthology:

"In May, when seawinds pierced our solitudes,
I found the fresh Rhodora in the woods,
Spreading its leafless blooms in a damp nook,
To please the desert and the sluggish brook.
The purple petals, fallen in the pool,
Made the black water with their beauty gay;
Here might the red-bird come his plumes to cool,
And court the flower that cheapens his array.
Rhodora! if the sages ask thee why
This charm is wasted on the earth and sky,
Tell them, dear, that if eyes were made for seeing,
Then beauty is its own excuse for being:
Why thou wert there, O rival of the rose!
I never thought to ask, I never knew,
But in my simple ignorance, suppose
The self-same Power, that brought me there
brought you."

Emerson the seer, lover, and sayer of the true and the beautiful in the Greek sense, is also the seer, sayer and inspirer of the true and the good in the Anglo-Saxon sense.

"'T is man's perdition to be safe,
When for the truth he ought to die.
So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When duty whispers low, 'thou must'
The Youth replies, 'I can.'"

J. R. Mosley.

Macon, Ga.

THE IDENTITY OF SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

By James T. Van Rensselaer.*

IF WE put aside those passages which as yet have no parallel in the discoveries of science; if we banish from the mind the dogmatic interpretations of the many and varied schools of so-called Christian theology, the fact still remains that in the four gospels of the New Testament we have, set forth in precept and in practice, in the reputed life and sayings of Jesus of Nazareth, the most perfect philosophy of life yet presented to the mind of man. It may be regretted that in the course of its evolutionary development from a centralization in one mind, human or divine, to its realization as a social consciousness, the teaching of Christ has been degraded by every form of human error. Yet, we must remember that, following the doctrine now set forth by philosophy and science, everything, from nebular condensation to social changes, from the evolutionary development of a planet to the growth of an idea, has to be interpreted in the terms of the redistribution of matter and of motion. Hence everything has to pass through so numerous and such a variety of seemingly endless changes that the very falsity which has attached itself to the teaching of Jesus has been necessary to it in order that it might finally be revealed to us in its full and glorious significance.

But it may be asked: If Christianity is the most comprehensive of all the interests of human life, summing up in itself, as it were, all other interests, can anything so universal, so changeful, so pulsating with vitality, be readily defined? I answer that it can, and moreover that it can be defined in exactly two words. For Christianity is absolute truth. I do not say that Christianity, so-called, is absolutely true, but I do say that genuine Christianity is absolute truth. It is this or it is nothing. Whatever is true belongs to Christian teaching. Whatever is not true has no place there. By this definition Christianity must stand or fall. Whatever is true in anything or anywhere, from all included in the utmost bounds of space to the minutest speck of dust sparkling in the sunshine; in any other religion so-called, to the most trifling courtesy in social relationship, belongs to it. Whatever may be set forth and is true in Buddhism, in Mohammedanism, in the New Thought, in Trades-Unionism, or even in Capitalism, just in so far as it is true, is Christian teaching.

It might be well to further consider how comprehensive this definition is. If Christianity is absolute truth, it must be the full and absolute recognition of the Supreme Logos. It is the science of the Absolute. It is universal obedience to natural and spiritual law. If Christianity

* [*Biographical Note:* James Taylor Van Rensselaer is the son of the Rev. Mannsell Van Rensselaer, D.D., formerly president of De Veaux and Hobart Colleges. He was born at De Veaux College, Suspension Bridge, New York, on April 12, 1861. He was educated at De Veaux and Hobart Colleges, in Geneva and Lausanne, Switzerland, and afterwards at New College, Oxford. After coming of age, and for nearly eight years, he traveled extensively throughout Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia, twice making the tour of the world. In former years he was well-known as a mountain-climber, being a member of the Alpine Club, Club Alpin-Français, and the Schweitzer Alpine Club. A journalist by profession, he has been connected with the New York *Sun* and other publications in the United States and England. In 1888 he was associated with T. P. O'Connor, H. A. Massingham, Sir Isaac Holden and others in starting the London *Star*, a pronounced radical and home-rule paper. In the same year he married the daughter of a retired English officer and settled in the north of England. There he remained until 1890 when, his health failing, he moved to Southern California, where he has since resided, being the father of nine children, all of whom are living. His principal writings have been on theology, philosophy and sociology. In philosophy he is an avowed Hegelian, which trend of thought marks all his writings. For the past eight years he has been active in advancing the cause of socialism, and is at present the editor of *Common Sense*, a weekly Socialist paper published in Los Angeles, California.—The Editor.]

is absolute truth, then theology becomes the science of absolute truth; philosophy the search for absolute truth; religion the practice of absolute truth; and ethics the rule of practice of absolute truth. If we bring the same idea into the more practical relationships of life, we shall find that whatever is true in Scientific Socialism is absolute truth in its relation to economics, while whatever is true in democracy is absolute truth in its relation to politics. Thus we find that the teachings of Jesus have a positive and absolute relationship everywhere and to everything, and that they form the highest known expression of our true relationship to that which we term God, to Nature, and to each other, or in other words, to "that in which we live and move and have our being."

It was a saying of Jesus that "the truth will make you free," and it is to be regretted that during so many hundreds of years priestly energy has been given up entirely to preaching an individualistic and negative Christianity rather than to a strict obedience to Christ's command to make a positive search for absolute truth. But within the past fifty years a great and momentous change has taken place throughout Western civilization,—that is, among those professing Christianity, in the spread of general or common-school education. And while it might seem, judging from the intense conservatism of the lower orders, that education has done little to rouse them to demand: What is absolute truth? What is natural wages? What is my industrial duty to my children and to my neighbor? still the growth of trades-unionism during the past five and twenty years in America, in England and her colonies, in Northern, Central and Southern Europe, and the rapid spread of Socialist sentiment in Germany, France and in other countries, proves the leaven to be at work, and that, even among the masses, a great number are at least attempting to work out their own salvation. This of itself can only be possible by a search for absolute truth in all social and industrial relationships.

I wish particularly to emphasize the bearing that the spread of education has upon my subject. We find that while history is a written story of the self-assertion of the individual, or of groups of individuals, and is almost entirely given up to the description of the ways and means by which theocracy, military power, autocracy and, later on, the richer classes have promoted their rule, religions have always found their first supporters among the humble, in the lowest, down-trodden layers of society. Thus the new forms of union which were introduced in the earliest Buddhist and Christian communities, in the Moravian brotherhoods, and finally in the trades-unions, have always taken the character of coöperative activity for mutual advancement. It matters not the least whether the individual was prompted by selfish or unselfish motives in joining such a union, for all that is known biologically of that which we term religion shows it to refer fundamentally to a conscious recognition of the life-giving or life-preserving principle of social solidarity. And while the great universities and the orthodox theologians are attempting to understand, or rather to misunderstand, the great Christian aphorism, that "he that saveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life shall save it," an aphorism in which all ethics and theology may be said to be summed up, education and necessity are forcing the individual worker to realize its meaning by helping him to appreciate the value of organized effort for social advancement. In fact, in too many cases it is teaching him that his own and the immediate welfare of his wife and children, not to speak of their ultimate welfare, depends upon his merging his individuality with the union of his craft. This of itself is in simple obedience to the evolutionary law by which the individual, an original unification, merges himself in the universal life by a process of disintegration which must precede a reunification or realization of the coöperative idea, which is all that science or philosophy can tell us of God.

And this brings us to the question: What have science and philosophy to re-

veal to us of God? Philosophy tells us that our conscious life is circumscribed by three ideas. These are the idea of the subject or self, the idea of the object or not-self, and the idea of the unity which is presupposed in the difference of the self and the not-self, and within which they act and react on each other; in other words, the idea of God. As Edward Caird tells us in the *Evolution of Religion:*

"The germ of the idea of God as the ultimate unity of being and knowing, subject and object, must in some way be present in every rational consciousness. For such a consciousness necessarily involves the idea of the self and the not-self, the ego and the world, as distinct yet in relation, *i. e.*, as opposed within a unity."

Thus every creature who is capable of the consciousness of an objective world and of the consciousness of a self, is capable also of the consciousness of God. Or, to sum up the whole matter in one word every rational being as such is a religious being.

There is nothing mystical about this idea of God. It is a conception of religion far removed from the school which accepts the definition of Max Müller, that "religion is the mental faculty which independently, nay, in spite of sense and reason, enables men to apprehend the Infinite." The idea of God is here represented as the life-giving principle of organic unity. To be with God is to obey that principle and live. Not to be with God,—to be in sin, if you prefer, for the Bible says the wages of sin is death,—is to disobey it.

A Russian writer, referring to the orthodox idea of God, that is, to a supernatural being, to a someone who resides somewhere beyond the bounds of space and whose reputed relationship to his world is to say the least irrational and illogical, says that: "The idea of God implies the abdication of human reason and justice; it is the most decisive denial of human freedom, and leads necessarily to the enslaving of humanity, both in theory and practice."

In individualizing the idea of God, the church has logically been led into the natural error of placing undue emphasis on all forms of individualism, until now its highest human ideal consists in a consecrated life or state of negative perfection, in too many cases, if not in all, purchased by the enslavement and degradation of the toilers; while its greatest promise of reward is a perpetual condition of individual self-satisfaction. Hence it may be demonstrated that the modern idea of God, as also the idea of individual perfection, are the two most serious stumbling-blocks in the path of social progress. For as one writer well puts it, "the 'good citizens' are the chief enemies of goodness: the men of 'blameless lives' are the high-priests of wrongs that affront the skies, that blaspheme the universe, and that make the very stones cry out against the sufferings of men."

But while there is nothing more deadening to social or individual progress than the self-satisfaction of a negatively good man, there is nothing in the universe to equal the moral force of Jesus, fearlessly demanding a conscious recognition of social solidarity, by preaching, in precept and in practice,—a new conception of morality, based upon the idea of the unity of the race.

But again it may be asked: What have modern science, philosophy and theology to tell us of this new conception of morality? Before I answer this question, however, I want to impress upon you the absolute necessity in all human relationships of being a doer, and not a mere hearer of the word. Nothing in individual, industrial or social relationship has anything to do with absolute truth which is not worth the greatest effort and the fullest sacrifice to bring into existence as a positive and living fact. To stand in the pulpit Sunday after Sunday and to set forth the precepts of the Nazarene, and not be struggling at any cost to have the word become flesh, is the most monstrous misconception of the life and teaching of Jesus of which the human mind can be capable.

In explaining his famous saying, that "all that is real is reasonable; all that is reasonable is real," the philosopher Hegel tells us that only that is real which in the course of development shows itself to be necessary, and that when it is no longer necessary it loses its reality. If it were necessary to the Jews, in order to behave themselves, to misrepresent the Most High and to picture Jehovah as a "devouring fire" and "a jealous God," such a conception of Deity to the Israelites was real and rational. But it was this very conception of his Jewish brethren that Jesus labored to correct. In place of a God of hate, he spoke of the principle of Love. Thus following in his footsteps, modern science, philosophy and even theology, all prove the monotheism of the Jews to be unnecessary, and so it becomes to us unreal and irrational.

But in its place a new conception of thought as a totality or system must arise; a new conception of the Logos of all logics; of the idea of all ideas; of the ultimate comprehension of all unities. This is what we commonly term a new conception of Deity, that is, of God as absolute, self-conscious, voluntary thought, vitalizing and comprehending all ideas. This conception must follow the Fichtean formula and Spencerian law. It must obey a perpetual law of thought manifested in all nature and history; that changing, unchangeable law governing all things "in the heavens above, in the earth beneath and in the waters under the earth." Hence for any man to be a hearer of the Golden Rule, and not to realize its necessary relationship to his own personal comfort, not to speak of its vital connection with the existence of his family, of his neighbors, and of all his fellows,—that is, of its universal significance and its relationship to a conception of the Deity, makes him "like unto a man beholding his natural face in the glass: for he beholdeth himself and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was." Thus any modern conception of morality must not be a mere statement of a moral law; it must not only tell you how that law may be obeyed, but the very idea of it must so overwhelm you with its importance as a necessary condition for you and your fellows as to make you willing to do anything, to give up anything, in order to secure its fulfillment. And if you know of any written statement of Christian teaching which, after careful investigation is not sufficient to rouse you to any effort and to any sacrifice to obey its behests, be assured then that it is not worth the paper it is written on.

It seems almost needless to say that all modern science, philosophy and theology have to tell us of the new conception of morality based on the idea of the unity of the race is summed up in that general scheme of universal coöperation of which we speak as Industrial Socialism. This was the great discovery of Christ, for he it was who first stated in the form of an ethical system, the essential unity and solidarity of human society. Before his time whatever idea of brotherhood existed was confined within national limits. Even among the Jews foreigners were not brothers but enemies. The book of Sifri says: "A single Israelite is of more worth in the sight of God than all the nations of the world." It was claimed that God himself only loved the Jews. Max Müller tells us that the word mankind never passed the lips of Socrates, nor of Plato, nor of Aristotle. The greatest teachers of the most learned nations had not conceived the idea of human brotherhood.

But previous to the birth of Christ a great change had taken place throughout Europe and along the borders of the Mediterranean. The Roman Empire had extended its sway over an immense area, bringing under one central government many nations widely differing in language and in customs. New conditions had thus arisen making necessary a statement of the principle of social solidarity. Said Jesus: "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." And in response to that immutable and universal law, that only that which is necessary is real and rational,—a law supported by scientist

and theologian,—for both tell us that the continuation of life to-morrow is dependent on life to-day,—Jesus propounded the most perfect biological system yet recorded in all the literature of the world. And, whether he were human or divine, or whatever were his relations to the realms of spirit, here or hereafter, the fact remains that, for the first and last time in all the history of the past, a man lived intelligent enough to preach a perfect philosophy and at the same time courageous enough to put it into practice in his own life. And so, during the past two thousand years, whenever "in the fullness of time" progress has become necessary, civilization has advanced along the line of social solidarity, as along the line of least resistance, in accordance with Christ's new conception of morality based upon the idea of the unity of the race. And just as we may note growth and development in a plant, or in a planet, so this idea grows and develops in the spread of civilization throughout Europe, until, in the eighteenth century, in that singular phenomenon known as the French Revolution, we see the first serious attempt to carry Christ's new conception out from a nebulous hypothesis into a workable scheme of social organization.

Thus the philosopher Hegel, seated in his German study, with his mind stirred by events equal only in their importance to the life and teachings of Jesus himself, and with his eyes fixed on the four Gospels, interpreted the latter by the former, and reduced Christianity to terms of philosophy. This interpretation set Europe into an intellectual ferment, giving rise to that immense literature of Socialism, which is yet only in its infancy. For Karl Marx, with a mind of Titanic mould and carried away by the Hegelian dialectic, at once reduced the philosophy of Hegel to terms of economics, giving to the world his great work on *Capital*, an industrial prophecy now being fulfilled every hour and minute of the day.

While Herbert Spencer insisted that in her evolutionary processes Nature could not be interrupted or balked, and found in evolution an argument for individualism as opposed to Socialism, Hegel on the contrary, in the Christian maxim of "dying to live," showed that self-realization, that is, the highest conception of individualism, comes through self-abnegation. By this he does not necessarily mean that this world must be sacrificed in order that the next may be won. What he does mean is that "the individual must die to an isolated life,—*i. e.*, a life for and in himself, a life in which the immediate satisfaction of desire as his desire is an end in itself,—in order that he may live the spiritual life, the universal life which really belongs to him as a spiritual or self-conscious being."

Enrico Ferri tells us that: "Individualism acting without the pressure of external sanction and by simple internal impulse toward good, can be realized only after a phase of collectivism, during which the individual activity and instincts can be disciplined into social solidarity."

Karl Marx, believing that only that which is necessary is real and rational, and carrying out the idea of "dying to live" to a last and practical analysis, proceeds to set forth and illustrate, as he develops his famous materialistic conception of history, what it is that is immediately necessary to attain to a perfect condition of individualism. For as adaptation to environment, freedom, and individualism must all advance together, it may surprise many to know that Socialism is absolutely necessary to a further process of self-realization; for under a perfect economic system man will be far less the creature of environment than he now is.

Well may you demand, then, a simple scientific formula setting forth the new conception of Deity,—that is, of that which is necessary to right living and to the highest development of the individual. Up to the present I have purposely refrained from answering the question, What has science to tell us of God? For science, even if not all true, still comprises all that we know of absolute truth. Hence science being the revelation of truth,—that is, of God, in other words all

that we know of Nature and of the universe—an answer to the question would mean a summing up of all knowledge. Therefore in the briefest possible formula I shall try and set forth all that human knowledge reveals to us of God. Here we find that according to Biology, Life is Organic Unity; according to Philosophy, Love is the Consciousness of Organic Unity; according to Theology, God is Love.

Says Ella Wheeler Wilcox:

"The longer I live and the more I see
Of the struggle of souls to the heights above,
The stronger this truth comes home to me:
That the universe rests on the shoulders of love—
A love so limitless, deep and broad,
That men have renamed it and called it God."

To elaborate this idea would be to write the history of philosophy. Within it is to be found the secret of the universe. For, as Henry Drummond well puts it, "Love is the supreme factor in the evolution of the world." But love is in no sense a negative conception of individual perfection. In the last analysis love is not individual at all; it is social. Applied to humanity, love is the consciousness of social solidarity. "Whosoever would be chief among you," said Jesus, "let him be your servant." Thus self-realization comes through self-abnegation. For "as God is conceived as the Father of Spirits, and, therefore, as a principle of spiritual life in all men, He, with His infinite claims, is directly present to us in our fellow-men, whenever and wherever we may meet with them."

Hence, if, as we are told, the ethics of Socialism and the ethics of Christianity are identical, and if ethics form the rule of practice of absolute truth, we find both in Socialism and in Christianity, in the idea of social solidarity, the same idea of the consciousness of organic unity and of God, which, after all, is only that idea of mutual aid for mutual advancement forming the real foundation of all our ethical and moral conceptions. Therefore in the Trades-Union and the Socialist movements of to-day, ethically and biologically considered, are to be found the only genuine religious movements of the twentieth century. And whether the likeness of Socialism to Christianity, both being taken in their widest interpretation, is rather that of an analogy than of an identity, the fact remains that in all human relationships it is practically impossible to show in what the one really differs from the other.

Thus while we see among the Socialists that fidelity to a purpose, that enthusiasm for a cause, that willingness to self-sacrifice seen only at times of the deepest religious concentration, it might be well to recall that famous passage from *Ecce Homo* in which Professor Seeley declares that: "Christianity is an Enthusiasm or it is nothing; and if there sometimes appears in the history of the Church instances of a tone which is pure and high without being enthusiastic, of a mood of Christian feeling which is calmly favorable to virtue without being victorious against vice, it will probably be found that all that is respectable in such a mood is but the slowly-subsiding movement of an earlier enthusiasm, and all that is produced by the lukewarmness of the time itself is hypocrisy and corrupt conventionalism."

And while capitalism and the church—the morals of the one being the reflex of the morals of the other—are becoming more and more marred by "hypocrisy and corrupt conventionalism," there is from the disintegration of the one arising in the process of reunification what promises to be the greatest religious movement of all time. For in this new conception of thought as a totality or system; this new conception of the Logos of all logics; this new conception of the Idea of all ideas, God, ceasing to be the nebulous reflection of irrational and superstitious fear, is brought from the clouds, and in the idea of social solidarity becomes in human relationship the ultimate comprehension of the unities, and is finally revealed to us as

"A visible token of the upholding love
That is the soul of this wide universe."

James T. Van Rensselaer.
Los Angeles, Cal.

HOW THE PEOPLE SHOULD ACQUIRE PUBLIC UTILITIES: A CRITICISM OF MR. BROWN'S PAPER.*

By Professor E. W. Bemis and Frederick F. Ingram.

I.

THE MAJORITY of cities in this country cannot borrow at less than 4 per cent., and many have to pay 4½ per cent. The difference between that and the interest necessary to float lighting and street-railway bonds at par is small, since the latter will generally float at par if paying 4½ per cent., and certainly when they pay 5 per cent. The difference between these two figures would not be as much as I should think desirable. Why should the city pay for the present market-value of the securities of these companies if the city can secure the roads cheaper without injustice? I believe it can secure the roads cheaper either by letting the franchises run out or by putting heavy taxes upon the franchise values or by pursuing other policies hostile to the large development of the company. As long as the city pays the full structural value, plus 15 or 20 per cent. additional for the plant as a going concern, it has certainly paid all that justice requires. Where possible, the city could get the companies to sell out at a price approaching this figure if it started in to duplicate or compete. The excess of the market-value of a public-service corporation above its structural value is to a large degree a measure of two things:

The political incapacity of the community and the faith of the owners of the property in the triumph of evil.

The second proposition of Mr. Brown for the organization of a league to collect and disseminate accurate data would be altogether desirable.

Edward W. Bemis.

Cleveland, Ohio.

II.

EX-MAYOR W. R. BROWN, of Passaic, N. J., in the April Arena, proposes that cities purchase street-railways and other public-utility properties from the private corporations owning same and pay the full value of their stock and bonds, notwithstanding "that I am advocating the purchase by the citizens generally of the watered securities from which certain individuals have reaped enormous profits."

He also offers a solution of "the management of these corporations" (properties) when owned by the city.

Issues of watered stocks in these public-utility corporations are made to absorb unreasonable and unjust monopoly profits —dishonestly or unfairly secured through corruption or ignorance of public officials who are induced to grant the franchises.

The property, if restricted in its earnings by regulation or taxation, or both, to reasonable profit on the value of the tangible, physical property, such property would represent its exact value.

In other words, let the municipality itself prevent or absorb the unjust profit.

It should not in any event become a party to robbing the many for the benefit of the very few by paying a private corporation out of public funds for capitalization based on a privilege to exact extortionate charges for future years.

Tax out the water. Regulation of

* [We take pleasure in presenting to our readers in this issue two most admirable and thoughtful criticisms of ex-Mayor Brown's paper on municipal-ownership which appeared in the April Arena. These papers, prepared by Professor E. W. Bemis and Frederick F. Ingram, two of the most competent, eminent and practical friends of public-ownership in America, contain in small compass a number of vital facts for voters to keep in mind. Especially do we commend our readers to the closing paragraphs of Mr. Ingram's most thoughtful paper, in which he compares majority-rule in the Old World with the machine-rule of the New World.—The Editor.]

rates where impossible under private-ownership will be easy under public-ownership and is always moral.

In less than five years the tax assessment of the street-railway property of Detroit has been increased from one million to fourteen million dollars.

About ten years ago she secured three-cent fares, now in operation on over seventy-six miles of lines all day; this has compelled the five-cent lines to grant the three-cent fare (eight tickets for twenty-five cents) during rush-hours morning and night (workingmen's tickets). Taxation and potential regulation has strengthened the city's hand, and our citizens, overwhelmingly in favor of municipal-ownership, approach serious consideration of the subject with confidence in its successful accomplishment.

The city has not accepted offers made by the street-railway company to operate certain five-cent lines under the three-cent ordinance which would result in extending the franchise, though on a three-cent. basis, and apparently will not accept a three-cent fare on all lines as a price for renewing any franchises.

Mr. Brown would protect the innocent holder of watered stock—the Wall-street "widows and orphans." "Let the buyer beware!" is good old English law and is particularly applicable advice to buyers of stock from owners of franchise privileges, their notoriously shady methods being subjects of common knowledge.

Why should the real owners,—the public,—who at least are just as innocent, "be compelled to step up to the office of the public-corporation each day of his life (and in addition, perhaps, his wife, son and daughter—say four members of his family) and pay fifty per cent. more than is necessary to the one per cent. who are watering the public-service corporations year after year," or pay it in a lump sum to the public-service corporation, and then again go on year after year paying the same in interest to the bondholders who furnished the lump sum. That the city can borrow money at a lower rate of interest is true, but why should it pay twice what property is worth on that account? The saving belongs to the city and the citizen.

"*Second:* The management of these corporations (properties) after they have become the property of the municipality."

Mr. Brown proposes interstate city leagues composed of "reasoning and upright citizens of each town with head-offices in Washington" to look after these public properties.

But why?

Lincoln Steffens and other students of municipal problems point out that the so-called best citizens and leading men of affairs, to say the least, are not to be counted on as disinterested and unprejudiced leaders; their financial interests, their point-of-view, their environment, interfere.

Mr. Brown himself says that "usually the citizen entrusted with an important municipal position . . . is actuated by honorable motives. But he comes in contact with the president of a bank, a large merchant, or some other rich man whom he has heard of for years and respected. . . . That man is influenced by the distinguished citizen to do something dishonest, until he comes to look upon graft as a natural sequence."

Note what Mr. Steffens says in his article on Chicago municipal corruption and its cause.

It also seems to me that Washington as the headquarters of such a league is the least reassuring of all places.

Why should not the owners, the public, the people themselves, be given the right to look after the management of their own affairs?

We hear so much about what the people want, what the people may do, what the people may have. Why not leave such things to the people and let them say?

No watching so efficient as that of the interested citizen, if he is given a responsibility that can be efficiently enforced.

Mr. Brown writes of "the full measure

of benefits enjoyed by the citizen of English municipalities where public-ownership has resulted in such an enormous increase in public revenue on the one hand and decrease in the cost to the public on the other." He could have mentioned other countries also,—Switzerland, for instance.

Why are those cities better governed and public properties better administered than here? Because the people govern and have direct control of legislative and administrative matters. It is the difference between responsible government as there and the machine-government here.

Direct responsible government in English cities by custom, in Swiss cities by law, makes machine-rule impossible and office-holding an honorable pursuit free from "the baneful influence which has been exerted by the respectable and leading citizens in establishing a reign of graft" in American cities to which Mr. Brown refers.

Responsible government gives the people the right to make laws they want, to veto laws they do not want, to discharge officials that betray them. Public officials under such conditions thrive only when they truly represent their constituents. If they sell out, they are discharged and their acts vetoed.

Here, a constitution-given authority to irresponsible rulers brings its inevitable result—the machine, a despotism as complete as they have in Russia, though there it is called by a different name, "the bureaucracy."

The initiative, the referendum and the recall make majority-rule possible and should precede municipal-ownership. Majority-rule is the only good rule.

The welfare of the people should not be in the hands of a class, but should be in the hands of the people.

FREDERICK F. INGRAM.

Detroit, Mich.

STRUGGLES OF AUTOCRACY WITH DEMOCRACY IN THE MID-ERA.

BY E. P. POWELL,

Author of *Nullification and Secession in the United States, Our Heredity from God,* etc.

NEW YORK abolished slavery in 1817; in 1819 Virginia threatened to enslave all free blacks. The drift at the North was moving steadily toward emancipation; at the South toward confirming slavery as a righteous social principle. In 1819 Missouri asked to be admitted into the Union as a slave-state. The opposition was based only on antagonism to slavery. Pennsylvania appealed to sister states to refuse to covenant with crime, and the Senate, after a tremendous battle, adopted an amendment to the bill, providing that no slaves should ever be held north or west of Missouri. The territory north of 36° 30′ was devoted to freedom; south of that line, by parity of reasoning, the whole territory belonged to slave-labor. Randolph called it a dirty bargain, and cursed the Northern "dough-faces," who had made the dividing-line possible. The country was divided into two conflicting sections, of which Jefferson said: "I consider it the knell of union. The coincidence of a marked principle, moral or political, with a geographical line, will, I fear, never be obliterated—renewing irritations until it kindles such moral hatred that a separation would be preferable." Madison was less hopeful and quite as emphatic. The results were far-reaching.

The compromise-line left the Southern States to become a unit for oligarchical principles. The North also began to care less for state rights and local home-rule.

Yet at the North the poorest were educated; while at the South it became dangerous to allow the slaves to learn to read. The consequence was a growth of democratic sentiment north of 36° 30′ and a necessary development of autocracy to the south of that line. Madison remarked that as the Puritan North was growing liberal, the chivalrous South was growing bigoted. The New England "best" had been absorbed in democracy; but in the South, as long as 1850, there were only 457,525 slave-holders out of six and a quarter millions of whites. This slave-holding aristocracy depressed the poor whites quite as effectually as it enslaved the negroes. Slave-labor made all other labor dishonorable. The poor white must not even help himself, by the use of his hands, to rise out of degradation. In Connecticut, in 1833, the school-fund was nearly two millions, and the school-children numbered eighty-three thousand. This was a fair sample of the whole of the Northern States. No public-school existed at this period in North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Louisiana, or Tennessee. In Kentucky there was one common-school in operation in 1835; in South Carolina there were 5,300 pupils in public-schools, and this was by far the best that could be shown in any of the Southern States. The South developed a few splendid orators and skilful leaders; the North made its masses more nearly equal in knowledge and ability.

About 1830 Abolitionists began to organize and to put forth efforts "to instruct the slaves as to their natural rights." The South was kept in perpetual ferment to prevent "incendiary matter" from crossing Mason and Dixon's line. In 1835 Miss Barbauld's works were ordered out of the South, because they contained a dialogue between master and slave. Randolph declared that the fire-bell never tolled "without sending a thrill of terror through Richmond." Jackson's post-master-general, Amos Kendall, refused to prevent Southern postmasters from rifling the mails, and opening suspected letters. At the North, Lovejoy was shot, in Illinois, in 1836, for printing an editorial urging the revision of the Missouri Constitution, to exclude slavery. Garrison was dragged through Boston with a rope around his neck. John Quincy Adams was formally censured by Congress for presenting petitions sent to him by Northerners, asking for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

The Abolitionist became autocratic in turn, and baptized damnable measures, doing evil that good might come. He did not hesitate to denounce the Constitution; and a decision of the Supreme Court was readily waved aside, if it stood in the way of the single purpose of abolishing slavery. Sympathize as we will with his humanitarianism, and rejoice as much as we may in the impulse which he gave to the brotherhood of all races and peoples; honor as we will and certainly must his magnificent devotion to a principle that compelled social outlawry and pecuniary damage; yet we must recognize the fact that abolitionism, if not autocratic, was at least democratic. It culminated in the doctrine of the Higher Law.

If slaves were property by national law, they might be carried into any free-labor State and held there as slaves as long as their masters chose to remain. The acquisition of Texas and the organization of the Pacific coast complicated matters. In 1850 Seward declared that there was "an irrepressible conflict" going on between two fundamentally opposed principles. Not a few Northerners were autocratic in principle; they had inherited this with their Federal blood. Emerson described Webster correctly, when he said: "Webster never had believed in self-government, but in government." Douglas, on the other hand, believed very strongly in local self-rule and popular rights. Of the four intellectual giants of that day, Calhoun, the noblest and purest, had become completely swallowed up in state-rights, which he unfortunately had come to identify with the right to hold slaves. He had compressed all his superb

statesmanship into a demand that South Carolina slaves might be carried into any section, and fugitive slaves sent back, while free speech must be gagged. Benton was a stout and fearless opponent of the rights of the oligarchy. Clay was so feeble that he was unable to stand alone, when, for the last time, he endeavored to reach an olive-branch to the two sections. He offered a compromise, consisting of a Fugitive-Slave Bill, which provided that any negro, arrested as a fugitive, must be turned over to the claimant without being allowed to testify in his own behalf. Any Northern bystander could be summoned, by a marshal, to aid in the arrest of any supposed fugitive. Three-fourths of the Northern people bluntly refused to obey. Seward, Lincoln and Douglas constituted the rising triumvirate of genius. Seward said: "There is a law higher than the Constitution, and it devotes the public domain to liberty." Lincoln saw deeper when he said that slave-labor and free-labor could not, in the very nature of things, continue to coëxist. The real conflict was not between white man and black man, but between autocracy and the common rights of the common people —white and black—North and South.

The abolition of the Missouri Compromise was essential righteousness, and providential. Sumner exclaimed: "This annuls all past compromises with slavery, and makes all future compromises impossible." The North made quick use of the opportunity. If slaves could be carried north of 36° 30′, freedom could be carried south of that line. In Kansas a preliminary civil war broke out. It was a struggle of the people against the oligarchy. The people triumphed. Now came the life-and-death struggle of slavery to exist at all. It had asked too much; the question remained: Should it be permitted to remain in the land? A new Republican party was organized to protest against the invasion of State rights. The platform declared that: "Spurious government had been set up over the people in Kansas; that the right of jury had been denied; that the right to be secure in persons, houses and effects had been violated; that the freedom of press and of speech had been abridged; that the right to choose representatives had been made of no effect." It pledged itself to bring the perpetrators to condign punishment.

The old Abolition party had never numbered over 156,000 votes; the new Republican party was launched with 1,341,264. It barely came short of victory in 1856. In 1860 Lincoln was elected. In blood he was a cross of North and South; but on both sides he was a democrat. No man ever more thoroughly believed in the people. The secession ordinance of South Carolina, which followed Lincoln's election, was founded on the fact that non-slaveholding States had been led "to a disregard of their obligations"—those obligations being to catch and return fugitives;—real obligations, however, under the laws of Congress and the rulings of the Supreme Court. Meanwhile marshals were breaking open houses throughout the North to hunt for runaways, and slave-hunters shot escaping negroes in our city streets. The glorious principle of State and local self-government, for which the South had stood conspicuous, was completely in subjection to the oligarchy; while at the North there was a perceptible waning of regard for law and a readiness to sneer at the Constitution.

The South now yielded every vestige of independence. It became a centralized unit, and so continued through a bloody and useless war. Unfortunately the North became as nearly centralized as the South. The Supreme Court had hindered the war for union and was practically suspended. State functions were assumed by the Central Government. Taxes were enormously increased; and military power superseded the civil on slight provocation. People began to write "The United States is," rather than "The United States are." Andrews does not hesitate to say, in his *History of the United States*, that: "While men still differ

as to the original nature of the Union, yet the War laid the question of National supremacy over State forever at rest, having therefore virtually the effect of a constitutional amendment. Practically the war entailed enormous new exaltation and centralization of the Union, with answering degradation of the States." In other words, war power had amended the Constitution, and altered the character of the Union. Had we become a military republic? It was time that we began to consider that question seriously.

Judge T. M. Cooley, one of the ablest jurists the United States has produced, was early to give a note of warning. He said: "During the war many infractions of the Constitution were excused by the public as being justified by an over-ruling necessity; such, for example, as the interference by Federal forces with State elections. We break the Constitution that we may save it, was sometimes said—a paradox, the mischief of which was not universally perceived until calmer times brought cooler heads. The Government drew in and paid out large sums of money; and the financial currents were to and from Washington, not to and from the State capitals. The National Government became the great dispenser of favors, privileges, valuable employment, and profitable contract. All these things not only for the time affected the relative interests of the people in their State and National government, but they greatly and permanently affected the imaginations of the people, diminishing the States and their rights and powers relatively to the Union, and making them appear in a constitutional point-of-view more and more like subordinate sections and less and less like sovereignties. Then Congress undertook—what it had never before attempted—to provide the whole currency of the country. It assumed to give corporate powers, not to one National bank merely, but to banks in every quarter of the country. It undertook farther to destroy the State banks. The Government issued bills of its own, and declared that they should be legal tender as between individuals, not merely for debts thereafter contracted, but for pre-existing debts. We thus reached a stage when Congress, on its own view of expediency, might exercise the tremendous power over contracts of making them payable in something else besides the money which the parties understood they were bargaining for."

The war made heavy taxes a necessity. When the war was over, a fearful load of national debt remained, and the war-taxes were continued for its gradual extinguishment. But when the debt had so far diminished that the taxes could no longer be defended on that ground, the protected industries were found to be so numerous and so powerful that they were quite able to prevent success in any attempt at tax reduction. An overflowing national treasury encouraged liberal pensions, until the number dependent on the Nation for bounty became enormous. The nation also made gifts of vast areas of land to railroads, and loaned large sums of money which might as well have been made gifts. The number of federal office-holders increased until they constituted a mighty army; an army greater in number than that with which Wellington at Waterloo changed the history of the world. Everything gravitated to Washington; and this became as true of the States of which Jefferson and Calhoun had been the idols as it was of Massachusetts or Michigan.

No mistake could be greater than to suppose that the only problem, or the chief problem, of the Civil war was one between slave-labor and free-labor; a deeper question was working out a solution—that of centralization against democratic home-rule. Sovereignty, as derived by a Constitutional grant from the States, was no longer discussed or thought of—it was held to be a concrete natural right. The people had learned to speak of the Government as something foreign to themselves. Brownson said: "A union without the States is no longer a

Union; it has become a vast centralized and consolidated State,—ready to lapse from a civilized into a barbaric, and from a republican into a despotic nation." Was he a prophet? Did the war leave a tendency, industrially and socially as well as politically, to lapse from civilization into barbarism, or from democracy into imperialism?

After the Civil war reconstruction was arbitrary, and the enfranchisement of the black population was an amazing experiment to be embodied in the Constitution. Its aim was to take from the States the right to regulate suffrage. It made a governing body of a distinct social element whose ignorance combined with racial tendencies to disable them from comprehending the idea of self-government. Uncle Tom was not the average Southern negro. Autocracy invariably breeds corruption. The end of absolute power is in most cases plunder. During the administration of President Grant the country came nearer total disruption than during the Civil war. A Whiskey Ring of of astounding proportions took in nearly every collector and gauger, as well as distiller in the United States, including even the *attachés* of the White House and the official suite of the president. The press was subsidized to an extent never before or since known. The treasury was plundered in the name of Mr. Grant himself —but doubtless without his personal knowledge. Fortunately the reaction came. Democracy asserted itself, and the guilty gang found themselves behind prison-bars, while not a few shot themselves or fled the country.

The monstrous blunder of impeaching President Johnson was blocked only by the sound sense of a handful of men, not yet swept into the maelstrom of centralization. War measures were continued long after peace was proclaimed. President Grant sent United States troops to put down political rioting in Louisiana. Fortunately the administration of Hayes, which followed, was characterized by reaction to Constitutional procedure. Troops were withdrawn, and the Southern States, left to themselves, soon put out carpet-baggers and became reconstructed industrially as well as politically. Yet Force Bills, governing State elections, were not so easily got rid of. As late as 1874 Congress passed an act regulating elections in the Southern States by United States marshals; and in 1888 the Senate undertook still stronger measures in the way of coercion. Not till 1894, during Mr. Cleveland's last administration, was there a finality put to this arrogant and despotic contempt of popular rights. "Good government" had very nearly displaced "self-government."

We have heard much of the crime of advocating a silver currency; but it is not generally comprehended that all our agitation of this subject began with a decision of the Supreme Court, that Congress "by right of sovereignty" could make any coinage equivalent to gold, and could compel creditors to accept silver, or paper, or any other material issued by Congress, for debts contracted on a gold basis. This article cannot discuss the currency question and the rights or wrongs of silver, our only object being to show the dangerous assumption of power which inaugurated the contention.

While some features of direct taxation were remitted, indirect taxation was retained in full force to the end of the century. The tariff has been changed twenty-four times since the Civil war, and in every case but one with more or less increase of its power to raise the price of imported goods. The most cunningly devised scheme of autocracy for deceiving and ruling the people is indirect taxation. It undermines democracy by the false pretence of "protecting" the people, while taxation is really in excess of that which has produced revolutions. In 1860 when the era of high tariffs began, agricultural products were ten per cent. ahead of manufactures, while our shipping very nearly balanced that of England. American tonnage on the ocean was five million five hundred thousand tons, and English

tonnage was only five million seven hundred thousand. In 1890 agricultural products were forty per cent. behind manufactures, and our commercial marine was almost obliterated. In other words, there had been a change of fifty per cent. in the relations of the farmer to the manufacturer, while we had less shipping on the ocean than we had when John Adams was President of the United States. This was accomplished by arbitrarily subsidizing direct producers for the advantage of manufacturers. The farmer was depressed so that he became a poor buyer, and over and over again manufactures glutted the market. The only hope of American industries was either to break through the tariff cordon and get the world's markets, or to break the tariff itself.

When our fathers established the Republic, they laid as the cornerstone, "no impost taxes" between the States. This principle as it was then understood covered foreign as well as domestic commerce. But under the Constitution a mild type of tariff was quickly introduced. It grew and it grew. It was the bone of contention between the agricultural states and the manufacturing. It was the economic curse of the nineteenth century. We had left behind in Europe their standing armies, their kings, nobles and lords, their conflicting weights and coins, their diversity of languages and schools. Their impost taxes also and commercial warfare should have been refused a place in the Republic. Free trade over the whole continent made the Federal Union possible; but its benefits were seriously impaired by the tariff cordon, which involved us not only in a commercial struggle with our neighbors, but unbalanced our own industries. The English Trades-Union Congress, a short time since, by a unanimous vote resolved: "That in the opinion of the Congress, any departure from the principles of free trade will be detrimental to the interests of the working-classes, on whom the burdens of protection would press most heavily, and injurious to the prosperity of the nation as a whole; that protective duties, by increasing the cost of the people's necessaries, are unjust in incidence, and economically unsound—subsidizing capital at the expense of labor; and that a system of preference or retaliation, by creating cause for dispute with other countries, would be a hindrance to international progress and peace." The nineteenth century came well to its close before America was willing to subscribe to this sublime doctrine of human fellowship. Autocracy had no better and more convenient method for concentrating power and establishing a rule of wealth than a system of taxation, which, however burdensome, was so concealed from the laborer, and so covered with the pretence of "protection," that he himself was inveigled into endorsing it.

The first rally of the people against despotic centralization took place in 1884. The Anti-Monopoly party was formed in Chicago, May 14th of that year, and drew up a platform of principles as excellent as its nomination was execrable. It demanded: (1) The regulation of commerce among the states in accordance with the Constitution. (2) Bureaux of labor statistics, arbitration between employer and employed, an eight-hour law, restriction of the importation of foreign labor. (3) The payment of the bonded debt as it falls due, election of Senators by the direct vote of the people, a graduated income-tax, a tariff bearing as lightly as possible upon necessaries. (4) No farther grants of public lands to corporations, but the holding of such lands for homes for actual settlers. (5) That American legislation should no longer discriminate against agriculture—by which that greatest of American industries had been forced to bear the brunt of taxation, while deprived of nearly all beneficial legislation.

All these principles have either been already incorporated into our constitutional life or are now urgently demanded by the people. It was the sanest, broadest, and most statesmanlike enunciation

of political principles made during the latter half of the nineteenth century. But the nomination of Mr. B. F. Butler for president fairly entitled the movement to the paltry 175,370 votes it received. Yet the people were reasserting themselves. Their political principles were comprehensible. Progress was formulated. The forces of autocracy were disintegrating, and in the closing decade of the century a magnificent triumph of democracy was assured. It was clear that the grip given by war to autocracy was broken. Carpet-baggism in the South and Whiskey Rings in the North disappeared.

E. P. Powell.

Clinton, N. Y.

OUR DIPLOMATIC POLICY IN RELATION TO THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA.

By Professor Edwin Maxey, M. Dip., LL.D.,
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HAD COLOMBIA been conspiring against herself to rid herself of her most important province, she could not have chosen a more effective course than that chosen by her with reference to the Hay-Herran treaty. For, whatever might be thought of the importance of the canal to the rest of Colombia, to Panama it was a matter of vital importance; so vital that the rejection of the treaty by the guardian of her rights was reasonably sure to convince Panama that the continuance of the guardianship was no longer consistent with her rights and interests and that therefore the relation would have to be terminated even at the risk of war. Acting upon this conviction a situation was created which the United States could not disregard. To meet the emergency, diplomatic skill of the highest order was required. That we may the better appreciate this a review of the facts is necessary.

Notwithstanding warnings from the most representative men of Panama that if the canal treaty were rejected by Colombia Panama would secede, the treaty was rejected on the eighteenth of October, 1903, and on the thirty-first of the same month the Colombian Congress adjourned without any reconsideration of their action upon the treaty. Events moved very rapidly, and on November 2d a press bulletin was received by the Associated Press in Washington announcing the outbreak upon the Isthmus. Upon receipt of this report the Department of State sent the following telegram to the "Nashville" (care of American Consul at Colon):

"Maintain free and uninterrupted transit. If interruption threatened by armed force occupy the line of railroad. Prevent landing of any armed force with hostile intent, either government or insurgent, either at Colon, Porto Bello or other point. Send copy of instructions to the senior officer present at Panama upon arrival of 'Boston.' Have sent copy of instructions and telegraphed 'Dixie' to proceed with all possible dispatch from Kingston to Colon. Government force reported approaching the Isthmus in vessels. Prevent their landing, if in your judgment this would precipitate a conflict. Acknowledgment is required.

"Darling, acting."

Similar instructions were sent to the commanders of the "Marblehead," "Wyoming" and "Concord" then at Acapulco and of the "Atlanta" at Kingston.

The next day the following message was sent to the "Nashville" at Colon:

"In the interest of peace make every effort to keep Government troops at Colon from proceeding to Panama.

"DARLING, acting."

This action of the Navy Department has been denounced by some over-sensitive citizens as a declaration of war against Colombia. And at first blush it does seem like an extreme case of intervention in the affairs of a friendly state; but in fact we were doing nothing except that which we were empowered, by the treaty of 1846, to do. By the terms of that treaty "the United States guarantee, positively and efficaciously, to New Granada, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed at any future time while this treaty exists." Under this treaty the United States had had frequently, sometimes at the request of Colombia and sometimes upon its own initiative, intervened to preserve the freedom of transit of the Isthmus. Such interventions had taken place in 1900, 1901 and 1902. That this prompt and decisive action on the part of the United States was responsible for the maintenance of peace upon the Isthmus does not admit of doubt. Nor is it less certain that had not a clash between the forces of Panama and those of Colombia been forestalled by said promptness in acting, there would have been considerable useless slaughter and matters would have been much more difficult to settle. In addition to averting useless slaughter, it made good our guarantee to keep open the transit of the Isthmus and made it clear that if war there must be between Colombia and Panama, it must be somewhere besides near the railroad, where it would necessarily interfere with traffic.

Equally severe, and equally unwarranted, has been the criticism of the President and Department of State for recognizing the existence of a *de facto* government within three days after the revolution began. That such action was taken will be seen from the following dispatch sent November 6, 1903, by Secretary of State Hay to Mr. Beaupré, our Minister at Bogota:

"The people of Panama having by an apparently unanimous movement dissolved their political connection with the Republic of Colombia and resumed their independence, and having adopted a government of their own—republican in form—with which the government of the United States of America has entered into relations, the President of the United States, in accordance with the ties of friendship which have so long and so happily existed between the respective nations, most earnestly commends to the Governments of Colombia and of Panama the peaceful and equitable settlement of all questions at issue between them. He holds that he is bound not only by treaty obligations but by the interests of civilization to see that the peaceful traffic of the world across the Isthmus of Panama shall not longer be disturbed by a constant succession of unnecessary and wasteful civil wars.

"HAY."

In order to determine whether or not this action was justifiable it is necessary that we inquire what it really means.

Though the recognition of a *de facto* government may be the expression of a wish, it is in law the recognition of a fact. This fact is the existence of a politically-organized community, having an established seat of government, enforcing obedience to its mandates within its territorial limits in a civilized and orderly manner, and asserting its independence, with a reasonable chance of being able to make good its assertion. This does not mean that in case it has hitherto formed a part of another state, all resistance upon the part of the parent state shall have ceased, but that it is reasonably sure that the revolted section will be able to successfully resist such restraining force as said parent state can and will exert in maintaining over them its alleged sovereignty. In

other words, the community seeking recognition as a *de facto* government should have something more than an even chance to live, although the permanency of its existence need not be established beyond all peradventure.

When such a condition of affairs exists, the claimant has, under international law, a right to recognition and other states are not justified in refusing it recognition. But as to the existence of the facts each state must be its own judge, and provided it acts in good faith, neither recognition nor the withholding of it is any just cause of complaint, however much its judgment may differ from that of other states. If, however, a state acts in bad faith and extends recognition for the purpose of encouraging resistance to the parent state, such recognition ceases to be the rightful act of a neutral and becomes interference, which might justly be considered as a *casus belli*. An illustration of this was the recognition of the independence of the United States by France and Holland in 1778, which resulted in a declaration of war against both of them by England.

Though recognition does not create a state, it is nevertheless important evidence that a state has been created. Sir James McIntosh and Canning, England's greatest diplomats, have attempted to make a distinction between recognition by the parent state and recognition by other states. To quote the language of the former: "The two senses in which the word recognition is used when applied to the act of the mother-country, and when applied to that of third powers are so different as to have nothing very important in common." Canning endorses this view. But the distinction will not hold, for both are simply evidence as to the existence of a fact, and, while one may be more conclusive than the other, the difference is clearly one of degree rather than one of kind.

Perhaps the best statement of the rule is that of John Quincy Adams, quoted with approval by Wharton in his *Digest of International Law*, and by Sir William Hall in his most excellent treatise on *International Law:*

"There is a stage in revolutionary contests when the party struggling for independence has, I conceive, a right to demand its acknowledgment by neutral parties, and when the acknowledgment may be granted without departure from the obligations of neutrality. It is the stage when independence is established as a matter of fact, so as to leave the chance of the opposite party to recover their dominion utterly desperate. The neutral nation, must, of course, judge for itself when this period has arrived; and as the belligerent nation has the same right to judge for itself, it is very likely to judge differently from the neutral, and to make it a cause or pretext for war, as Great Britain did expressly against France in our revolution, and substantially against Holland. If war results in point of fact from the measure of recognizing a contested independence, the moral right or wrong of the war depends upon the justice and sincerity and prudence with which the recognizing nation took the step."

The length of time during which the revolution has been going on is manifestly a matter of indifference, so long as the necessary results have been accomplished. And in this case it would seem that the withdrawal of the government forces from the Isthmus, leaving the revolutionists in complete control, was a virtual recognition of their sovereignty by the Colombian government itself, which, coupled with the fact that there was no apparent likelihood that said decadent government would ever be able to reëstablish its sovereignty over its revolted subjects, furnished ample justification for the recognition by the United States of the existence of a *de facto* and also of a *de jure* government.

But it is urged by certain of the critics that the United States, for selfish purposes, fomented the revolution upon the Isthmus. This accusation rests entirely

upon supposition. If the revolution could be accounted for upon no other ground than the theory of guilty coöperation upon the part of the United States, the above supposition would have a logical basis upon which to rest. But no such supposition is necessary in order to explain the facts. There was ample incentive to revolt, apart from any outside interference. The people of the Isthmus had never derived any very substantial benefit from their political connection with Colombia. Only about one-tenth of the revenues collected from them were spent for their benefit; and what protection they received, they received from the United States. To be thus used as a political asset for the benefit of a knot of corrupt politicians at Bogota was certainly not well calculated to strengthen their feeling of allegiance.

Viewed in the light of Colombia's past indifference toward the welfare of the Isthmian provinces it seems entirely natural, that when their interests were selfishly sacrificed and their reasonable hopes blighted by the political narrowness which rejected the Hay-Herran treaty, the people of the Isthmus should have done exactly what they did, *viz.:* dissolve the political bond which kept them from rendering the service and reaping the benefit which God and nature intended they should. It is an injustice not to concede to those people, situated upon the world's highway of commerce, some degree of intelligence and some degree of self-interest. Not to have manifested a determination that their great natural resource, due to their situation, be used to their own and the benefit of mankind rather than senselessly wasted, would have been unmistakable evidence of an imperative need for the appointment of a commission of lunacy. But conceding to them some intelligence, and ordinary instincts, it is not difficult to understand how ten million dollars, plus a yearly income in cash, plus the immense benefit to be derived from the canal would be attractive to them whether it was to Colombia or not.

Nor were the prospects of success such as to render the revolution a hopeless one, irrespective of any outside aid. For Colombia has practically no navy and the territory of Panama is well nigh inaccessible from the Colombian mainland. And, as the Colombian government was substantially bankrupt, her powers of coercion were exceedingly limited, because at the present time money is almost absolutely necessary in order to wage war effectually. Furthermore, we must not forget that Panama could reasonably have expected aid from Venezuela, if aid were needed. Under these circumstances it can not be said that the unlikelihood of their success was such as to deter them from declaring their independence.

In addition to the question of our duty as a neutral state, there was raised the legal question of our obligations under the treaty of December 12, 1846. This treaty contains the following provision: "The United States also guarantee, in the same manner, the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory."

The fact that New Granada no longer exists does not affect our obligations under the treaty, as it is a well-established rule of international law that a change of name by a state does not affect its treaty-rights or obligations. This treaty is still in force and we have in accordance with its provisions, sometimes at the request of the Colombian government and sometimes upon our own initiative, used force to maintain the free transit of the Isthmus. And in so doing we have performed a valuable service to Colombia, to the world and to our own citizens. Until the treaty is abrogated, there is no question as to our legal or moral right to protect and enforce freedom of transit on the Isthmus whether by rail or any other means of transportation.

But the question has been raised as to our obligation to protect the sovereignty of Colombia against revolution by her own citizens. The terms of the treaty give some color to the view of those who

hold that we were under such obligation. The question is one of interpretation. And in interpreting a treaty, as in interpreting a contract between individuals, we must look to the intention of the parties; for a treaty is nothing but a contract to which independent states are parties. In arriving at the intention of the parties, we must take into account the circumstances existing at the time the contract was made and with reference to which both parties contracted. In the present case there can be no doubt as to the purpose of entering into the treaty. The intention of the parties was clearly not to protect Colombian sovereignty against the people of the Isthmus, but rather to guarantee it against interference upon the part of European powers from whom there was at that time reason to apprehend danger. The United States has never entered into a treaty for the purpose of compelling a people to submit to a sovereignty which disregarded their welfare, nor is there any evidence that at the time the treaty was entered into the other party intended that we should ever be called upon to protect their sovereignty against anything except outside interference. Hence, though the liberal terms of the treaty would give us authority to use force if necessary in order to prevent the people of the Isthmus from establishing their sovereignty over it, such a construction would undoubtedly do violence to the spirit of the treaty.

An excellent precedent for construing a treaty according to the spirit rather than the letter is the case of the treaty of Utrecht, cited by Phillimore for this purpose. According to the provisions of the treaty, France was to destroy the fortifications of Dunkirk and never to rebuild them. She complied with her treaty engagements by destroying the fortifications of the port of Dunkirk, but immediately began the forming and fortifying of the port of Mardyck, scarcely a league away. England protested against such an evasion of the treaty and France finally admitted that her interpretation, though not precluded by the letter of the treaty, was unsound.

Interpreted according to its spirit, what we guaranteed in the treaty of 1846 was, and what we have been and still are doing is, to protect the Isthmus against attack from without and a condition of anarchy from within. The covenant is one which "runs with the land" regardless of names.

But of what particular importance was the whole transaction? Revolutions among Latin-American people are matters of such common occurrence that ordinarily they attract little attention and are of little importance to the outside world. Such, however, was not the case with this revolution. The reason for its importance was not because of its proportions or the extent of territory involved, but because of its relation to the construction of the Panama canal in which the whole civilized world has an interest. The revolted territory occupies a commanding position as the gateway between the two great oceans. It is this position which gives to the territory, and hence gave to the revolution there, its international significance. With countries as with persons, importance arises not from size but from the possession of something which the world needs.

This revolution differed from the average Latin-American revolution of recent years in another respect—it had adequate justification. The interests of the people of the Isthmus were being senselessly sacrificed to the greed of a ring of unprincipled, blundering politicians from the oppressive effects of whose selfish, shortsighted policy they could see no hope of relief except by a severance of political relations. Political unity is but a means to an end—the promotion of human welfare—and when it fails to meet this end it has outlived its usefulness, and dissolution, if it can be effected peacefully, is no mean achievement.

The recognition of a new state created by revolution against the parent state is always a more or less delicate matter and very likely to excite opposition, unless it

follows a recognition by said parent state. It is true that at the time of the action our government seemed hasty, but, as events have proved, it averted civil war between Colombia and Panama, which owing to our obligation to protect the railroad would very probably have led to war with the United States; it defeated Colombia's scheme for confiscating the property of the Panama Canal Company and by so doing prevented the development of unpleasant complications in which the United States might and probably would have become involved; it removed the last political barrier to the completion of one of the greatest commercial improvements of all time. When we remember that these beneficial results were brought about without violation of any principle of international law, or substantial injury to any one, mere conventionalities as to time and form should not be allowed to weigh too heavily in reaching a conclusion as to the wisdom of the course of conduct pursued by the government of the United States. It may smack of prophecy, nevertheless we feel safe in anticipating the verdict of history by saying that while enjoying the benefits of better lines of communication due to the completion of the Panama canal, coming generations will look with a just approval and gratitude upon the diplomacy of John Hay which was no mean factor in making possible those benefits and which throughout the negotiations was characterized by frankness, tact and a statesmanlike grasp of the situation.

Edwin Maxey.
Morgantown, W. Va.

HOMER DAVENPORT: A CARTOONIST DOMINATED BY MORAL IDEALS.

By B. O. Flower.

I. THE INFLUENCE OF HOME AND OF HIGH IDEALS ON THE MIND OF A BOY.

THE MORAL giants that made the United States preëminent as an ethical leader among civilized nations during the meridian period of the nineteenth century—the Emersons, Lowells, Whittiers, Channings, Parkers, Garrisons, Phillipses, Sumners, Lincolns, Beechers, and others of that noble fellowship—were the legitimate products of lofty ideals stimulated and nourished in the home; for when they were young the home was the great character-forming influence. There the character of youth was chiefly moulded, and at that time the great revolutionary struggle from which the republic was born was sufficiently fresh in the imagination of the people to prove a never-failing inspiration, a story that thrilled the soul of youth and awakened a passion for democracy and the loftiest altruism.

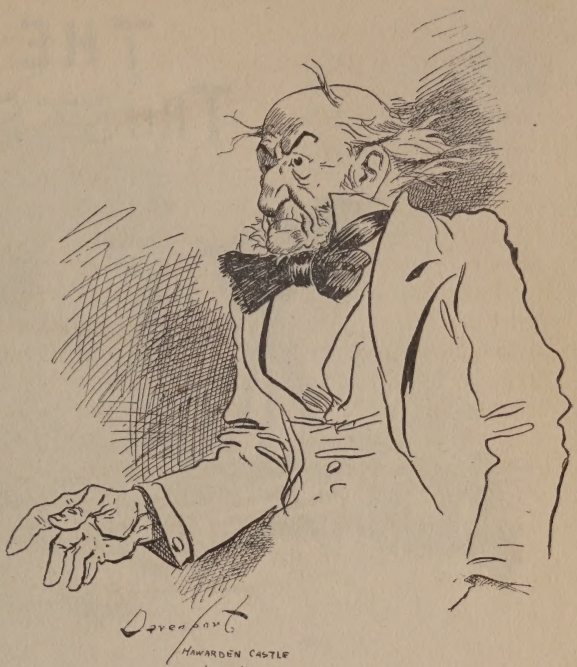
Later came the many-sided revolution that almost as by magic transformed the face of civilization. Discovery followed discovery in bewildering rapidity. Invention trod upon the heels of invention, and wonder everywhere jostled wonder. Steam and electricity revolutionized the transportation and manufacturing of the world. Labor-saving machinery made possible the production of life's necessities in great abundance at a comparatively little expense of human energy. Great factories rose; cities sprang up; urban life sent out its seductive call over valley, mountain and plain. Utility, necessity and the charm and attractions of the city all conspired to change the old order.

Then came the school and the factory, calling the young from the home-circle, and with this change the old influence and

the noble and sturdy idealism of former days gave way more and more to a passion for creature comforts, for success along material lines, for the acquisition of gold. The home abandoned the child more and more to the church and the school. The church was concerned with creeds and dogmas, and the school laid its special emphasis on intellectual acquirements; while without the church, home and school was an atmosphere of restless activity. In a thousand directions new and seductive voices called the young. Temptation lay in wait on every side. The soul grows in the quiet, in the calm, as grow the flower and the tree. Intellectual distractions and multitudinous disturbing notes rising on every hand are fatal to spiritual unfoldment and the well rounding out of a great character. And so more and more the moral supremacy of the old days gave way to purely intellectual pursuits, to money-madness and to other forms of egoistic insanity that subordinate the one thing in man's nature and in civilization that must be conserved and be made supreme if the true greatness and virility that deifies or exalts is to be maintained—moral development.

One exception there was to this rule. In the country, and especially the country remote from the great cities, the old-time sanity largely obtained. Here life was often stern and hard; here toil called man early and held him late; but here as nowhere else lived the old-time idealism—that rectitude of will and purpose which gives strength and glory to any life. And in such homes the young enjoyed an environment that is priceless, an environment that implants fine ideals and inculcates principles that fortify the soul and make the Father's house the most potent influence, even to the prodigal nature, in all the world. In such homes the men who are to-day the hope of the nation were born and reared.

In such a home, far away amid the ver-



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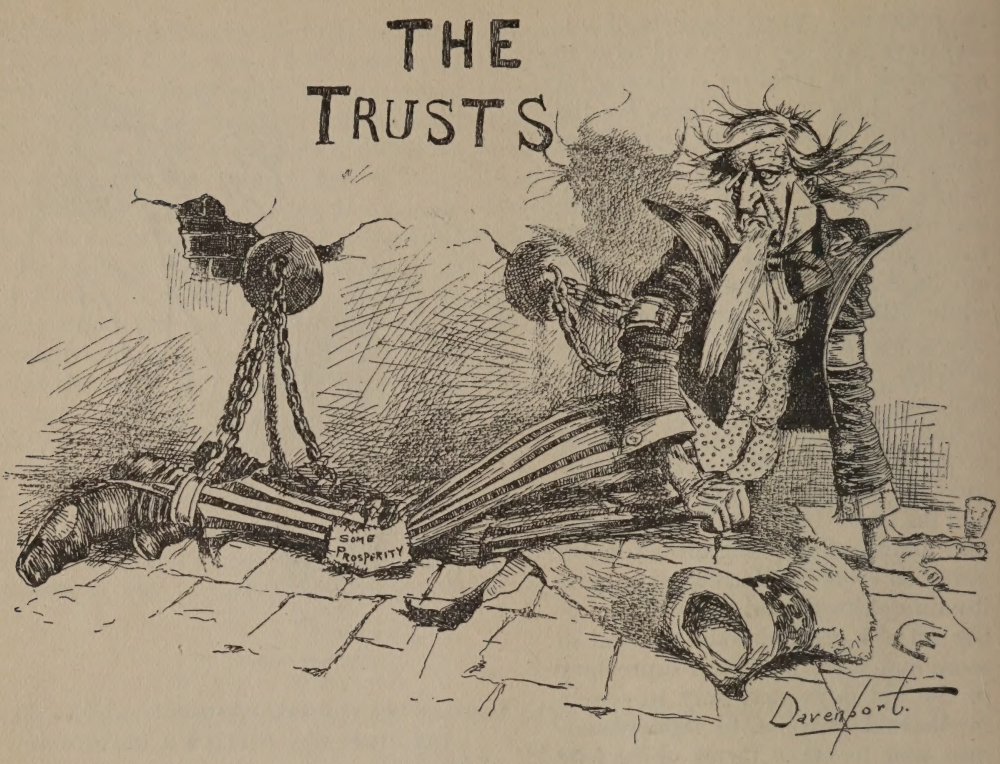
THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

dure-clad mountains and valleys of Oregon, Homer Davenport was born on the eighth of March, 1867, in the little village of Silverton. The environments were humble, the life was simple. Plain living and, in so far as the parents were concerned, high thinking, were the order of the day. The elder Davenport was a man of the old order; a man under the sway of lofty idealism, mentally vigorous and morally sturdy; a man who loved to dwell on the great thoughts of the master-brains of past ages. He was also practically wise. He knew that love and the steady but not offensive insistence on noble precepts, emphasized by practical examples in life, would do more than any amount of perfunctory preaching or any attempts to make his boy good by coercion. Therefore he threw around his rather listless, idle and apparently wayward child the witchery of a high, fine life, and gently but persistently he strove to inculcate noble ideals while holding before the boy the example of the moral



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"HOW LONG CAN HE STAND IT?"

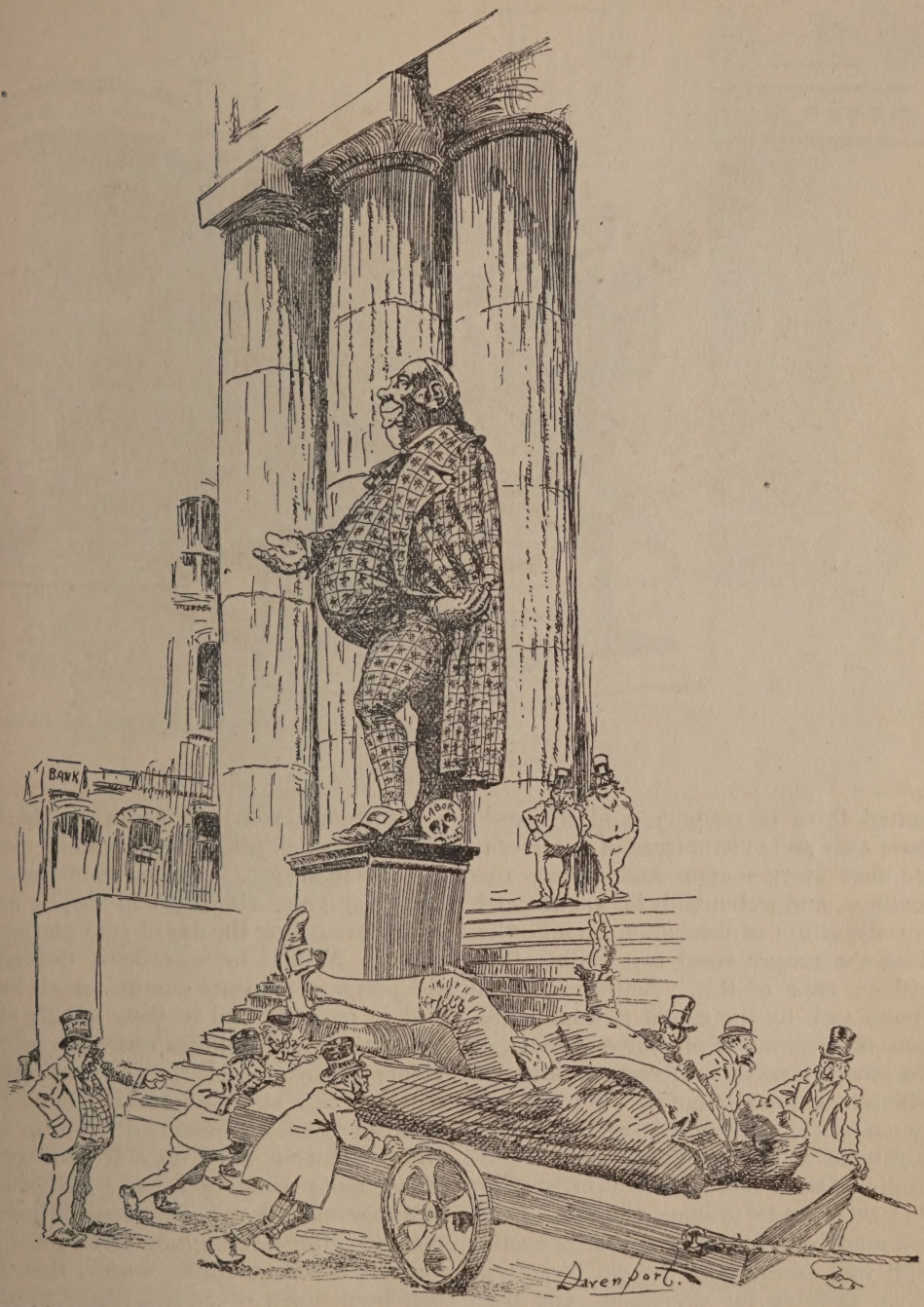
leaders of the ages. To-day the great secret of power in Homer Davenport's work is found in the moral force, the ethical idealism, that is behind his powerful drawings, and without this high, fine home teaching and practice, it is hardly probable that the world to-day would know aught of our most powerful cartoonist. That Mr. Davenport fully appreciates the debt he owes this honored father was shown in a letter we recently received from him in which he said:

"My father deserves the credit for whatever success I may have had. He was a fountain-head of education to me, and is yet. His high ideals I am a weak exponent of, and I dare say that my best cartoons are far below the line he hoped I would attain. However, if I could have been the scholar he was I might have done better."

And then Mr. Davenport dwelt lovingly on the following letter which his father wrote him in 1903, after he had informed his parent of his intention of going on the lecture-platform:

"My Dear Son Homer:

"I wrote a letter yesterday, but last night my fancy started again upon the proposition or fact of your being a platform-speaker, and thought of the kind of speeches you will make and of the preparation for them. Of course I had to think of them in comparison with those of Phillips, Beecher, Webster, Everett and others, all of them learned and great orators who could plead a *cause* with hardly less effect than Demosthenes. But of course you are not of their kind but *sui generis*, and can be no other, and if you should attempt it would most miserably fail. Edward Everett, the highest product of our schools, wrote his lectures with the most extreme care and criticism, com-



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WALL STREET'S NEW GUARDIAN.

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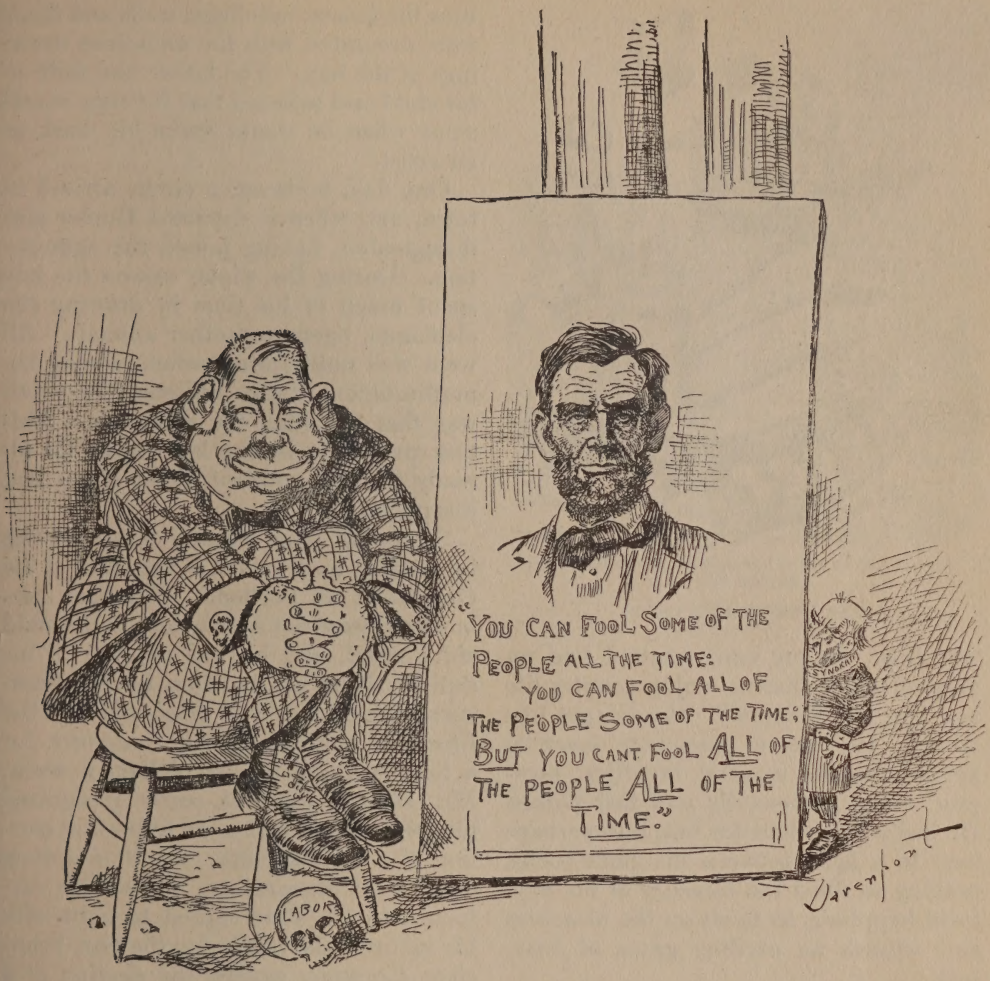
LEST WE FORGET.

mitted them to memory, and rehearsed them over and over in front of a mirror to see that every motion and gesture was faultless, and tested with his ear to catch any departure of intonation or inflection from the proper vocal expression. You will do none of this. Neither will you amaze men by the extent of your erudition, the profundity of your reasoning, or the gracefulness of your rhetoric, and you will not, cannot attempt it. You will just be yourself if you succeed; and give them a sample of instantaneous spontaneous mental combustion, and recollect, my boy, that in order to produce the best effects you must be in the highest grade of health, with your faculties on the *qui vive*, bubbling, pressing for expression, and then with the magnetic emanation of the audience which you will appropriate, they will be charmed, instructed, converted, and they may never know how it is done, and if by chance your utterances should be seen by them in print, they would be more at a loss than ever. But you cannot waste your high-grade ebullience in visiting and social intercourse the day of your platform efforts. Mental force, esthetic delicacy, the power of spiritual charm, are all limited in quantity and in their quality depend upon their fullness and sufficiency. Henry Ward Beecher, who depended more on this amplitude than others, refused to spend his force and fervor in social intercourse when on a lecture tour. Hence many people who had heard of his immense mental and emotional diffusion thought, after meeting him and exchanging a few commonplace words, that he had been much overrated. In explanation of this, he said that he saved up his strength for the benefit of his audience; that as they paid their money in liberal allowance they were entitled to his best


"YOU CAN FOOL SOME OF THE PEOPLE ALL THE TIME: YOU CAN FOOL ALL OF THE PEOPLE SOME OF THE TIME; BUT YOU CANT FOOL ALL OF THE PEOPLE ALL OF THE TIME."
LABOR
Davenport

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"OH, I DO N'T KNOW!"

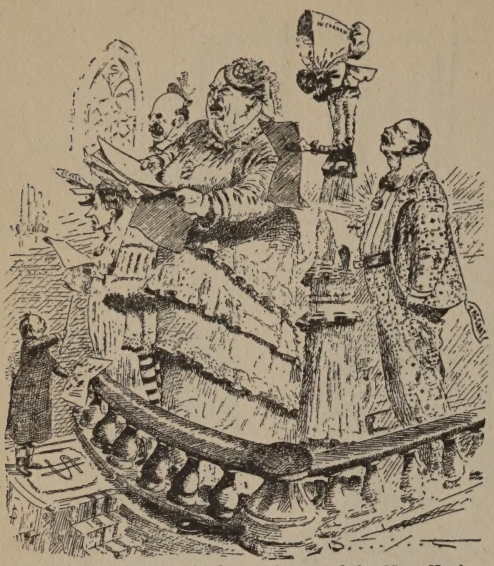
efforts. And your performances will rate according to your bodily and mental and spiritual condition, and do n't forget this, Homer. You will recollect I have told you the same in connection with your art performances. Recollect how, when you were in Washington—and the few days there were heaven to me because with you—four hours' work exhausted you, and then a carriage-ride about the city rested you and filled you up again, for you were the passive recipient of the pervasive, renovating spirit everywhere abroad. Then your eyes were open, but you did not answer my questions, and I saw that you were being immersed in the divine afflatus upon which you, more than most others, must depend—the spirit of the beasts and birds, the field, the woods and not less earth's human inhabitants.

"Yours,

"T. W. D."

II. THE BOY AND THE MAN.

To the casual observer there was little in the early life of Homer Davenport that seemed to promise a brilliant future. In speaking of himself he says: "I was a



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THE DEMOCRATIC CHOIR.

lazy boy. In my early years I had no purpose other than to enjoy country-life and live out-of-doors." He did not like school. He was a passionate lover of animal-life, his especial favorites, however, being game-cocks and fast horses. He had a boy's love for fun, and perhaps next to a fight between his game-cocks, nothing so filled the measure of his boyhood happiness as to sit on the bleachers and witness an exciting game of baseball.

Though his father must have been grieved at his son's lack of taste for school (for the elder Davenport was a man of education and a great lover of good literature) he sought to direct and gently guide instead of compel his son, and in one particular the youth showed aptitude and application. From the time he was three years of age he was never tired of making pictures. Often, his father avers, he has known the boy to spend ten hours a day in drawing. This taste for drawing, instead of being repressed, was stimulated and encouraged. His father bought him a set of pencils, complimented his work and subtly appealed to his ambition. As a result in an incredibly short time the fences, buildings, walls and floors were decorated with the ambitious drawings of the boy. The father had faith in his child and believed that the time would come when he would make his mark as an artist.

One day, however, a circus arrived in town, and when it departed Homer also disappeared, having joined the aggregation. During the winter season the boy spent much of his time in drawing the elephants, tigers and other animals. All went well until spring, when, among the multitudinous duties assigned the youth was that of oiling the elephants. This task proved to be the last straw, for already the enchantment of the circus had disappeared.

Somewhat later we find him applying for work as a cartoonist in the office of the *Oregonian*, at Portland. His drawings, however, were not satisfactory to the staid old journal, and he was relieved of his duties. Next we find him in San Francisco, where he was employed by the *Chronicle* and also by the *Examiner*, for a time working for ten dollars a week. Mr. Hearst, however, early recognized his great power, and as an important election of a United States senator was then pending at Sacramento, he sent his cartoonist to the state capital to fight with his pictures the battle for the San Francisco *Examiner* against the election of a powerful man whom the *Examiner* held to be unsuited to the position. This man was defeated, and California credited the defeat largely, if not chiefly, to the cartoons of Davenport. So well did his work please Mr. Hearst that he took him to New York on a salary of ten thousand dollars a year. Here the power of his great cartoons was instantly recognized. In a few weeks he became famous, even as Nast was famous, not only from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but throughout the entire civilized world. Never have the trusts been more aptly or forcefully caricatured than in the great, brutal figure which Davenport drew; strong and forceful in all parts save the supreme or-

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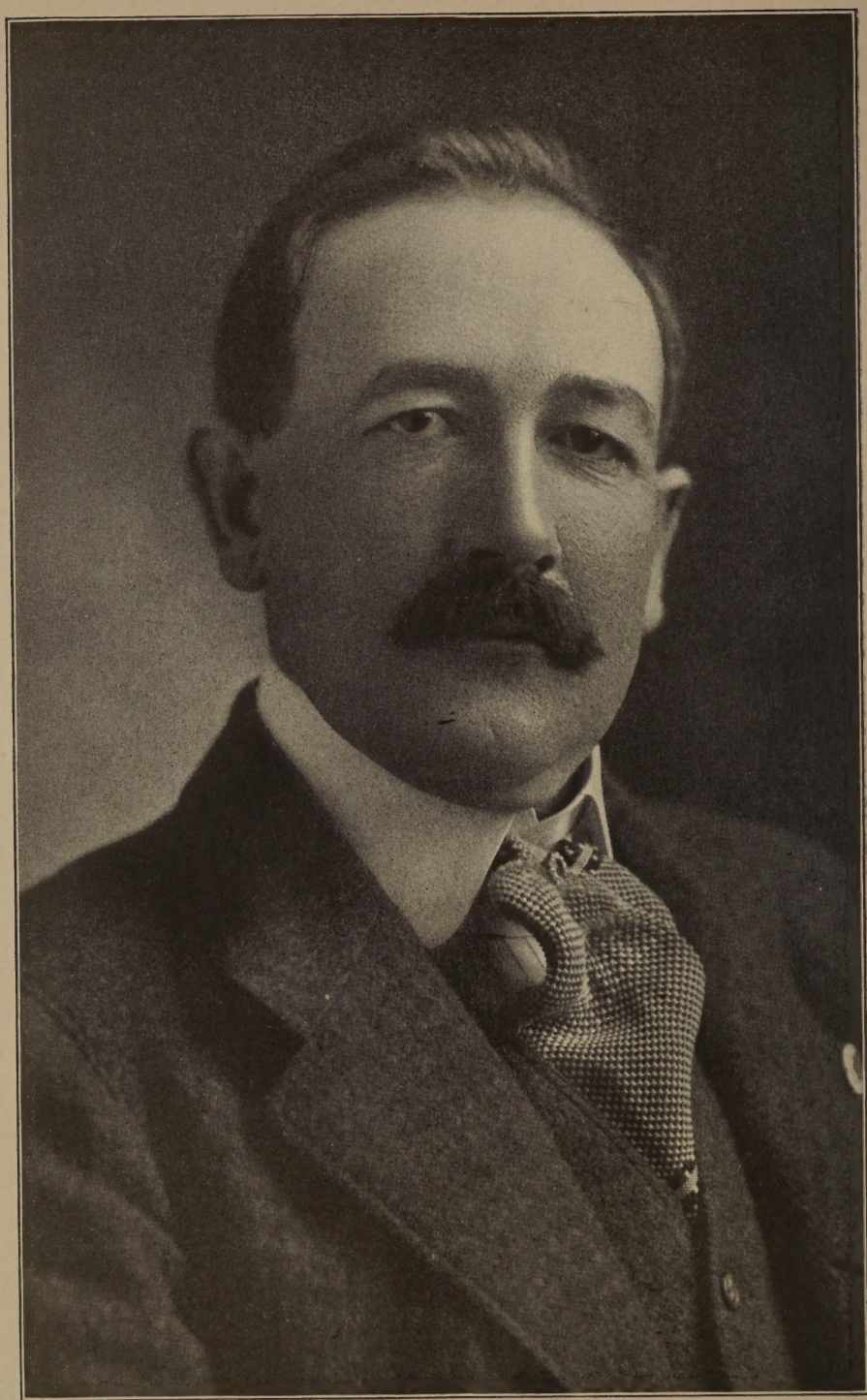


Photo. by Bushnell, Portland, Ore.

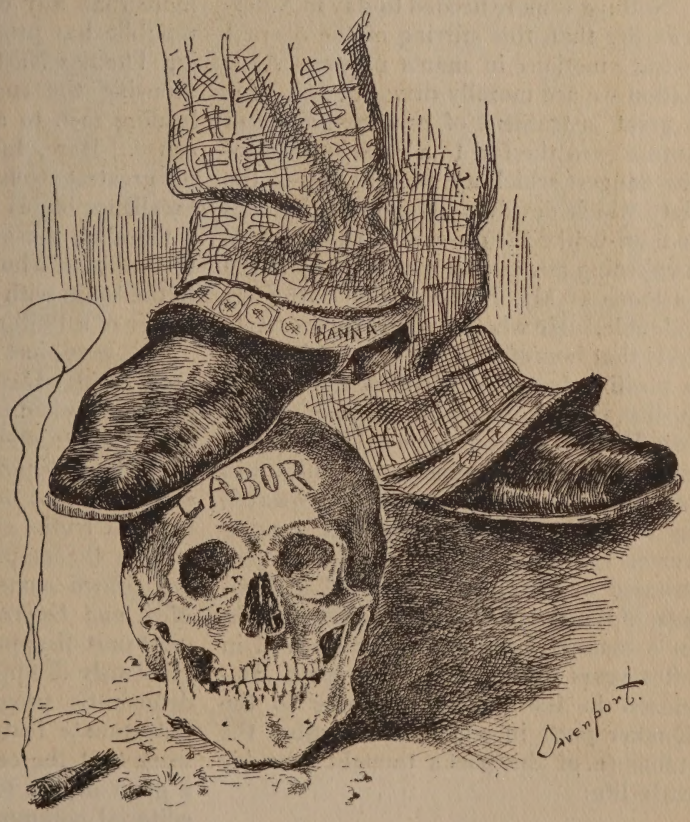
HOMER DAVENPORT

gans of the brain—the organs of morality, of idealism, of nobility—in a word, the organs which differentiate exalted manhood from the human incarnation of cunning and brutality.

III. DAVENPORT, THE MICHAEL ANGELO OF CARTOONISTS.

The two most powerful newspaper-cartoonists of to-day are unquestionably Frederick B. Opper and Homer C. Davenport; and it is an interesting fact that they represent the opposite extremes in the methods of their craft. Mr. Opper teaches a vital lesson or emphasizes a great truth by presenting a humorous or ridiculous picture, the first effect of which is to arouse the risibilities; but always, or almost always, while the smile is forming on the face an important truth is being photographed upon the memory. This masked teaching is as effective as it is insidious. He who from day to day sees Opper's cartoons will soon have certain great truths so firmly lodged in his mind that they become a part of his settled convictions. Their influence is inescapable, and it is fortunate indeed for the cause of true democracy that the most proficient and effective of our political humorous newspaper artists is engaged in the cause of the people and against enthroned corruption, class-rule and oppression. Mr. Opper can and at times does draw powerful, somber and essentially tragic cartoons emphasizing some grave public evil or peril, but his drawings are rarely other than humorous, and usually strikingly humorous in character.

With Mr. Davenport the reverse is true. On occasions he has drawn some irresistibly humorous pictures, but as a rule his work is powerful, somber and not unfrequently essentially tragic in spirit and implication. There is something colossal about his greater pictures that reminds one of the great and austere work of Michael Angelo. Indeed, he may, we think, with justice be characterized as the Michael Angelo of cartoonists. Many of his pictures are more than colossal and somber: they are savage—so brutally savage, indeed, that they arouse in the moral nature of even the easy-going Americans feelings not unlike those which would be awakened if we suddenly beheld as from a mountain height some fear-



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MR. HANNA'S STAND ON THE LABOR QUESTION.

ful crime of the great and powerful against the weak and helpless,—a crime like the massacre of the helpless Armenians by the Turkish hordes. No American cartoonist has ever exhibited such power in arousing the conscience-side of life or the deeper moral sentiments as has Homer Davenport. No cartoonist has as yet exerted such a positive influence over the mind of the careless newspaper-reader, in the way of stirring his righteous indignation against some great evil depicted. *His pictures compel men to think.* He makes the beholder so clearly see, so forcibly feel, the great truth which dominated his own brain when he drew the picture, that though heretofore he may have remained indifferent in the presence of the evil, henceforth he is no longer content to be the "idle singer of an empty day."

Nothing is more needed to-day in American life than this stirring of the deepest moral emotions in man's nature. As a nation we are morally drugged, and he is a great instrument of progress who can arouse even the few to a consciousness of the dangers which are present and to the duty which devolves upon the individual in a crisis like the present. And it is this awakening power that makes many of the cartoons of Mr. Davenport so extremely valuable. He who sees them instinctively feels that henceforth he too must become a positive factor enlisted on the side of justice, of truth, of right. In this respect Mr. Davenport's influence over the receptive brain, and especially over the brain of youth, is much the same as that exerted by John G. Whittier, when his burning verses in behalf of the slaves thrilled, aroused and enlisted the moral enthusiasm of scores of our finest and best youths in a manner admirably characterized in after years by Thomas Wentworth Higginson in the following tribute to the Quaker poet, in which he describes the influence of the poet's thought over his early life:

"At dawn of manhood came a voice to me
That said to startled conscience, 'Sleep no more!'
. . . . . .
If any good to me or from me came,
Through life, and if no influence less divine
Has quite usurped the place of duty's flame;
If aught rose worthy in this heart of mine,
Aught that, viewed backward, wears no shade of shame;
Bless thee, old friend! for that high call was thine."

If Homer Davenport had lived at the breaking out of the Civil war, he might and doubtless would have performed a work for the maintenance of the Union and the emancipation of the slaves quite as great as that rendered by the powerful pen of Thomas Nast, for he is at heart a true democrat, a passionate lover of freedom, justice and the rights of all the people; and he would naturally have ranged himself on the side of human progress and the triumph of that true democracy of which Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln are our noblest exponents. He, more than any other cartoonist that our republic has produced, not even excepting Thomas Nast, possesses the power of arousing the moral sentiments and of leading men to do and dare for a great cause. Here, indeed, lies the secret of his greatest strength; this is the supreme excellence of his work. He is essentially a moralist, a man of ideals, a teacher of the millions, who through the eye appeals to the brain with the irresistible force and power of a Phillips or a Beecher.

It is a subject of deep regret to thousands of Mr. Davenport's friends that his present work does not give him freedom and scope to make pictures that are anything like so powerful in their influence over the mind or so effective as teachers of great truths as was his work while he was in the employ of Mr. Hearst. He has drawn some good cartoons for the *Mail and Express,* but they are for the most part disappointing and some of them grievously disappointing to the friends of democratic progress. It is one of the unfortunate features of modern cartoon work that the cartoonist is compelled in a great degree to reflect the ideas of the editorial columns of the paper, whether those ideas are in conformity with his own views or not; and it seems to us that the

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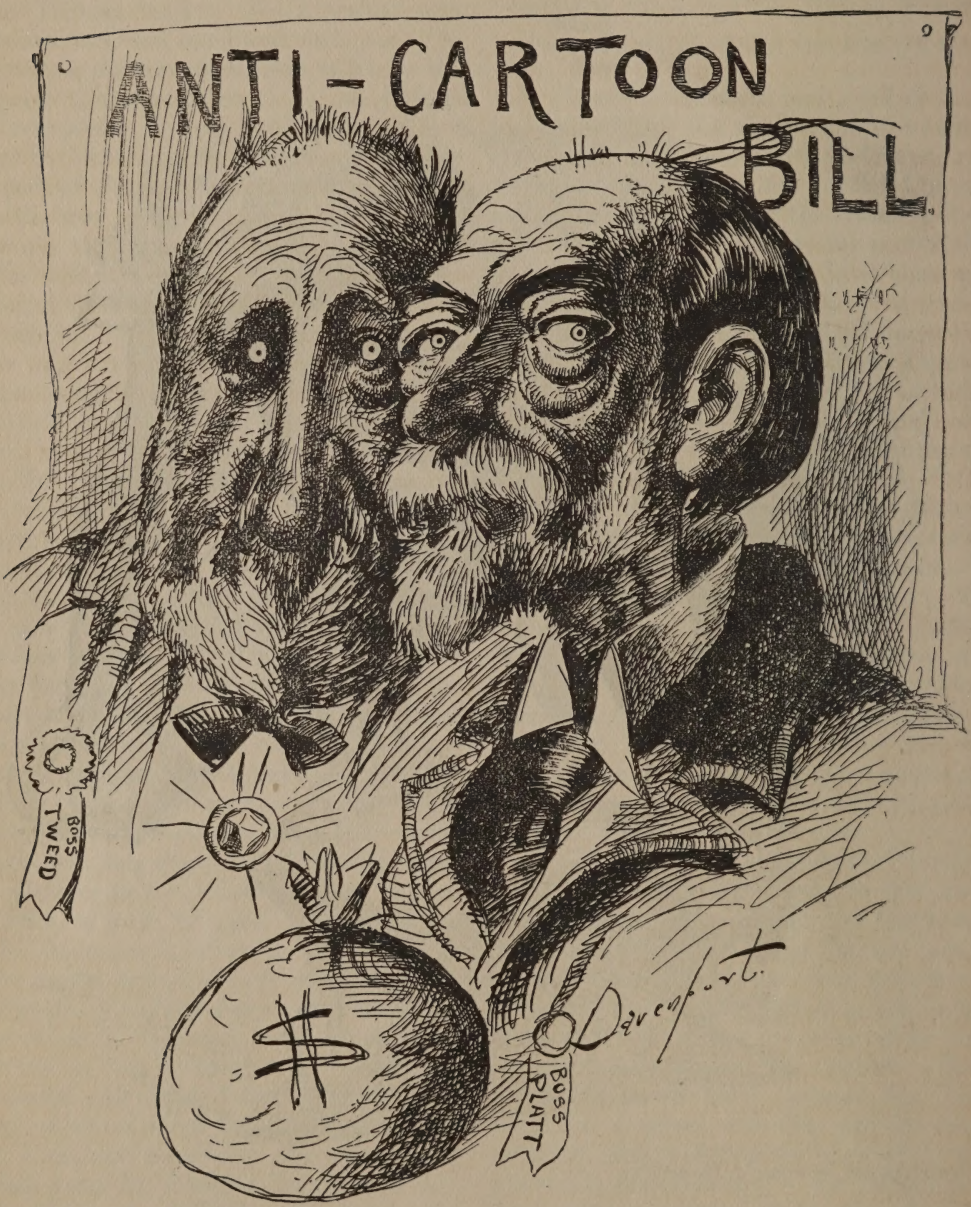
CROKERISM.



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NO HONEST MAN NEED FEAR CARTOONS.

comparative weakness in many of Mr. Davenport's recent drawings is found in the fact that they have been made to order, or at least that his heart was not fully in the work, and we sincerely hope that the time is not far distant when he will become more a free-lance and again be one of the most potent factors for democratic advance among the cartoonists of the age.

IV. SOME TYPICAL CARTOONS.

In this issue we present a number of typical cartoons. Most of these appeared originally in the New York *American and Journal.* It will be remembered that it was Mr. Davenport's powerful drawings that so enraged Boss Platt that he had the anti-cartoon law introduced into the New York legislature. This called forth from Davenport a powerful cartoon which we present, representing Tweed and Platt, and underneath the legend "No Honest Man Need Fear Cartoons." It is the thieves, the exploiters of the people, the grafters, the corruptors of public servants, and the destroyers of national morality who dread the cartoonist and seek to have his work suppressed.

Another very powerful cartoon by Mr. Davenport was drawn during the Henry George campaign and was suggested by Fremiet's celebrated work. This represents Croker as the personification of Tammanyism, holding Democracy in his grasp, but enraged on account of the shaft which has pierced him from the bow of the people's great and incorruptible leader, Henry George.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE GRUB-STAKE.

BY FRANK H. SWEET.

TEN YEARS of prospecting and two small fortunes found and lost in efforts to discover a greater one, and now for the first time Brent Harlan was out on a grub-stake, furnished by one of the storekeepers at Three Forks.

The last trip had left him broke, with his mule over a precipice and his shoes worn to his feet and himself gaunt and reeling from hunger. But he only remained in town long enough for a square meal and to write letters to his mother and sweetheart, and then started forth again with a new mule and three months' provisions, furnished by the storekeeper more through friendship and the remembrance of former sales than with any expectation of profit.

But as he struck into the foothills, Brent was as sanguine as when he had first passed over this very trail ten years before. His was the true prospector's nature. The treasure was just ahead, one day or perhaps two or a little more; and even should the quest consume all the allotted days, his belief would be the same at the end, just as strong, just as sanguine, one day more of life and the discovery would have been made. A veritable gift of heaven for the seeker, but sometimes a bitter, woeful span for the ones that wait.

As he went up rocky paths and over ridges and through defiles, his practiced eyes scanning soil-color and rock-formation and land-slope, Brent's voice rose in challenging buoyancy against the eternal sullenness of the hills. This trip would end the long seeking, and he would go back to the farm and build a new house and barn and buy blooded-stock and open new roads, as he had been planning for ten years. His mother would be glad. He could see the arms outstretched, and the brave, patient eyes beaming in the

wrinkled old face, and he laughed aloud in very gladness at her gladness. And Alice—the laugh and song dropped to a lower key, and his eyes grew tender and a little grave. Alice's letters had been as strong and hopeful as his own, but sometimes he fancied there might be a wistfulness behind the brave words, a heart telegraphy that would fain draw him back over the thousands of intervening miles, and over the vaster distance of a man's ambition and determination.

The look was still in his eyes when he turned into a little pocket of a ravine and made camp, and it went with him about his fuel-gathering and cooking, and only left him, temporarily, when he sank into a dreamless sleep with his boots to the fire.

The next day he swung off toward a wilder portion of the hills which he had never before explored, and where there were no signs of other presence than the four-footed inhabitants. Four days he pushed on through this, penetrating deeper and deeper, until finally he reached a basin that he thought looked promising. Here he made camp and prospected for a week; but though he found color in plenty, it was not rich enough for the isolation, and he went on another day, to where the land was little more than yawning ravines and unscalable precipices. Here he made camp again, at the mouth of a large cavern that twisted away into a hill, and which he determined to explore at the first opportunity.

There was plenty of fuel near, and good running water. After tethering his mule, Brent started a fire and placed over it a kettle of water to boil. He liked the rock-formation here, and even from where he stood he could see color in the sand along the stream. He would remain several weeks and prospect the neighborhood thoroughly, and to celebrate this first night of a permanent camp, he would prepare such a supper as he had not had in the hills for months. There was good ham in his outfit, and bacon, and a few comparatively fresh eggs, and coffee and other delicacies. The storekeeper's friendship for him had looked out for that. And rarest of all delicacies in a miner's camp, there were onions. He would have a big dish of fried onions, and then would wind up the feast with real cheese from the East.

But first, while the water was boiling, he walked along the bank of the little stream, noting the sand keenly and the character of the rocks from which it had apparently washed. When the stream debouched from the small coulee where he had built his camp, into the main ravine, he turned and followed it for some rods, until it suddenly dropped a sheer hundred feet into a cross ravine that carried it white and frothing toward the lower foothills. Brent peered into the ravine longingly; but the precipice was unscalable, so he started up the rocky slope to one side with an idea of obtaining a glimpse of what lay beyond.

The slope was only a great ledge of rock, broken and scarred by ancient convulsions and the storms of centuries, and with here and there a few stunted shrubs growing from crevices. Brent struggled up until he came to a sharp spur, around which he was flattening himself to pass, when he saw a man just beyond, crouching over a crevice from which grew some twisted roots topped by green leaves. He was holding the point of a pick in his hands and was apparently trying to pry out the roots. As Brent appeared the man sprang to his feet, his face expressing startled fright, followed almost instantly by anger.

"What ye doin' here?" he demanded fiercely.

"Prospecting," Brent answered cheerfully.

The man's hands tightened convulsively upon the pick, and he seemed half-minded to spring forward and use it as a weapon. Then his hands relaxed.

"Well," he threatened, "you mosey back jest as fast 's the Lord 'll let ye. If ye do n't——"

"Oh, tut, tut, man," interrupted Brent carelessly. "This is too large a country for one person to monopolize. What you digging those roots for—to eat?"

The man only glared.

"Yes, I see you are," affably. "I 've been crowded down to them myself before now. But they 're not fit for a coyote to chew on except to keep off starvation—though, if you 'll excuse me, you look as if you 'd had roots as a steady diet for quite a spell. But see here," suddenly, "suppose you come down to my camp in front of the big cave. I 'm laying out for a regular down-east supper to-night, with everything but pie, and I 'd like for you to join me. We might explore the cave afterwards by torchlight. It looked interestingly risky. But why——"

He did not finish the sentence, for the man had suddenly choked out an imprecation, and was now hurrying in the opposite direction, stumbling and muttering as he ran. Brent looked after him pityingly.

"Loony," he thought. "Prospected till he got out of provisions and then went crazy. Poor fellow!"

He returned to camp soberly. The water was now boiling merrily, and he poured into it nearly a quart of white beans. They would do for his morrow's dinner, as he wished to spend the entire day prospecting. He must not spare any time for elaborate cooking after this first night, especially as the provisions might need to be economized. The sight of the root-eater had made him thoughtful. But preparations for the supper went on.

Several generous slices of ham were cut and spread in a frying-pan, and with them half a dozen eggs. Then he opened a package of bacon, and peeled and sliced the onions, and made the coffee. The air was soon fragrant with their cooking, and above all the rest rose the rich, pungent smell of the onions.

The mountain-side was almost sheer for twenty feet or more above the cave roof, then fell back, affording room for a scanty growth of shrubs and small trees. The rock wall below was also scarred into fissures from which grew occasional shrubs.

Several times during the preparations for supper Brent thought he heard noises from the growth above the cave, but attributed them to a prowling bear or panther. As the supper progressed, however, and the odors grew stronger, the noises increased. Suddenly he was startled to his feet by a hoarse:

"Good Lord, men! I can 't stand it no longer. That 's worth all the gold in Alaska."

"Right ye are, pard," came another voice, savage with repressed longing. "Let 's mosey. I 'm goin' to have a bite o' that or die."

There was a pushing aside of the bushes and three figures came plunging and falling down the declivity, apparently to their destruction, though they checked the fall somewhat by grasping at occasional bushes and fissures. In an instant, it seemed, they were standing beside the camp-fire, wild, dishevelled, fierce. In one of them Brent recognized the root-eater of a half-hour before.

"Got any more o' that grub, mate?" demanded the larger of them, a gaunt giant with white hair and beard that covered his shoulders.

"Plenty," responded Brent, recovering himself quickly. "I allowed for enough to meet a good appetite two days, but it won't be anywhere now. Here, you fellows look pretty hungry. Suppose you sit down and help yourselves while I 'm cooking a new lot—then I 'll join you."

Simultaneously and without a word the three reached for the fried onions. When the new lot was ready, the old was entirely gone, even to the last scrap of bacon-rind, and the three were watching Brent's skilful movements with ravenous but appreciative eyes. Not until their appetites were entirely satisfied and they had moved back, wiping their mouths upon their hands, did one of them speak.

Then the white-haired giant nodded sociably to Brent, with much of the savageness gone from his eyes.

"Prospectin'?" he asked.

"Yes."

"Well," slowly, "I reckon we 'll have to let ye in—on a small lay, mebbe. After eatin' that supper we could n't plan for nothin' hostile. How much grub ye got?"

"A three months' allowance for one man."

"That 's three weeks for four men,—or a month, mebbe, with moderation. Plenty, I guess, to carry us through."

Brent smiled sarcastically.

"Do n't you think it might be a good idea to ask my consent first?" he asked.

"We 're three men, an' you ain't but one," composedly. "Though of course that do n't matter now. After the supper we could n't be hostile. Anyway, ye 'll be ready to come in all right, even on the smallest lay, soon 's ye know. Seems odd, do n't it," reflectively; "but jest the smell o' that supper was all that saved your life. O, I do n't mind tellin' now," at the inquiry in Brent's eyes. "Long 's ye come in with us ye might 's well know the whole thing. Our cache 's in this cave, an' Dikker there heard ye speak 'bout explorin' it. That left but one thing for us to do. We was hid up there with our guns p'inted, an' we was goin' to give ye ten minutes to pack up an' git. If ye did n't—an' from what Dikker said we knowed ye would n't—we was goin' to shoot. There would n't be nothin' else we could do," earnestly. "Well, I had my gun p'inted an' my mouth open to holler, when I got a full smell o' them ham an' eggs right in my throat,—an' I waited a little to git one more smell, with my mouth wide open, when the onions come up—Lord!" smacking his lips reminiscently, "I 've lived seventy years, an' I never had another second like that in all my life. I jest laid my gun down an' stuck my nose out fur 's I could; then I felt 'shamed an' looked 'round. But Dikker's nose an' Sam's nose was both stickin' out jest the same. That finished us. We could n't 'a' stayed up there another minute for all the gold in these mountains. It 's been ten weeks—ten whole weeks—since we swallered our last bit o' pork, an' in all that time we ain't had a thing but roots, b'iled an' to chaw on jest as we dug 'em."

"Ten weeks!" exclaimed Brent, in amazement. "Why, man alive! I once lived on them two days and thought I 'd starve. Why did n't one of you go out after provisions?"

"Dassent," laconically. "They 's too many prospectors 'round watchin'. They can tell from the size of a man's eyes what he 's found. We have a spot where we can pick up gold with our fingers, an' we 'd ruther starve than take chances. But I reckon we four can git it all out in a month, an' you can have an eighth share from now on. An'—oh yes, my name 's Moses, thirty-nine years prospectin' an' never struck it rich till now. Who might you be?"

"My name 's Brent Harlan, ten years prospectin', but going home soon now."

That night Brent did not dream of sand and rock-formations as he was accustomed to, but rather of a little rolling farm where the grass grew knee-high, and of a bright-eyed, wrinkled-faced old woman and a brave girl who had waited ten years. When he woke he scarcely thought of what this day was to bring; the dream was still tender in his eyes, and the home-longing which he had fought for ten years was at last possessing his heart.

A week later they were gathered around the campfire. It was after supper, and they had all been smoking; but now the pipes were laid aside and they were gazing into the fire. Prospecting days were nearly over for them, and the thought made them silent. Into eyes that had grown hard with gold-seeking were coming new expressions of tenderness and joy. But the face of Moses was grave.

"Thirty-nine years of prospectin'," he

said at last, breaking the silence; "an' now at seventy ready to quit, with not a kith or kin or friend in the world save you three to look glad. 'T ain't goin' to be so blame fine as I thought."

His eyes went hungrily from one face to another, trying to read their thoughts, then returned to the fire.

"You 've all got somebody," he went on presently; "I can see it in your eyes an' in the way you smile to yourselves. I 've never had nobody in all my life, not one. The fust thing I remember was bein' an orphan an' fightin' for my grub. Now I 'm goin' to ask you to sheer your homes with me for a half-hour or so. I 've been watchin' you an' thinkin' it over. We 'll be sayin' good-bye in a few weeks, an' mebbe won't ever see each other ag'in. Won't you sheer your wives an' babies with me for a little while? You 've got letters an' photygraphs, an' ye can tell me what they do an' say an' how they look. It 'll be something for me to think about arter we separate."

They hesitated, but only for a moment. There was no curiosity in the old eyes, nothing but heart-hunger, suddenly brought out by the success that was crowning seventy years of work. Hitherto his energy and thoughts had gone into his quest; now, with that accomplished, he could remember what he had lost—or rather what he had not found. They looked at each other and nodded.

"I do n't mind," said Dikker. He drew a package from his pocket, worn and soiled by much handling, and took from it the photograph of a middle-aged woman, which he passed across to Moses. Then he read his letters through, one by one, slowly and laboriously.

"We 've been married thirty-two years," he said, as he finished, "an' there's only jest we two. But Lizzy 's the best woman on God's earth. I was a carder in a cotton-mill, an' Lizzy worked in the weave-shop. She works in the weave-shop now. It 'll be a great thing for me to go back with money enough to set her up so she won't have to work another blessed day in all her life. Mebbe I 'll buy the old cotton-mill an' she can let all her friends work in it an' pay 'em jest as big wages as she likes."

"I 've got a whole passle," said Sam, in answer to Moses' inquiring look; "there 's seven children, an' the last letter said the baby was goin' to be married. She wa' n't but 'leven when I left home. All the other children are married an' got famblies, an' I have a whole lot o' brothers an' sisters with famblies. I reckon they 're all poor, too. They used to be. Lord! Lord! won't it be fun to take enough money home to set 'em all up," with a big, breezy laugh. "But wait till ye hear their letters," and he drew a huge package from his pocket which he opened proudly.

When they were all read, Moses turned to Brent.

"What a thing 't is to have folks," he said wistfully. "I do n't see how anybody can leave 'em an' come to a place like this. I s'pose you 've got somebody, too?"

"Yes," Brent answered; "I have the dearest old mother in the world."

He selected several letters from a number which he drew from his pocket, and read them through slowly. The last paragraph ran: "And now, dear boy, take the best care you can of yourself and do n't worry about me. I have kept up the farm and paid off a hundred dollars on the two-thousand mortgage. It is n't much in ten years, I suppose; but it 's something, and I have kept up all the expenses. Next year I hope to do better. I wish you were near enough for me to look after your stockings and things. It 'll be nice when we 're together again, won't it; but do n't come till you 're ready. I saw Alice last week, and she 's looking well, only thin."

"Who 's Alice," asked Moses sympathetically, "your wife?"

"No, not yet," Brent answered softly. He hesitated a little, but the look in the

old man's eyes made him open Alice's letters and read them, too, only omitting a few of the most endearing sentences. The last letter closed with: "I saw your mother the other day, Brent, and she is beginning to look old, but oh! so strong and patient and full of faith in you. I would not have you mar your future in any way through my impatience, dear heart; but if you could arrange to come home, even on a visit, before long, it would do her so much good. But you know best."

They had all listened attentively. The old man's hand was shading his eyes.

"An' ye could leave a girl like that, an' a mother like that, an' stay here ten years," he broke out disgustedly. "Boy, you 're a fool."

Brent was already on his feet, thrusting the letter back into his pocket with quick, determined hands. His eyes were moist.

"I know it," he replied huskily; but I won't be any longer. I shall start back at once, to-night. My week's work will pay enough for the grub-stake and to get me home. If mother could pay a little on the mortgage, I can surely make a living for them; and—and they will be glad to see me. That is," recollecting himself suddenly, "if you are willing to let me go. I promised to stay with you until we cleaned out the deposit, so legally I have n't any share yet. If you 're willing though," his voice trembling, "you may keep all the provisions except just enough to get me out, and all my share except a little for the grub-stake and to get me home. I do n't ask any more."

Moses was on his feet, his eyes gleaming from under their shaggy brows.

"Willin'? boy," he cried hoarsely; "we'll drive ye off. Dikker, bring out the dust an' nuggets we 've put in the cache the past week, an' give this boy his sheer. It 'll be a little over ten thousand, I know from the way it hefted. The grub-stake will call for half; but seein' we 've got most of it, we 'll pay that, an' we 'll pay for his ticket home. The boy must git to that farm with ten thousand dollars. 'T ain't much, but it 'll sort o' help him to git started, an' he can work. An' now there 's the weddin' presents. Here, Dikker, bring that stuff to me," as the man returned, staggering under the weight of his load. "Jest watch what I take, an' count it from my sheer. Now," selecting nugget after nugget and passing them to Brent, "you give these to the girl Alice from me, an' tell her I wish a new joy to go with every one of 'em. An'—an'—" his voice hesitating a little, "if she 'd be willin' to write me a line, like as if she was folks, I 'd be mighty proud."

"She will write you a long letter, and be glad to," cried Brent heartily; "and so will I. But you must n't send all this. Why, it 's more than half as much as you say I must take."

"An' what o' that?" aggressively. "Ain't ye willin' the girl Alice should have something?"

"Of course, but——"

"Then shet up. Now Dikker an' Sam. Pony up your presents."

Dikker and Sam passed their offerings of nuggets to Brent, grinning. He gazed from them to the men, the moisture from his eyes now slipping down his cheeks.

"Thank you," he said huskily.

"Alice's fortune will be a good deal larger than mine."

"Of course 't will," retorted Moses, "an' why not? A girl never ought to be dependin' on a man an' have to ask him for money. It ought to be right t' other way. If there 's any borryin', the man should go to the girl. Now shet up your thankin' an' be gettin' ready. Hurry 'bout it, too. Then we 're goin' to drive ye off."

FRANK H. SWEET.

Waynesboro, Va.

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.

Warren, in Boston *Herald*.

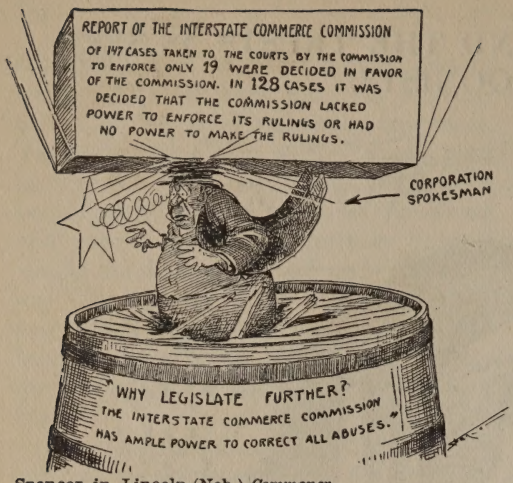
"VIVE L' EMPEREUR!"

Bartholomew, in Minneapolis *Journal*.

"WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH OUR EX-PRESIDENTS?"—SUSAN B. ANTHONY KNOWS.

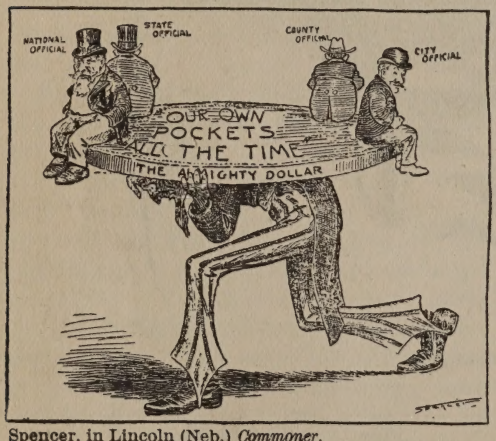
Bartholomew, in Minneapolis *Journal*.

NO LICENSE TO EXIST.
"And the dog-catchers are after them."


REPORT OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION
OF 147 CASES TAKEN TO THE COURTS BY THE COMMISSION TO ENFORCE ONLY 19 WERE DECIDED IN FAVOR OF THE COMMISSION. IN 128 CASES IT WAS DECIDED THAT THE COMMISSION LACKED POWER TO ENFORCE ITS RULINGS OR HAD NO POWER TO MAKE THE RULINGS.
CORPORATION SPOKESMAN
"WHY LEGISLATE FURTHER? THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION HAS AMPLE POWER TO CORRECT ALL ABUSES."

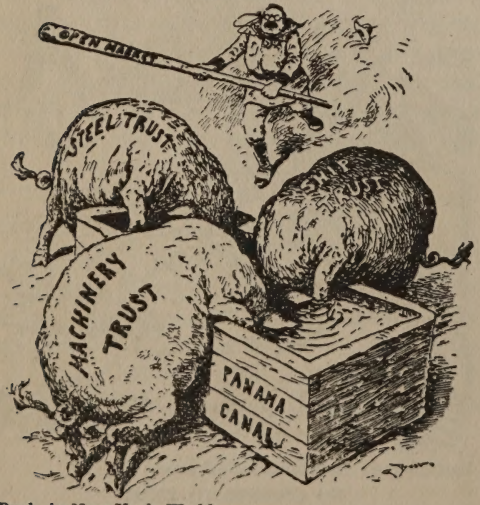
Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) *Commoner.*

THE BOTTOM KNOCKED OUT OF HIS ARGUMENT.



Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) *Commoner.*

"WHAT 'S THE MATTER WITH U. S.?"



Bush, in New York *World.*

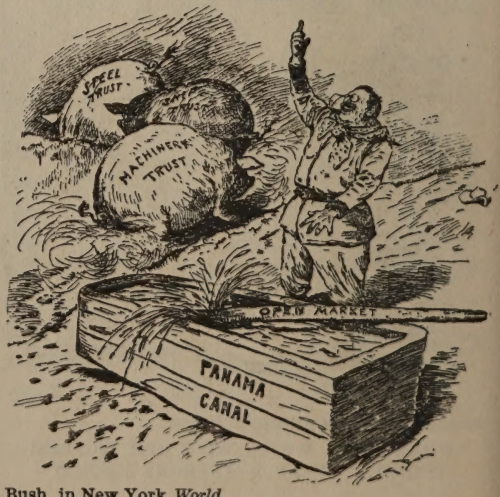
"The President is determined that 'the hogs shall take their feet out of the trough.'"—News item, New York *Tribune.*

Gage, in Philadelphia *North American.*

AFTER MANY YEARS.

DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record.*

GREATER THAN QUAY OR WEBSTER OR CLAY?



Bush, in New York *World.*

"COME BACK; I WAS ONLY FOOLING!"

Bush, in New York *World*.

FATHER PENN: "HELP! HELP!"

From the Philadelphia *North American*.

SAM THE RIPPER.

Spencer, in Omaha (Neb.) *World-Herald*.

"HOIST WITH HIS OWN PETARD."

Bush, in New York *World*.

WILL IT SPREAD?

Bush, in New York *World*.

"DROP THEM!"

Bartholomew, in Minneapolis *Journal*.

DOGS OF WAR.

A possibility that the tails may wag the dogs.

Warren, in Boston *Herald.*

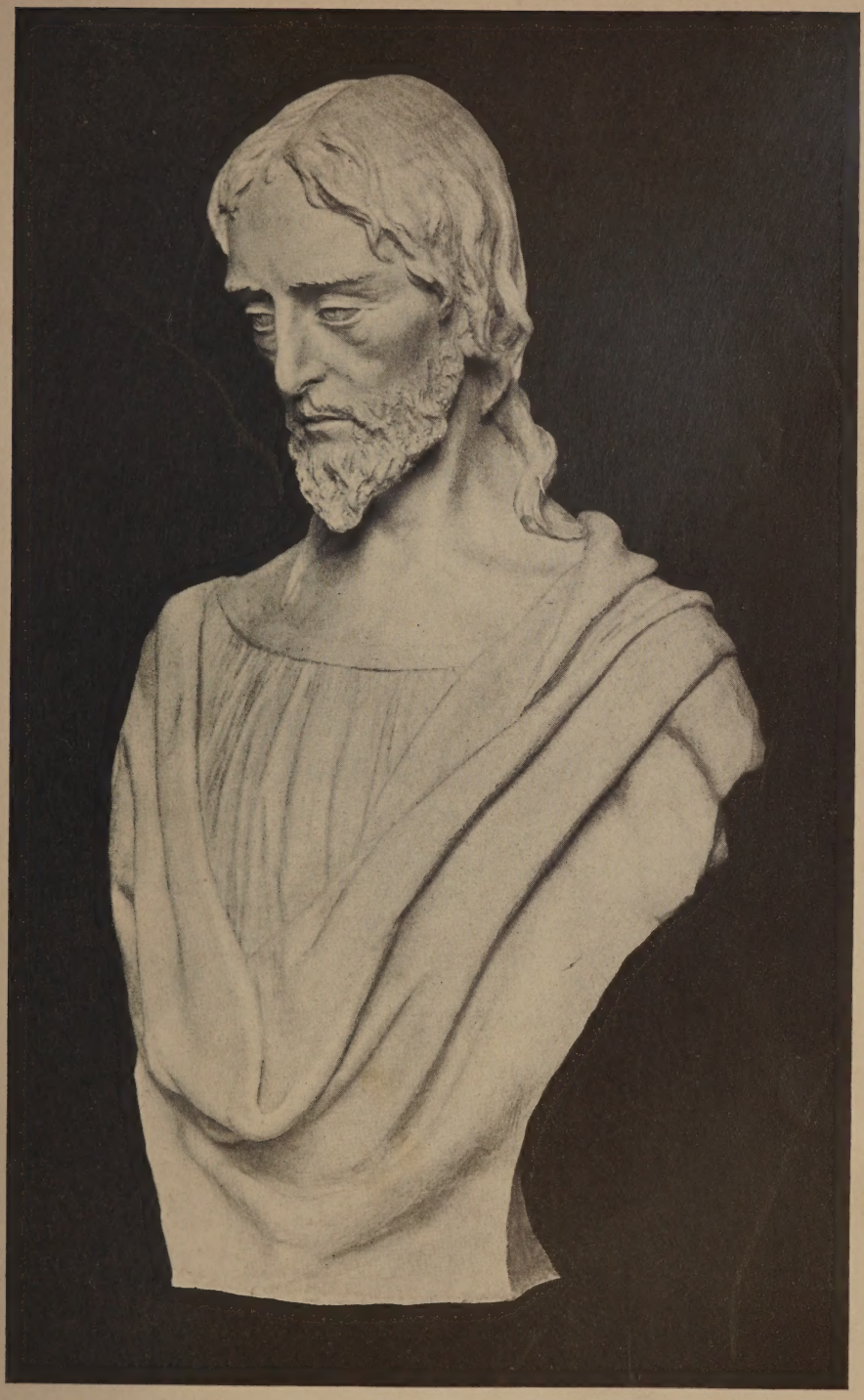
WHICH?

Warren, in Boston *Herald.*

HARD TO SCALP, ALL RIGHT, ALL RIGHT.

Gage, in Philadelphia *North American.*

DR. WEAVER—"AND I WOULD N'T LET HIM TAKE GAS!"



HE OF NAZARETH

BY FRANK F. STONE

THE ARENA

"WHAT'S THE USE?"

(SUGGESTED BY THE BATTLE OF THE SEA OF JAPAN.)

Drawn by Dan. Beard expressly for THE ARENA.
(See Editorial.)

tried to show more of soul-weariness than is customary; less of the sweetly serene consciously master of circumstances, more of the man vulnerable at times to discouragement and misgiving; not alone the "Man of Sorrows," but often, too, of physical want,—a feature we have too nearly idealized out of our reading of the Christ story. The facial story should tell something of bafflement amid surroundings made congenial only by boundless patience and compassion, of a soul suffering under the false standards and tests of an economic and social environment in essence, though not in detail, somewhat like what Christ would find to-day in any city of America or of the world. This is what was in my mind. How much of it I have realized, others must judge."

WAR THE ARCH-ENEMY OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION.

(See Cartoon by Dan. Beard.)

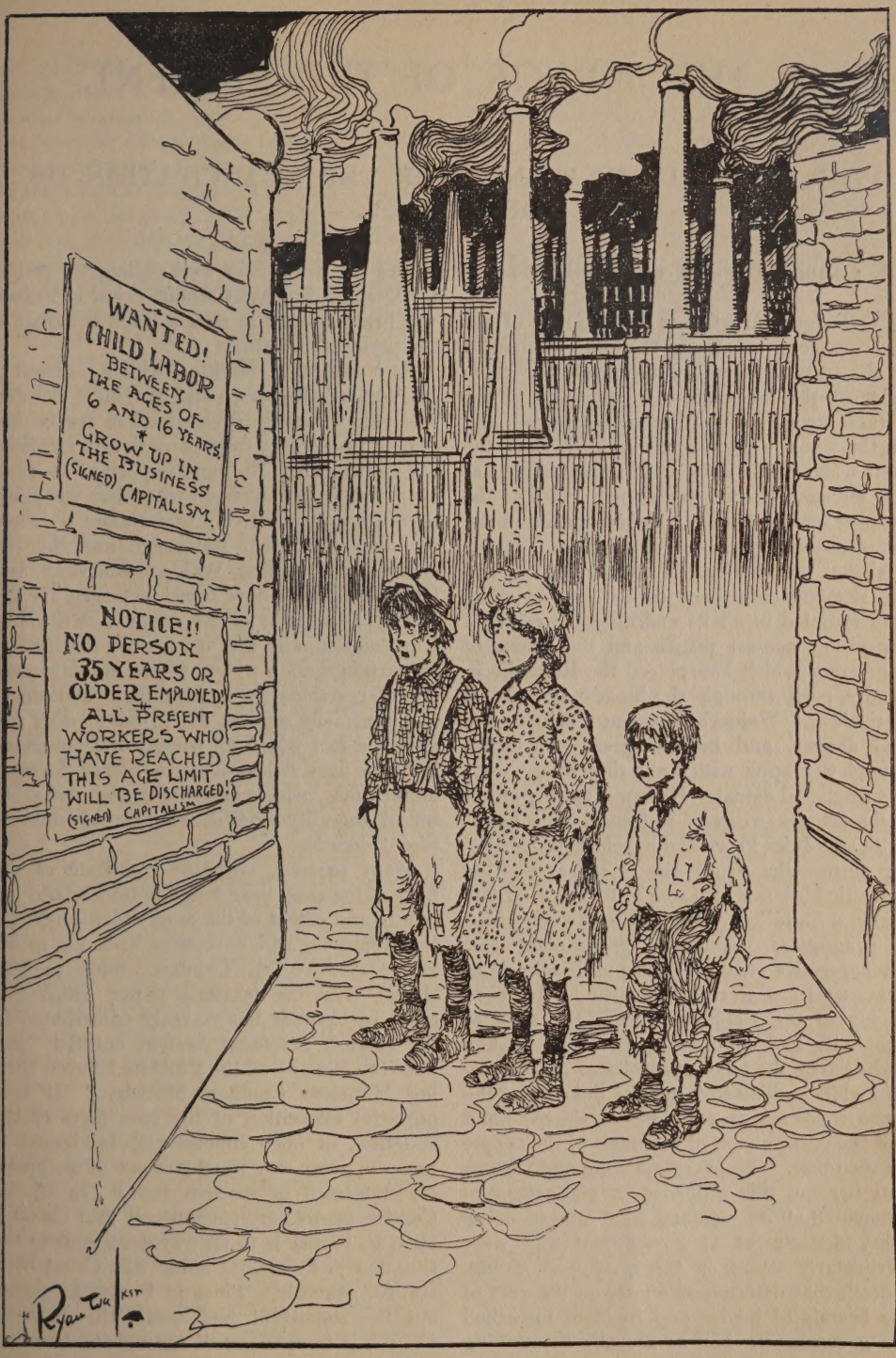
WE DESIRE to call the attention of our readers to the striking cartoon by Mr. Dan. Beard, drawn expressly for this issue of THE ARENA and suggested by the naval battle of the Sea of Japan. "What is the use?" tersely inquires the artist. If we are to slaughter the flower of our people—husbands, fathers, brothers and lovers—to gratify the whims, greed or avarice of rulers who refuse to submit international disagreements to arbitration, civilization and Christianity are failures. During the present war in the Orient hundreds of thousands of white and yellow men have left happy homes where they were the support of wives, little ones and aged parents, and have perished miserably in or around the ramparts of Port Arthur, on the shamble-like fields of Manchuria or in the waters of the sea. The dependent ones are starving to-day, and all the high hopes, all the cherished plans and the joy of living that a year ago filled the dwellers in these hundreds of thousands of homes have gone out in a midnight of misery, grief and despair. This holocaust was due primarily to the avarice and perfidy of a great but corrupt and criminally despotic nation that claims to march under the banner of Christ, and secondarily to the fact that other nations claiming to be civilized have been so supremely indifferent to the teachings of Christianity and the dictates of enlightened humanity that they have failed to rise to that measure of greatness and wisdom which would lead to a united declaration forbidding war between peoples, or at least forbidding it unless all the rulers and persons responsible for the war be compelled to personally march at the front of the attacking forces. The hour has come when civilization should demand, in such terms that rulers and statesmen could not disregard the popular mandate, that international arbitration take the place of armanents and armies.

ON THE ALTAR OF THE MODERN MOLOCH.

(See Cartoon by Ryan Walker.)

IN THIS great and opulent land,—the land above all others where childhood should enjoy its sacred rights to develop under conditions favorable to moral, mental and physical growth,—sordid avarice has succeeded, through the indifference of pulpit, press and legislature, in establishing a system of child-labor in which hundreds of thousands of little ones are robbed of childhood, robbed of that freedom of body and mind and of the educational advantages essential to a high order of citizenship. Thus, through our criminal indifference, a double wrong is being perpetrated—a crime against the child and a crime against the State. Nor is this all. Through the employment of children and women, hundreds of thousands of able-bodied men, willing to work, are cast adrift, and to crown the climax some of the great and enormously rich corporations have recently decided to employ no persons over thirty-five years of age.

These wrongs against the child, the State and the man are brought home in a telling manner by Mr. Ryan Walker in his capital cartoon drawn for this issue of THE ARENA. It is a picture that every parent should carefully study, and he should then resolve henceforth to devote his energies to the war being waged against this crime against humanity and the Republic. The hour has struck for the moral forces of society everywhere, irrespective of race and creed, to agitate, educate and organize for an effective moral advance which shall render such crimes forever impossible in this Republic and which shall make our nation again the moral leader of the world.



"I WONDER IF WE SHALL LIVE TO BE AS OLD AS THAT?"

Drawn by Ryan Walker expressly for THE ARENA.
(See Editorial.)

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE STRUGGLE IN FRANCE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF DEMOCRACY.

M. Combes' Defence of The Republic.

IT IS doubtful whether the majority of our people, even among the more thoughtful of the truly democratic, appreciate the character or the far-reaching significance of the Titanic struggle which France has waged, and on the whole waged so successfully, since the hour when Emilé Zola, with finger pointed at the recreant French government and in the prophet's august tones, uttered the immortal denunciation, "I Accuse," and the Dreyfus trial that was the fruit of that trumpet-call to the sleeping conscience of the nation. The trial revealed in all its enormity the criminal conspiracy against justice and the genius of democracy which had placed the Republic in deadly peril through the steady inroads of clericalism. Waldeck-Rousseau beheld the real danger, and he was great and brave enough to grapple with it at a time when everyone predicted defeat. He saw what the ablest and most clear-visioned statesmen since Gambetta and Jules Ferry had beheld with increasing alarm—the steady rise to power of "the parasitic Orders which sought to create a State within a State"; a state hostile at every point to progressive Republican government and the aggressive enemy of the public-schools of France. In a word, clericalism, "the born enemy of the Republic," from the days of Gambetta had continually striven to weaken and destroy the vital principles of the revolution while seeking to foster the interests of the monarchists and reactionaries on the one hand and the enslavement of the mind of the people on the other. So overshadowing and sinister had become this influence of clericalism in France that its minions had honeycombed every department of government and were particularly strong in the army,—so strong, indeed, that determined efforts on the part of the friends of justice and freedom imperiled the government; and so morally benumbing had this influence become on the great Catholic Church of the Republic, that at the time when the men of conscience and the lovers of justice the world over were calling for justice for Dreyfus, but one Catholic priest in France was brave enough to raise a voice in behalf of the persecuted Hebrew.

Such was the condition which confronted M. Waldeck-Rousseau and M. Emilé Combes when they bravely determined to rescue imperiled Democracy from despotic and reactionary clericalism. No more important task has been undertaken in recent years than was courageously and effectively undertaken by these two distinctly great statesmen, and the circumstance that first Waldeck-Rousseau and later M. Combes have been the targets for the venomous assaults of the enraged clericals of Christendom, and that it has been the fashion for certain shallow writers to join in this human cry of reactionaries against these statesmen, and especially against M. Combes, does not alter the fact which all friends of Democracy in future ages will recognize as one of the most momentous achievements for the cause of sound morality and democratic advance of recent decades.

Many persons, not fully cognizant of the facts of the case, have failed to understand the nature and extent of the peril which confronts the Republic, and have thus been led to severely criticise M. Combes. Such persons should read the masterly paper which this great ex-Premier has recently contributed to the English *National Review*, entitled "Republican Policy and the Catholic Church During Monsieur Combes' Ministry." It is a powerful exposition of the true facts of the situation, at once concise and luminous; a paper in every way worthy of one of the greatest statesmen of modern times. In it, M. Combes shows very conclusively that the situation in France is in no way analogous to the situation in Protestant lands, like Great Britain, for example. Thus, in France he points out the important fact that "the Catholic Church is in open revolt against the Government, and wages ceaseless war upon every legislative effort to escape from the toils of the theocratic theory. When it is also remember-

ed that France, unlike England, is rent by conflicting political factions, Bonapartists, Royalists, Nationalists and Plebiscitaires, jointly and severally conspiring to destroy Parliamentary Government, very effectively seconded by the Church Party, the Clericals, surely the least impartial of men will be prepared to admit that it is not surprising that the French Government should regard the Catholic Church with different eyes from the English Government, which has no such political difficulties to cope with. . . . In France the Catholic Church is not content to claim liberty. She aspires to domination. To her liberty is the means of securing supremacy over other religious communions, and of coercing civil society in a manner incompatible with the fundamental ideas of our Republican Constitution."

He then shows that the clericals deliberately, persistently, and systematically have violated the Concordat. He exposes in a masterly manner the puerile and thoroughly sophistical manner in which the Vatican and the clerical leaders of France and elsewhere have shown that the vital parts of the Concordat, which they wished to ignore, were invalid. His argument on this point is most concise and admirable, and should be widely read because of the systematic attempts that the Vatican and the Clerical leaders have made through the secular press to befog and mislead the reading public. For more than a generation the clericals have been actively and with increasing aggressiveness striving to overthrow the Republic. "Clericalism," observes our author, "is in fact to be found at the bottom of every agitation and every intrigue from which Republican France has suffered during the last five and thirty years; and it is because politicians trained in the Gambetta school grasped this fact that all their efforts have been directed to a common end, *viz.*, the emancipation of civil society from clerical influence by confining the priest to his proper province —his church."

The position of the Republic was one of extreme peril. It had either to surrender to the supremacy of those who had been striving to build a State within a State and who had combatted the fundamental principles of the Revolution, or to take strong measures to suppress this systematic attempt to overthrow the basic principles of Democracy. On this point M. Combes pertinently observes:

"The Republic has been compelled to defend itself more vigorously than the Monarchy against clerical attack, for the simple reason that the clerical attack on the Republic has been more vigorous than against the Monarchy.

"The supremacy of civil authority and its absolute independence of religion and dogma, which is one of the fundamental conceptions of the Republican Constitution, challenges the Catholic doctrine, especially as emphasized in the encyclicals of Pius X., and in the decrees of the Vatican Council. An irreconcilable antagonism between the civil and the religious powers inevitably arose in proportion as the Republican *régime* became consolidated and declared its determination to escape from dogmatic custody."

A policy less vigorous than that adopted would have proved ineffective. In fact, he shows that the systematic attempt to evade the legal regulations compelled more radical action than would otherwise have been taken. No one who has read Zola's last great work, *Truth*, can fail to appreciate the extreme peril of the Republic and the well-nigh important task confronting M. Combes. On the Religious Orders, their attitude toward the Republic and the Government's attitude toward them, M. Combes observes:

"The Religious Orders had so developed, in spite of the laws suppressing them, as to have become a menace to the State. Indeed, their activity made them more than a menace. They openly conspired with the Monarchical factions to compass the ruin of our institutions. Having escaped from the authority of the bishops by their own statutes, they had constituted themselves into a sort of papal militia, which oppressed both bishops and secular clergy. Woe betide the prelate who should attempt to limit their independence or supervise their proceedings! The Archbishop of Paris, Darbois, who inspected a Jesuit house within his diocese, learnt to his cost, through a humiliating Papal censure, that the Religious Orders received no orders except from Rome. . . . In our eyes the Orders are not only superfluous excrescences on a self-sufficing faith; they are also pernicious instruments of that monstrous theocratic doctrine which is fatal to our whole social and political conception, of which the fundamental axiom is the absolute independence of the State of all dogma, and its recognized supremacy over every religious communion. Such is the doctrine of

the French Revolution, of which the French Republic glories in being the heir. The expulsion of the Orders was a re-affirmation of that independence, which will be finally completed by the future separation of Church and State.

"In attacking the most active sections of the clerical party—*viz.*, the monks engaged in the liqueur traffic and in other commercial enterprises, as also the whole *posse comitatus* of priests and nuns who daily penetrate into family life under the pretext of good works—we succeeded in depriving the Papacy of its most powerful weapons."

After showing how the majority of the Catholic pulpits during the last few years have been active centers of sedition against Republican Government, he notices the high-handed course of the Pope in regard to the bishops of Dijon and Laval who had dared to advise their clergy to obey the law and respect established authority and who had "committed the unpardonable sin of distinguishing between religion and politics." He shows that after such exhibitions of contempt for the priceless rights of the State, provided for in the Concordat, and such systematic and aggressive efforts on the part of the clergy to foster lawlessness and insubordination against the Government, the Republic owed it to itself and the cause of Democracy to decree a separation of Church and State—a separation which friends of Democracy everywhere already recognize as something which should always exist.

This paper by M. Combes is one of the most timely, informing, and valuable contributions of recent years upon a very vital issue.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The Absence of Graft and Political Corruption in Glasgow.

ONE OF the stock arguments against municipal-ownership of public utilities, advanced by the public-service corporations and their beneficiaries, is that it would promote graft and corruption. Yet all students of these questions know full well that under popular rule and with the corrupting influence of private corporations operating public monopolies eliminated, there would be small chance for graft. The great, the overshadowing, cause of the present low standard of morality in our political life,—the fountain-head of political corruption and graft, has been the great corporations operating the public-service companies. They have been the arch-corruptors that have degraded American politics and well-nigh destroyed anything like true republican government.

One of the most illuminating illustrations of the result of municipal-ownership and popular rule was recently given to one of the Chicago daily papers by Magistrate Roderick Scott, of Glasgow, Scotland. In this interview he declared that there was no corruption in that city, where municipal-ownership has been successfully carried farther than in any other of the world's great cities. During the course of the interview Mr. Scott said:

"How could there be corruption? I represent a workingman's ward. If I give one of my constituents a cigar or a drink, I am by that act itself disqualified from being a candidate. If a friend of mine lends me his carriage to take voters to the polls that is all very well, but if any friend of mine hires a carriage for the same purpose, the act, even without my knowledge or approval, disqualifies me.

"There is no political corruption in Glasgow. It is not possible under the Corrupt Practices Act, and public opinion would condemn the least sign of it.

"John Young, who has managed our municipal tramways, has recently been employed by your Mr. Yerkes to manage his railways in London. Mr. Young received £1,400 from Glasgow, but he gets £4,000 from Mr. Yerkes, with a promise of £6,000.

"Our theory in Glasgow is that any service that is a monopoly, that serves all the people and occupies the public streets, should be owned and administered by the people. Water, gas, trams and the like come under this category. Our trams are the best system in Great Britain, and after paying all operating expenses and every obligation they net the municipality £200,000, or $1,000,000, annually."

The Result of Public-Ownership in Hull, England.

THE RECENTLY published report of the result of municipal-ownership in Hull, England, affords another important illustration of the value of an awakened civic conscience and the exercise of ordinary common-sense on the part of the people. Hitherto the public-service corporations have taken a small share of the vast moneys that under public-ownership would go to benefit all the people, and with it they have influenced a large section of the press while "convincing" the people's servants of the danger of the people owning and operating their most valuable property for the benefit of the community. In England the people have tested the claims of the privileged interests, with the result that the public has gained immensely through public-ownership.

Thus, for example, in Hull, England, a city of two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, the results have been most gratifying. The chief object here has been the reduction of the cost to the people of public utilities and improvements in the service rendered. Instead of seeking to earn a large revenue, the municipality has striven to make the utilities self-sustaining while giving the people the benefits in lower prices and increased excellence of service. In all instances, excepting that of the public-baths and the crematory, this object has been attained. The public-baths last year cost the town $1,110 above the receipts. The crematory ran behind a little less than $225. There can be little doubt, however, but that the city's gain in increased health far more than overmatched the small monetary deficiency for public-baths.

But while these two utilities fell a little behind paying expenses, the street-cars, operated on a two-cent fare, showed a net profit of $57,-500. The electric-light plant gave a net profit of $7,976. The gas-department showed a profit of $15,380, and the water-works of $71,-162.

The question of profit, however, as we have observed, has been made subservient to that of reduced prices to the citizens and improved service. Thus we find that while the citizens of Boston and other cities are compelled to put up with a wretched quality of gas at one dollar per thousand feet, the citizens of Hull, thanks to their wisdom in taking over the gas-industry, only pay 48 cents per thousand feet. Electricity is furnished at nine cents per unit, while the greatest triumph was in the successful introduction and operation at a profit of the telephone run at a greatly reduced price from what had obtained under private-ownership. In Hull the city supplies unlimited service, over exclusive wires, at £5, or a little less than $25 per year for private houses, and £6:6, or a little more than $30, for business-offices. These prices, it is needless to say, have greatly increased the number of subscribers to the telephone-service. Hull, like Glasgow, shows the way. How much longer will the American public remain the slaves of the railways, the telephones and other public-service corporations?

A PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION OF DEMOCRACY IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

Brookline and Her Government by Direct-Legislation.

IN THE ARENA for October of last year, we published an extended description of Brookline, Massachusetts, and its admirable government under the old New England town-meeting system. This paper called forth a great number of inquiries indicating general interest throughout the union in this preëminently democratic form of municipal government. In view of this fact and because one of the greatest battles to be fought in the municipal affairs of the republic in the coming years will be against the union of corrupt rings or machines and privileged interests, and in favor of the reassertion by the electorate of the fundamental demand of democracy,—that the voters shall pass on important legislation when they so desire, that the people shall have the privilege of initiating legislation which their servants refuse to act upon, and that unfaithful officials may be recalled on demand, we have decided to briefly describe the method

of procedure in the Brookline town-meeting and to give a pen-picture of the adjourned annual meeting of March 29th.

At the outset let us say, for the benefit of those not familiar with this town, that Brookline is one of the old villages of New England. It is now preparing to celebrate its two hundredth anniversary. Its registered voters numbers upwards of four thousand. Its population is between twenty and twenty-five thousand. It is reputed to be the wealthiest town in the world. Its long history has been unsmirched by scandals or corrupt practices. In the midst of a carnival of corruption and graft that has permeated American municipalities, it has retained its purity and high civic standards. That this result has been largely if not chiefly due to the fact that the people have jealously guarded that supreme and fundamental right of a truly democratic government—the right of directly and finally passing upon proposed legislation of moment is unquestionably true.

A PRESENT-DAY NEW ENGLAND TOWN-MEETING.

Early in March warrants, framed in much the same style and verbiage as has been employed for about two hundred years, were delivered at the residence of each voter, summoning him to the town-meeting to be held on March 15th to elect officers for the village government for the ensuing year and to transact other business. The business to be acted upon was briefly set forth in a series of explanatory sections. Accompanying this warrant was a report of the selectmen which constituted a pamphlet of several pages, explaining the nature and purpose of each measure to be acted upon. This explanatory pamphlet varies in size in different years, as sometimes there are measures of great moment before the electorate about which there is much difference of opinion, and in such cases it is the custom of the committee of representative citizens, after giving public hearings to the mooted questions, to prepare reports or to summarize conclusions arrived at. Frequently there are divisions of opinion in the committee. When such is the case a majority and a minority report are included in this pamphlet. In this manner all the voters are made fully acquainted with the nature of the proposed legislation and the acts to be voted upon, before they come to the meeting.

If the voters generally approve the recommendations made by the selectmen and the committee of representative citizens, there is liable to be a comparatively small attendance at the town-meeting. As a rule measures which are unanimously favored by the selectmen and committee of representative citizens are accepted by the voters. In cases, however, where there is a division of sentiment on important propositions, the town-meetings are frequently largely attended, and very spirited debates take place.

The annual meeting, held on March 15th, in addition to the election of officers for the ensuing year and the consideration of six of the twenty-six articles in the warrant, voted that the moderator of the meeting appoint a committee of twenty-five representative citizens of the village, who, in conjunction with the moderator of the meeting, the town-clerk and the board of selectmen, should consider the remaining twenty articles in the warrant and should report in print, giving forms of votes on each article, these articles to be taken up at the adjourned meeting to convene on the evening of March 29th. Accordingly after thoroughly canvassing the twenty remaining articles in the warrant, the committee reported in a pamphlet of between twelve and fifteen printed pages. The warrants for the adjourned meeting and the committee's report were left at the residence of each voter.

On the evening of March 29th the adjourned meeting was held. A little more than ten per cent. of the voters were present, indicating that the recommendations of the committee met with the general approval of the citizens. The various appropriations were passed. In a few instances the appropriations were slightly increased by a two-thirds vote of the electors present. Among the important appropriations was the voting of $201,484 for maintaining the public-schools for the ensuing year. Of this amount the grammar and primary schools received $102,976, the high school $37,735, the manual-training and domestic-arts school $24,441, and the kindergartens $15,822, the remaining $20,510 being devoted to general school expenses and to evening-schools and vacation-schools. It will be seen that the village is proud of her public-schools and generous in the maintenance of them. Among other appropriations was the voting of $20,000 for the maintenance of the public-library, and $9,500 for the maintenance of the public-baths, where school-children

are taught swimming and life-saving free of charge.

The vote which excited the greatest interest related to pensioning the members of the fire and police-departments. In 1903 the town of Brookline voted to authorize the selectmen to petition the legislature for an act permitting the towns of Massachusetts to pension members of the fire and police-departments. The permission having been given, this meeting was called upon to decide whether or not these pensions should be granted. The vote stood 355 for the granting of the pensions. There was no negative vote, but 46 refused to vote.

A motion was made to increase the salary of the chairman of the board of selectmen from $1,500 to $2,500. This was voted down, largely because no notice of such a proposition had been given to the voters in the warrant.

On one question a public hearing was asked before formal action should be taken, and this was granted. On another proposition the committee wished more time to properly canvass the subject. This was granted, and these questions are to come before a future meeting.

We have given this detailed account of a typical present-day New England town-meeting because we wished to show how under a simple democratic form of government the best interests of a large and opulent town are thoroughly safeguarded by the people being kept fully apprised of all business to be acted upon, through receiving a clear presentation of all appropriations to be asked for and of all measures to be legislated upon, with recommendations or pertinent suggestions made by a committee of the most representative citizens, and how, when important issues are before the people, they may be thoroughly discussed at public hearings, after which the electorate is given the full opportunity to vote yea or nay.

Under such government, or under city charters which provide for the initiative, referendum and right of recall, the present reign of graft and corruption in municipal government would be speedily overthrown. Back to the people! should be the slogan of the hour. No truer statement was ever made in reference to popular government than the notable dictum of De Tocqueville, in which he stated that "the only remedy for the evils of democracy *is more democracy.*"

DEMORALIZING INFLUENCE IN GOVERNMENT OF CORPORATIONS AND MACHINE-RULE.

The Defeat of The Public-Opinion Bill in Massachusetts and Its Significance.

IN THE recent defeat of the public-opinion bill by the Massachusetts legislature the people of that commonwealth were given a startling illustration of the fact that not only does the recreant legislature of the Bay State propose to maintain machine and corporation-rule instead of the rule of the people as long as possible, but it also does not even propose to permit the people to express their own wishes on great and burning questions in which the public is deeply interested. This measure merely granted to the people, when a certain per cent. of the voters demanded it, the right to express their opinion on a few questions at the general elections. This vote would not be binding on the legislature, but it would show the lawmakers the wishes of the people on certain important and vital questions. Now this is precisely what corrupt corporations and privileged interests which prey on and plunder the people do not want; it is what the political machines which draw large corruption funds from public-service corporations do not want; and it is what the grafting public servants do not want. But it is something which every honest man who believes in the fundamental principles of popular government and not in class-rule disguised as popular rule would necessarily favor because the basic principle that differentiates a democratic form of government from that in which class-rule prevails is that the people's will must be the supreme law. This demand is the paramount object which their servants must seek to carry out. Only one who wishes to defeat the people's wishes or to give aid to political bosses and corrupt privileged interests when they seek to defeat the known wishes of the people, could object to this measure. Its defeat has done more than any other single thing during

the past session of the legislature to give color to the bold charge of wholesale corruption made against the lawmakers by Mr. Thomas W. Lawson. In commenting on the defeat of the measure the Boston *Post* said editorially:

"The 'public-opinion' bill has had an interesting history. It passed the House, and was defeated in the Senate by one vote. Last Monday reconsideration was carried by 15 to 11. Yesterday it came up for third reading and was killed by a vote of 19 to 11. This implies rather energetic work on the part of somebody.

"The vote for reconsideration evidently showed those opposed to the measure that the situation was more serious than they had supposed.

"The defeat of the measure is greatly to be regretted. The bill was a moderate one of its kind. The experiment of submitting questions of public policy to popular vote has gone far enough in other parts of the country to encourage the hope that here we have a means of obtaining a genuine and effective rule of the people.

"Still, the drift in Massachusetts, as elsewhere, is in the direction of such legislation. The 'public-opinion' bill, though roughly handled yesterday, embodies an idea which must eventually triumph in this state."

No better illustration than this shameful act of the Massachusetts legislature could be afforded of the truth of our contention that under the rule of the corporations and the machines the government of the people, by the people and for the people has given place to a government of the public-service corporations and privileged interests, under political machines and their tools and beneficiaries, for the enormous enrichment of the privileged few and for the perpetuation of machine-rule. The people have slept overlong. Let them now demand the enactment of a law providing for the direct nomination of all officers at primaries, irrespective of any party affiliations. Let them roll up a petition so great and formidable in character that the legislators of Massachusetts shall read their own political destruction if they refuse the people their rights or seek to further thwart popular attempts to check the overthrow of republican institutions and to Tammanyize and Quayize Massachusetts.

The Massachusetts Legislature as an Upholder of Corrupt Practices in Elections.

ON APRIL 24th the Massachusetts legislature defeated Representative Luce's bill to check corrupt practices relating to elections. The law was, as the Boston *Herald* well observes, "a comparatively modest and conservative order," its object being "to lessen the use and influence of money in elections." In speaking for his measure, "Mr. Luce spoke of the money said to have been used in recent elections and cited the case of New Bedford, where, he said, according to press reports, 2,000 men had been hired in one election to vote for one candidate. He said the present law was not satisfactory, and declared that the amount of money used for nominations and elections was alarmingly on the increase, and that this expense is deterring good men from seeking office. He said that more than two-thirds of the last state Senate spent all their salary to receive the nomination."

Why did the Massachusetts legislature defeat this mild measure aimed at checking the debauching of the voters? Because the corporations and the political machine, and not the people, rule this commonweaith.

The Failure of The Corrupt-Practice Bill in New York.

IN NEW YORK as in Massachusetts, the Republican party was responsible for the failure to enact a corrupt-practice bill. The action of these machine-ruled legislatures show how imperative it is for all the people who love our republic to rise as one man against the increasingly flagrant upholding of graft, bribery and all forms of political corruption by the dominant political parties acting in behalf of privileged interests. In speaking of the failure of this important measure in New York, the *Nation* wisely observes:

"The Corrupt-Practices bill introduced by Senator Brackett was left to die. In burking this measure the Republican leaders have given notice that they do not wish to check bribery at the polls. Although no law can serve as a substitute for an alert public conscience, this bill, drafted by experts, was admittedly a long step in advance of present legislation. It had passed the Senate. The Assembly did not dare defeat it by a direct

vote, and therefore tried the trick of an amendment, which would necessitate reprinting and delay. This action, bad enough in itself, is still more sinister as evidence of the attitude of the Republican bosses. . . . In cool and cynical contempt for decency, the Odell machine is a rival of that of the late Senator Quay of Pennsylvania."

This downward sweep in government will continue until the people overthrow the twin destroyers of popular government and the oppressors of the citizens—the political machines and the public-service corporations and other privileged interests—through the adoption of the popular initiative and referendum and the right of recall. Let all friends of free institutions educate, agitate and organize for this end, which we believe to be the supreme demand of the hour, as it will at once restore the government to the people.

THE PROSTITUTION OF THE DAILY PRESS BY PUBLIC-SERVICE CORPORATIONS.

Striking Exposure by The Springfield "Republican."

ON APRIL 18th the Springfield *Republican*, one of the few Massachusetts daily-papers of influence which reflect the old-time ethics that made the daily press of America one of the most powerful moral and educational factors before the rise and overshadowing influence of public-service companies and privileged corporations, published a letter which it had received that afforded a striking illustration of the way in which the American people are being criminally deceived by the daily papers that are prostituted by the gold of the plundering public-service companies. Below we give the *Republican's* editorial which contains the iniquitous letter in question:

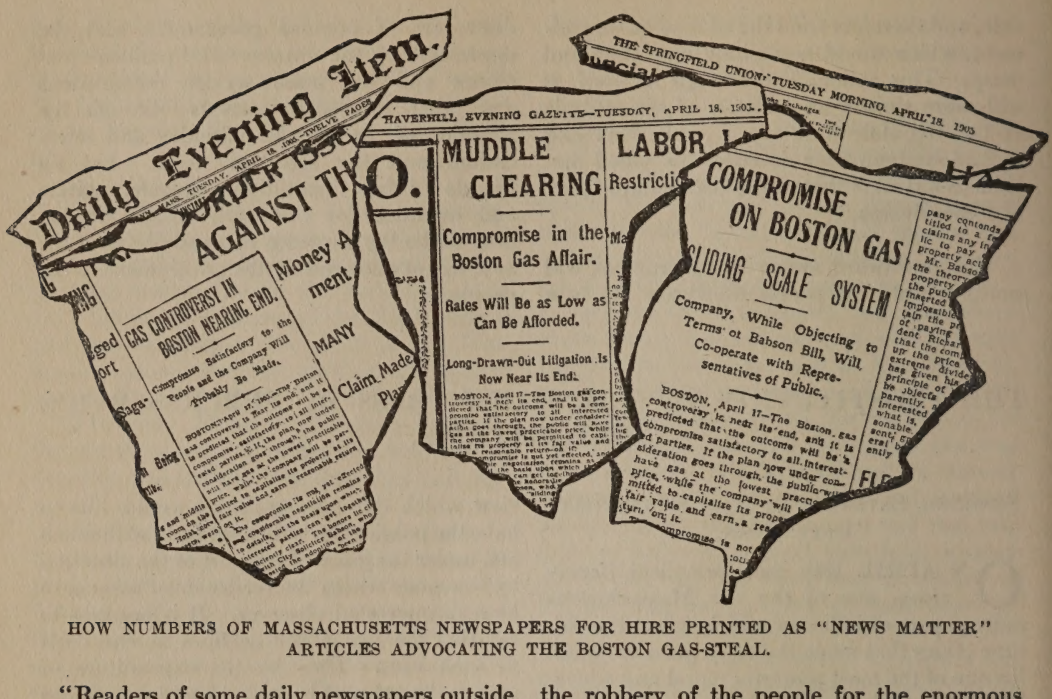
"The *Republican* has received from the office of the Boston Elevated Railroad Company, over the signature of J. Harvey White, the following letter, addressed to the advertising manager:

"'Enclosed you will find copy for a reading matter ad. to be used in your paper Tuesday, April 18th. It is understood that this will be set as news matter in news type, with a news head at the top of the column and without advertising marks of any sort. First page position is desired unless your rules debar that position, in which case give it the best position possible. Please send your bill at the lowest net cash rates to the undersigned at the above address.'

"The above pertains to an alleged letter or dispatch which predicts a compromise in the Boston gas controversy that will be 'satisfactory to all interested parties.' The point-of-view which the gas-companies would like to have the public take is then set forth with much art, under the guise of a report of the situation by some one whom the reader must assume to be a disinterested observer. It is needless to say that the *Republican* declines to lend itself to such uses. Thus by the expenditure of money the attempt is made to mislead, and to make an illegitimate use of newspapers. Such letters or dispatches are a fraud upon the public, and any such effort to pass from the advertising to the reading columns ought to be resented by all self-respecting journals."

On the 19th of April the *Republican* supplemented its previous editorial with the following:

"*Practical Politics*, that 'journal of American statecraft' which is somewhat of an annex to the legislature, leads off its latest issue with a booming article, under big headlines, in favor of the Boston gas-companies and against the public-franchise league. The matter is mentioned as affording a striking example of the way in which great minds often run in the same channel. This three-page exploitation happens to be in the tenor of the letter or dispatch which J. Harvey White offered to the *Republican*, with the understanding 'that this will be set as news matter in news type, with a news head at the top of column and without advertising marks of any sort'—first page desired, and so on. Members of the public-franchise league have no money for that sort of thing, and too little newspaper hospitality is extended to their point-of-view—which is the side of the people. Money, selfishly enlisted, therefore, gets its unfair advantage.


Daily Evening Item.
AGAINST TH
Money A
ment
MANY
Claim Made
GAS CONTROVERSY IN BOSTON NEARING END.
Compromise Satisfactory to the People and the Company Will Probably Be Made.
HAVERHILL EVENING GAZETTE—TUESDAY, APRIL 18, 1905.
MUDDLE CLEARING
Compromise in the Boston Gas Affair.
Rates Will Be as Low as Can Be Afforded.
Long-Drawn-Out Litigation Is Now Near Its End.
LABOR
Restricti
THE SPRINGFIELD UNION: TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 18, 1905
COMPROMISE ON BOSTON GAS
SLIDING SCALE SYSTEM
Company, While Objecting to Terms of Babson Bill, Will Co-operate with Representatives of Public.
BOSTON, April 17—The Boston gas controversy is near its end, and it is predicted that the outcome will be a compromise satisfactory to all interested parties. If the plan now under consideration goes through, the public will have gas at the lowest practicable price, while the company will be permitted to capitalize its property at its fair value and earn a reasonable return on it.

HOW NUMBERS OF MASSACHUSETTS NEWSPAPERS FOR HIRE PRINTED AS "NEWS MATTER" ARTICLES ADVOCATING THE BOSTON GAS-STEAL.

"Readers of some daily newspapers outside of Boston can find J. Harvey White's prediction of a 'compromise on Boston gas' and the adoption of the 'sliding-scale system,' etc., duly lauded among the prominent news features of yesterday. For it a bill will be sent by these newspapers in due course to J. Harvey White 'at the lowest net cash rates'—and these will not be small. This proceeding is a fraud at both ends. It is an illegitimate act on the part of the promoters of corporate interests, who thus put their money where it will do the most good for the accomplishment of their ends, and in the process deceive the people as to the source of the statements made. On the part of newspapers it is a cheap and nasty betrayal of the confidence of their readers, and treachery to the honorable ideals of journalism of which men of reputable personal character should be ashamed. That this may be no new thing is to the shame of the newspaper people who may have made it an old one."

We give the above editorials in full because they afford a luminous exposure of the morally criminal practices that have marked a great number of the daily papers since the public-service companies have commenced corrupting legislatures and municipal governments, and by direct or indirect methods have been buying the silence or securing the outspoken aid of press and pulpit for measures that mean the robbery of the people for the enormous enrichment of the few.

CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF HOW THE PRESS IS SUBSIDIZED BY CORPORATE WEALTH.

The Springfield *Republican* most aptly characterizes the treason of the press to the public, exhibited when papers publish as telegraphic news or editorial matter articles that are merely paid ads. inserted for the purpose of deceiving the people, as "*a fraud upon the public*" and "a nasty betrayal of the confidence of the readers." And yet numbers of Massachusetts papers lent themselves to this shameful fraud upon the public essayed in the interests of the attempted gas-steal or the securing of privileges which would have amounted in the long run to a shameful robbery of the people. The accompanying cut illustrates some of these journals and the way they set up the pretended news-dispatch sent by Mr. J. Harvey White, an executive officer of the Boston Elevated Railroad Company, and which was a cunningly devised special plea for the greedy gas-corporation. It is interesting to note that though the officials of the gas-company discreetly refrained from signing the letter, they recognized the necessity of having it signed by some one recognized as financially responsible, or some officer of a corporation known to be financially responsible; so an official of the Elevated Railroad Company signs the letter, and it is sig-

nificant to note how officers in one public-service company are ready to aid and abet other companies in their nefarious attempts to water stock and otherwise secure privileges that will mean the taking from the people of millions of dollars which ought to go to enrich society as a whole.

A further illustration of the prostitution of the daily press, to the detriment of the public, was in evidence the last week in February, when the Boston daily-papers published the long and elaborate special plea for the gas companies as simon-pure reading matter. In writing of the attempt of the Massachusetts company to increase its capitalization, Mr. T. W. Lawson well observes that:

"In no state of the Union, not even in Phildelphia, would the most brazen corruptionists have dared to request what is demanded here —the State to authorize properties whose total capitalization is now $9,000,000 to be recapitalized for $53,000,000."

And yet this story of shame is one of many similar stories, where private corporations have been allowed to operate public utilities. No influence in political, business or general life has proved so corrupting to government, so demoralizing to the press and other public opinion-forming organs, or so vicious in lowering the moral ideals and integrity of the people as private companies operating public utilities.

That the gas company did not succeed in anything like the measure its promoters expected was chiefly due to the magnificent work of Hearst's Boston *American*. This paper hired and brought from Cleveland Professor E. W. Bemis and maintained him for several weeks in exposing the absurd claims of the corporations. It employed able lawyers and in other ways fought the people's battle at an enormous outlay, while its daily exposures, its editorials and cartoons rendered it impossible for the legislature to completely ignore the interests of the people, as had been the case before the advent of this popular journal. Another barrier in the way of the granting of the corrupt legislative demand was unquestionably the presence of Governor Douglas, a chief executive whom the lawmakers have learned to be a man of small sympathy with the plundering of the people by the corporations. The Boston *Post* also did excellent work, and the exposure of the attempt to prostitute the daily press of Massachusetts in the interests of the gas-company, by the Springfield *Republican*, was a powerful aid in practically defeating the iniquitous attempt on the part of the gas parasites. Mr. Thomas W. Lawson and Mr. John B. Moran also deserve credit for their strong, outspoken and intrepid stand in opposition to this typical attempt to rob the public by men who pose as pillars of society.

INDICATIONS OF PROGRESSIVE REACTION.

The Spring Municipal Elections in Colorado.

THERE are two interesting facts brought out in the spring election in Colorado: First, the tremendous increase in the Democratic vote was such that some of the great Republican strongholds, such as Colorado Springs and Pueblo, went for the first time in years against the usurping party. Greeley, Durango, Leadville and Grand Junction were among the important cities where elections were held, that chose Democratic mayors. There can be no question but that the people of Colorado propose to resent the infamous outrage recently practiced by the corrupt corporations, the malodorous Peabody and the Republican machine acting in unison.

The second interesting fact is the number of women elected to responsible positions. Thus, for example, the office of city treasurer was won by women in Colorado City, Greeley, Ouray, Aspen, Montrose, Idaho Springs and Fairplay. Manitou, Aspen and Montrose elected women to be city clerks.

The Rule of The People *versus* The Rule of The Corporations Through Party-Machines.

EVERYWHERE there are signs of a public awakening and of a growing deterination to rescue the government from its would-be destroyers and the oppressors of the people—the corporations, the party-bosses and the political machines. Direct-legislation and

direct primary laws are the two formidable clubs with which the intelligent electorate will wage a battle whose victorious outcome means the reëstablishment of a government of the people, for the people and by the people. One of the latest systematic movements of this character has been inaugurated in Massachusetts.

Since the public-opinion bill was defeated, certain friends of free institutions have begun a fresh campaign against the reign of privilege and corruption through dominant machine-rule in Massachusetts, the object being to secure such an overwhelmingly large petition for an act to abolish political party-nominations as to compel the legislature to act. The master-spirit in this movement is Mr. George B. Gates, who last autumn did yeoman's service for the direct-legislation movement. The petition as framed by Mr. Gates and his co-workers reads as follows:

"*To the General Court of The Commonwealth of Massachusetts:*

"We the undersigned Electors of The Commonwealth of Massachusetts respectfully request submission to the people at the next general election, of An Act to Abolish Political Party-Nominations for Public Officers of this Commonwealth: and to Provide for Direct Nomination by a Primary Election, of such Candidates for Public Office.

"The act to contain the following provisions:

"1. That if approved at a general election by a two-thirds majority, it shall become a law upon its signature by the Governor.

"2. That its intent is to eliminate the influence of the selfish organizations in the nomination of candidates for public office in this Commonwealth, and its interpretation shall not be in restraint of such intent.

"3. Its provisions relating to primary elections shall apply to all elective public officers of this state, including United States Senators.

"4. That the names of all primary candidates shall be printed on one blanket-ballot, with the names of the candidates for each official nomination grouped together in alphabetical order.

"5. That it shall be illegal for any organization to put in nomination any candidate for any public office in this commonwealth.

"6. If the privilege of using space upon the official ballot for purposes of identification, or to make a declaration of political principles, shall in any paper be so made as to include the name or designation of any political organization, such privilege shall be withheld.

"7. That this act, or any part thereof, shall be repealed only by a majority vote upon the question, at a general election."

This is a promising movement in the right direction and we shall note its progress from time to time, feeling that it is of the utmost importance to keep the more thoughtful electors advised on all advance movements along these lines throughout the republic. The prevalence of graft and corruption has been rendered possible only through public-service companies and other privileged interests controlling political bosses and machines, which in turn control legislators through dictating who shall misrepresent the people. Direct-legislation, the right of recall and direct nominations irrespective of parties are all movements that are practical and strictly in alignment with the fundamental demands of popular government, and though they are not favored by the corruptors or the corrupted, they commend themselves to all true friends of democratic institutions, and upon their early victory depends the perpetuity of a true republic in America.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ANDREW D. WHITE: ITS EXCELLENCIES AND ITS DEFECTS.*

A Book-Study.

I. THE BOOK.

WELL-WRITTEN biographies and autobiographies of representative people or those who have played a large part in the affairs of life are among the most valuable and helpful books, especially for the young; for in addition to fostering a taste for knowledge and stimulating the imagination at many points, they give concrete examples of the experience, the victories and defeats of those who have traveled a path over which to some extent at least the reader must pass. Many of the hints dropped will prove valuable to the aspiring mind. Experiences that were formative in influence are often more precious than volumes of abstract theorizing.

In *The Autobiography of Andrew D. White* we have one of the most brilliant, interesting, instructive and in many ways important works of recent decades. The author possesses a vivid imagination, a lively sense of humor and an excellent command of language, and these unite to make a work as fascinating and alluring as a powerful romance.

The early chapters cannot fail to prove extremely helpful to the ambitious youth who desires to live worthily and fit himself for the larger duties of life, while the remainder of the work possesses double value, containing a vast fund of interesting information touching political life at home and abroad during the past fifty years, and other matters scarcely less interesting relating to education and other subjects of general interest, while also being sadly suggestive in their warnings and lessons, emphasizing the importance of fortifying the mind against subtile and almost inappreciable influences that warp the judgment and destroy the sense of moral proportion even among those who desire to follow the high dictates of conscience. The life of Mr. White has been one crowned in a large way with what the world regards as worthy success. Hence it will everywhere be held up for the emulation of our youth, and for this very reason it is extremely important that the young be shown the fundamentally undemocratic trend of a life that in its early manhood promised to nobly enrich democracy and become a powerful influence in bulwarking free institutions, instead of becoming another of those rapidly increasing forces that are subtly but positively making for reaction.

In reading this life-story we were struck by the strong contrast it afforded to that of Victor Hugo in this respect. Hugo's mother was a strong monarchist. His father was an officer in the army of Napoleon. Victor in early years was a monarchist and later was a great admirer of Napoleon, but as he advanced in manhood he became more and more a disciple of democracy. Later in life he, more than almost any other great Frenchman of his time, came to see and feel that the bed-rock principle of democracy which comprehended in its fundamental demands justice, freedom and fraternity, called for more than mere political emancipation. He came to see what Jefferson before him had seen very clearly, and that was that equality of opportunity and of rights no less than political equality was imperatively demanded by the genius of free government. He saw that equal rights to all and special privileges to none must be insisted upon if democracy was to fulfill her splendid mission; and from a democrat of the old school he progressed into a social democrat, as he himself frequently confessed. Thus, for example, in his great criticism of genius and art throughout the ages, entitled *William Shakespeare* and written during his exile, he says:

"The hour has struck for hoisting the 'All for All.' . . . .

"The transformation of the crowd into the people,—profound task! It is to this labor that the men call Socialists have devoted themselves during the last forty years. The author of this book, however insignificant he may be, is one of the oldest in this labor. . . . If he claims his place among these philosophers, it is because it is a place of persecution. A certain hatred of Socialism, very blind, but very general, has raged for fifteen or sixteen years, and is still raging most bitterly among the in-

* *The Autobiography of Andrew D. White.* Cloth. 2 Volumes. Price, $7.50 net. New York: The Century Company.

fluential classes. Let it not be forgotten that true Socialism has for its end the elevation of the masses to the civic dignity, and that, therefore, its principal care is for moral and intellectual cultivation.

"The first hunger is ignorance; Socialism wishes, then, above all, to instruct. That does not hinder Socialism from being calumniated, and Socialists from being denounced."

Now with Mr. White we regret to say this process of evolution toward a truly emancipated humanity was reversed. Our author was born into a home where the parents and near relatives were either Jeffersonian Democrats or anti-slavery Whigs; so the early influences were conducive to the development of sound and wholesome democracy, as were also the beautiful and simple home-life and much of the lad's early training. It is not strange, therefore, that his youth and early manhood were marked by a strong bias in favor of pure democracy as opposed to Hamiltonianism and all forms of class or reactionary government. After he finished his education and became well launched in business and political life, all this was changed, or at least the preponderating environing influences were subtly reactionary and favorable to privileged interests and class-distinctions. True, to his great credit be it said, he maintained throughout his public career an active interest in civil-service reform, in spite of his loyalty in other respects to such spoilsmen as Conkling and Platt.

To the lover of democracy who beholds with grave misgivings the rapid reaction toward imperialism and the ideals present in class-ruled lands, and who is not so blinded by names as to delude himself with the belief that privileged interests are not already gaining a preponderating influence in our government in all its departments, the slow but gradual falling away on the part of Mr. White from the high, fine democratic ideals of his early youth will be at once painful and perplexing; for at first sight it seems incomprehensible how a man so clear-visioned and logical on almost all points, and who at all times impresses us as at heart morally sound, can possibly give utterance to such illogical and pitifully superficial sophistries on other occasions. The explanation, we think, lies in the following facts: There are certain minds that reach out in all directions and quickly grasp ideas, facts and theories, assimilate and then reflect them, frequently investing them with a charm and interest quite wanting in the hands of those from whom they are obtained. Such persons show great versatility; they are at home in almost any field of research after a comparatively short period of study. But men of this order of mind are liable to become unsafe guides unless they are firmly grounded in regard to fundamental facts relating to the sphere of thought with which they are concerned. Thus, for example, if the subject relates to politics and the individual in question be a believer in democracy as opposed to other forms of government, unless he is firmly rooted in the principles which differentiate a democracy from all other forms of government, he will be liable to become so mentally confused, after reading able utterances or listening continuously to strong men who view government from the vantage-ground of class-rule, that he will reflect thoughts wholly inconsistent with the democratic theory of government, and often will fall into the most sophistical reasoning, making absurd and unwarranted comparisons which, while they might excite no great surprise if employed by a special-pleader for those who are seeking privileges or class-advantages, are almost incomprehensible when found in the work of a high-minded thinker who imagines himself to be a democrat.

No one familiar with Mr. White's varied, highly stimulating and suggestive work, or with this autobiography, will fail, we think, to see that he is a typical example of the order of mind which we have been describing; and by keeping these facts in view the critical reader will find a rational explanation of certain amazing exhibitions of fallacious reasoning based on false premises and ill-considered conclusions, and certain wholly unwarranted assertions which, coming from a historian, are extremely regrettable. Some of these, typical examples of which we shall presently notice, are so surprising that had the book appeared after the author's death we should have found it difficult to escape the conclusion that the manuscript had been tampered with by interested parties; and because of these grave faults in an otherwise excellent work worthy of special commendation, we find ourselves confronted with a double duty: the pleasant task of dwelling on the excellencies of the life-story, and the painful but none the less important duty of pointing out typical examples of sophistical reasoning and unwar-

ranted statements that will serve to put the reader on his guard and thus prevent a book that the discriminating reader will find very helpful, from proving perniciously misleading if he comes under the fascination of the author to such an extent as to cease to be judicial.

II. YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD.

At the close of the Revolutionary war, Mr. White tells us in his opening chapter, a tract of about two million acres was set aside in the heart of New York state as a military tract, for the benefit of the soldiers, and on being divided into townships, "an ill-inspired official, in lack of names for so many divisions, sprinkled over the whole region the contents of his classical dictionary. Thus it was that there fell to a beautiful valley upon the headwaters of the Susquehanna the name of 'Homer.' Fortunately the surveyor-general left to the mountains, lakes and rivers the names the Indians had given them, and so there was still some poetical element remaining in the midst of that unfortunate nomenclature. The counties, too, as a rule, took Indian names, so that the town of Homer, with its neighbors, Tully, Pompey, Fabius, Lysander, and the rest, were embedded in the county of Onondaga."

In the little town of Homer, in 1832, Andrew D. White was born. "My first recollections," he tells us, "are of a big, comfortable house of brick, in what is now called 'colonial style,' with a 'stoop,' long and broad, on its southern side, which in summer was shaded with honeysuckles. Spreading out southward from this was a spacious garden filled with old-fashioned flowers, and in this I learned to walk. To this hour the perfume of a pink brings the whole scene before me."

The home into which he was born and his early environment were very favorable to the development of a noble type of manhood. His parents were high-minded New Englanders of the old stock, in which moral conviction claimed precedence over all else, yet where the value of intellectual achievements and the importance of honest toil were properly rated. Here we find the sturdiness of old New England before that region had become the dumping-ground for ignorant immigrants from the Old World, with little of the unreasonable austerity that marked so many of the early descendants of the Puritans and Pilgrims; and here also was a love of the beautiful and of art that was conspicuous by its absence in the age of the Blue Laws. This fact reminds us of an important incident mentioned by Mr. White which proved in a positive way a formative influence and which we give, thinking it will probably prove helpfully suggestive to parents and the young:

"My father brought home one day, as a gift to my mother, a handsome quarto called 'The Gallery of British Artists.' It contained engravings from pictures by Turner, Stanfield, Cattermole, and others, mainly representing scenes from Shakespeare, Scott, Burns, picturesque architecture, and beautiful views in various parts of Europe. Of this book I never tired. It aroused in me an intense desire to know more of the subjects represented, and this desire has led me since to visit and study every cathedral, church and town-hall of any historical or architectural significance in Europe, outside the Spanish peninsula. But, far more important, it gave an especial zest to nearly all Scott's novels, and especially to the one I have always thought the most fascinating, *Quentin Durward*. This novel led me later, not merely to visit Liège, and Orléans, and Cléry, and Tours, but to devour the chronicles and histories of that period, to become deeply interested in historical studies, and to learn how great principles lie hidden beneath the surface of events. The first of these principles I ever clearly discerned was during my reading of *Quentin Durward* and *Anne of Geierstein*, when there was revealed to me the secret of the centralization of power in Europe, and of the triumph of monarchy over feudalism."

We have given this incident at length because our own experience has confirmed the belief that a few pictures and a few nobly good books in a home, reinforced by a lively interest shown by the parents, will become powerful factors in coloring the thought and influencing the future life of the child.

In school Mr. White's experiences partook of the light and the shadow; yet here also the major influences were wholesome and made for a worthy manhood. In his seventh year the family removed to Syracuse in order that the father might accept the position of president of a bank. Here Andrew entered the Syracuse Academy, the principal of which was Mr. Orrin Root, the father of the late Secretary of War, and here our author came under the influence of James A. Allen, the best teach-

er of English literature, he tells us, he has ever known. "He seemed to divine the character and enter into the purpose of every boy. Work under him was a pleasure. His methods were very simple. . . . On the moral side Mr. Allen influenced many of us by liberalizing and broadening our horizon. He was a disciple of Channing and an abolitionist, and, though he never made the slightest attempt to proselyte any of his scholars, the very atmosphere of the school made sectarian bigotry impossible. . . . As to physical development, every reasonable encouragement was given to play. Mr. Allen himself came frequently to the play-grounds. He was an excellent musician and a most helpful influence was exerted by singing, which was a daily exercise of the school."

In his seventeenth year a serious mistake was made by the father in insisting that his son should go to a small Episcopalian college in western New York instead of to one of the great New England universities. The father was led to take this ill-advised step by the Episcopal bishop and clergyman, both of whom insisted that it was all-important that the boy have the religious influence of a godly institution. Of this experience at the college we give an extended account, since it constitutes an admirable example of our author's felicitous style and also because the facts related are pregnant with important truths, especially at the present time when a large portion of our citizens are making open or covert attacks on our great public-schools, which are denominated as godless, etc., by the church which has had the absolute and uninterrupted conduct of education in Spain for hundreds of years, with results that are familiar to all.

"It was in the autumn of 1849 that I went into residence at the little college and was assigned a very unprepossessing room in a very ugly barrack.

. . . . . .

"The college was at its lowest ebb; of discipline there was none; there were about forty students, the majority of them sons of wealthy churchmen, showing no inclination to work and much tendency to dissipation. The authorities of the college could not afford to expel or even offend a student, for its endowment was so small that it must have all the instruction fees possible, and must keep on good terms with the wealthy fathers of its scapegrace students. The scapegraces soon found this out, and the result was a little pandemonium. Only about a dozen of our number studied at all; the rest, by translations, promptings, and evasions escaped without labor. I have had to do since, as student, professor or lecturer, with some half-dozen large universities at home and abroad, and in all of these together have not seen so much carousing and wild dissipation as I then saw in this little 'Church college' of which the especial boast was that, owing to the small number of its students, it was 'able to exercise a direct Christian influence upon every young man committed to its care.'

"The evidences of this Christian influence were not clear. The president of the college, Dr. Benjamin Hale, was a clergyman of the highest character; a good scholar, an excellent preacher, and a wise administrator; but his stature was very small, his girth very large, and his hair very yellow. When, then, on the thirteenth day of the month, there was read at chapel from the Psalter the words, 'And there was little Benjamin, their ruler,' very irreverent demonstrations were often made by the students, presumably engaged in worship; demonstrations so mortifying, indeed, that at last the president frequently substituted for the regular Psalms of the day one of the beautiful 'Selections' of Psalms which the American Episcopal Church has so wisely incorporated into its prayer-book.

"But this was by no means the worst indignity which these youth 'under direct Christian influence' perpetrated upon their reverend instructors. It was my privilege to behold a professor, an excellent clergyman, seeking to quell hideous riot in a student's room, buried under a heap of carpets, mattresses, counterpanes, and blankets; to see another clerical professor forced to retire through the panel of a door under a shower of lexicons, boots, and brushes, and to see even the president himself, on one occasion, obliged to leave his lecture-room by a ladder from a window, and, on another, kept at bay by a shower of beer-bottles.

. . . . . .

"Most ingenious were the methods for 'training freshmen,'—one of the mildest being the administration of soot and water by a hose-pipe thrust through the broken panel of a door. Among general freaks I remember seeing a horse turned into the chapel, and a stuffed wolf, dressed in a surplice, placed upon the roof of that sacred edifice.

"But the most elaborate thing of the kind

I ever saw was the breaking up of a 'Second Adventist' meeting by a score of student roysterers. An itinerant fanatic had taken an old wooden meeting-house in the lower part of the town, had set up on either side of the pulpit large canvas representations of the man of brass with feet of clay, and other portentous characters of the prophecies, and then challenged the clergy to meet him in public debate. At the appointed time a body of college youth appeared, most sober in habit and demure in manner, having at their head 'Bill' Howell of Black Rock and 'Tom' Clark of Manlius, the two wildest miscreants in the sophomore class, each over six feet tall, the latter dressed as a respectable farmer, and the former as a country clergyman, wearing a dress-coat, a white cravat, a tall black hat draped in crape, leaning on a heavy, ivory-knobbed cane, and carrying ostentatiously a Greek Testament. These disguised malefactors, having taken their seats in the gallery directly facing the pulpit, the lecturer expressed his 'satisfaction at seeing clergymen present,' and began his demonstrations. For about five minutes all went well; then 'Bill' Howell solemnly arose and, in a snuffling voice, asked permission to submit a few texts from Scripture. Permission being granted, he put on a huge pair of goggles, solemnly opened his Greek Testament, read emphatically the first passage which attracted his attention, and impressively asked the lecturer what he had to say to it. At this the lecturer, greatly puzzled, asked what the reverend gentleman was reading. Upon this Howell read in New Testament Greek another utterly irrelevant passage. In reply the lecturer said, rather roughly, 'If you will speak English I will answer you.' At this Howell said with the most humble suavity, 'Do I understand that the distinguished gentleman does not recognize what I have been reading?' The preacher answered, 'I do n't understand any such gibberish; speak English.' Thereupon Howell threw back his long black hair and launched forth into eloquent denunciation as follows: 'Sir, is it possible that you come here to interpret to us the Holy Bible and do not recognize the language in which that blessed book was written? Sir, do you dare to call the very words of the Almighty "gibberish"?' At this all was let loose; some students put asafetida on the stove; others threw pigeon-shot against the ceiling and windows, making a most appaling din, and one wretch put in deadly work with a syringe thrust through the canvas representation of the man of brass with feet of clay. But, alas, Constable John Dey had recognized Howell and Clark, even amid their disguises. He had dealt with them too often before. The next tableau showed them, with their tall hats crushed over their heads, belaboring John Dey and his myrmidons, and presently, with half a dozen other ingenuous youth, they were haled to the office of justice. The young judge who officiated on this occasion was none other than a personage who will be mentioned with great respect more than once in these reminiscences,—Charles James Folger,—afterward my colleague in the State Senate, Chief Justice of the State and Secretary of the Treasury of the United States."

After a year of such experiences Andrew rebelled, but his father was obdurate and sent him back to the Christian institution, from which he soon ran away in disgust, taking refuge with a former tutor in Moravia. His father for a time was implacable, but at length the persuasive influence of the mother and his deep love for the boy led him to relent, and the son was welcomed home and permitted to carry out his own strong desire and go to Yale. There he distinguished himself in many ways, carrying off several honors, and his oration at the close of his studies produced so favorable an impression on Governor Seymour of Connecticut that on the latter's being nominated to the position of minister to St. Petersburg, young Mr. White was invited to become an *attaché*, a position which he accepted, though in order to prepare himself for the duties at the Russian capital he spent a year in Paris, boarding in a family where not a word of English was spoken and attending important lectures at the Sorbonne and elsewhere as well as assiduously studying French. He spent but six months in St. Petersburg, but they were rendered memorable on account of the Crimean war being then in progress. After leaving Russia he spent one year at the University of Berlin, after which he traveled extensively in Austria and Italy. Thus during an absence of three years he greatly broadened and deepened his education. Returning to America he accepted a chair in the University of Michigan, and here much of his noblest and most important work was accomplished. At that time he was full of the enthusiasm of youth and the powerful influence of Jefferson and

other leaders of true democracy dominated his thought-world. He was an ardent free-trader and his travels abroad had at that time served to increase his love and, we may say, passion, for liberal institutions and the fundamental demands of pure democracy. During the Civil war his health broke down and he spent some time in Europe, striving to check the strong current of sympathy in England, France and elsewhere for the Southern States. On his return in 1863, he was nominated and elected senator to represent the Syracuse district in the New York legislature. Here, as chairman of the Committee on Education, Mr. White wrought an important service to the state, and it is interesting to note that at this time he came into friendly relation with Ezra Cornell, a relation which ripened into the most intimate friendship and from which after years of battling and many disappointments, Cornell University was born and carried forward to triumphant success.

One of the most important duties assigned our author when in the senate was service on the legislative committee appointed to investigate the frightful sanitary conditions of New York city under the plundering, corrupt, ignorant and viciously incompetent rule of Tammany Hall. Already the sinister shadow of Tweed fell upon the city. He had not as yet gained control of the government. Tammany, however, always an organized appetite innocent of principle or even any faint idea of moral rectitude, was as usual the master of the metropolis. At the head of the health department was a certain Boole, and under him were a number of ignorant aliens who, though appointed as health-inspectors, were no more competent for the task than the red men on the reservations.

"Whole districts in the most crowded wards were in the worst possible sanitary condition. There was probably at that time nothing to approach it in any city in Christendom save, possibly, in Naples. Great blocks of tenement-houses were owned by men who kept low drinking-bars in them, each of whom, having secured from Boole the position of 'health-officer,' steadily resisted all sanitary improvement or even inspection. Many of these tenement houses were known as 'fever nests'; through many of them small-pox frequently raged, and from them it was constantly communicated to other parts of the city."

The inefficiency of a city government operated under boss and machine-rule, and how through the criminal negligence of our electors such conditions are permitted to imperil the physical life as well as corrupt the morals and destroy civic integrity is illustrated in the following description of scenes which occurred before the legislative committee in this Tammany investigation:

"Against the citizens' committee, headed by Judge Whiting and Mr. Eaton, Boole, aided by a most successful Tammany lawyer of the old sort, John Graham, fought with desperation. In order to disarm his assailants as far as possible, he brought before the committee a number of his 'health-officers' and 'sanitary inspectors,' whom he evidently thought best qualified to pass muster; but as one after another was examined and cross-examined, neither the cunning of Boole nor the skill of Mr. Graham could prevent the revelation of their utter unfitness. In the testimony of one of them the whole monstrous absurdity culminated. Judge Whiting examining him before the commission with reference to a case of small-pox which had occurred within his district, and to which, as health officer it was his duty to give attention, and asking him if he remembered the case, witness answered that he did. The following dialogue then ensued:

"Q. 'Did you visit this sick person?'

"A. 'No, sir.'

"Q. 'Why did you not?'

"A. 'For the same reason that you would not.'

"Q. 'What was that reason?'

"A. 'I did n't want to catch the disease myself.'

"Q. 'Did the family have any sort of medical aid?'

"A. 'Yes.'

"Q. 'From whom did they have it?'

"A. 'From themselves; they was "highjinnicks" (hygienics).'

"Q. 'What do you mean by "highjinnicks"?'

"A. 'I mean persons who doctor themselves.'

"After other answers of a similar sort the witness departed; but for some days afterward Judge Whiting edified the court, in his examination of Boole's health officers and inspectors, by finally asking each one whether he had any 'highjinnicks' in his health-district.

Some answered that they had them somewhat; some thought that they had them 'pretty bad'; others thought that there was 'not much of it'; others claimed that they were 'quite serious'; and, finally, in the examination of a certain health-officer who was very anxious to show that he had done his best, there occurred the following dialogue which brought down the house:

"Q. (By Judge Whiting.) 'Mr. Health-Officer, have you had any "highjinnicks" in your district?'

"A. 'Yes, sir.'

"Q. 'Much?'

"A. 'Yes, sir, quite a good deal.'

"Q. 'Have you done anything in regard to them?'

"A. 'Yes, sir; I have done all that I could.'

"Q. 'Witness, now, on your oath, do you know what the word "highjinnicks" means?'

"A. 'Yes, sir.'

"Q. 'What does it mean?'

"A. 'It means the bad smells that arise from standing water.'"

Another valuable service rendered to his state by Mr. White was his successfully preventing the passage of a Tammany bill that would have given one-half of Ward's Island to the Roman Catholics for a protectory for Catholic children. "I was opposed," says Mr. White, "to voting such a vast landed property belonging to the city into the hands of any church, and I fought the bill at all stages. In committee of the whole, and at first reading, priestly influence led a majority to vote for it, but at last, despite all the efforts of Tammany Hall, it was defeated."

III. MATURE YEARS.

This review has already reached such a length that we find it impossible to give anything like the space we desire to a notice of the diplomatic, educational and political career of Mr. White after he reached his thirty-fifth year. We shall therefore have to content ourselves with the enumeration of some of his leading achievements, the most important of which was the building up of Cornell University. This noble labor would be sufficient glory for any one life, and the story of the years of struggle and battle are most interestingly told.

In politics he became more and more an old-line Republican, whose association with such men as Conkling, Platt and others of their class, while it failed to make him desert his strong civil-service views, gradually exerted that benumbing reactionary influence over his mind that has marked the Republican party since it became recreant to its early high moral ideals and yielded to the manipulations and rule of such political bosses as Roscoe Conkling, Matthew Quay, T. C. Platt, Senator Aldrich, Mark Hanna and other representatives, advocates and beneficiaries, on the one hand, and servants on the other, of privileged interests and public-service corporations. Mr. White was also for a time a director in the New York Central Railroad, and a bank official, and his business and political environment thus became more and more reactionary and Hamiltonian in its character. Also, his sojourn in monarchal lands since the conservatism of age has crept upon him has exerted a very perceptible reactionary influence over his mental vision.

This falling away from the high, fine ideals of his youth, and the appreciable dissatisfaction with the old-time democratic atmosphere and the ideals and principles of the Declaration and the fathers, is to us one of the saddest spectacles possible in the life of a man who has filled a large place in the public eye and who has, we believe, been himself unconscious of the retrogressive change which has been subtly obscuring his old-time moral vision, until he has become in later years more and more an echo of the paid special-pleaders of corporations and privileged interests.

IV. LIMITATIONS AND LAPSES.

We know of no recent volume which so clearly and boldly illustrates the amazing extent to which environment, prejudice, personal friendship and association may warp the judgment and render possible incredible exhibitions of sophistry in impressionable and receptive minds that have not been sufficiently firmly rooted in fundamental moral verities and the basic demands of democracy as does this work. It will be impossible for us to more than briefly touch upon one or two typical instances that will serve, however, to emphasize the fact and to put the young reader on his guard. In our editorial on "Andrew D. White's Special Plea for Private-Ownership of Railways" we have dwelt somewhat at length upon the sophistical reasonings which are a marked feature of this mental and moral confusion; and in the following we shall try to illustrate how these disintegrating influences have led to a complete change in his

entire ideals along certain fundamental lines, and also how they have caused some of the most amazingly reckless and ill-considered statements.

Shortly after Mr. White's creditable service on the legislative investigating committee that exposed the frightful sanitary condition of New York city under machine-rule, our author was called to deliver the Phi Beta Kappa address at Yale Commencement. His subject was "The Greatest Foe of Republics," and in speaking of his argument Mr. White says:

"The fundamental idea was that the greatest foe of modern states, and especially of republics, is a political caste supported by rights and privileges. The treatment was mainly historical, one of the main illustrations being drawn from the mistake made by Richelieu in France, who, when he had completely broken down such a caste, failed to destroy its privileges, and so left a body whose oppressions and assumptions finally brought on the French Revolution."

Here was an exhibition of the clear vision of a young man not yet under the potent influence of boss-rule, but who later became so blinded to the vital truths so concisely stated above that we find him training with such political bosses as Roscoe Conkling and T. C. Platt, and who, after bravely and ably championing the principles of free-trade, came so under the spell of privileged interests that he became a pronounced protectionist, a champion of the banking interests and a special-pleader for the private-ownership of natural monopolies, although no honest student of present-day political or economic conditions in America can deny that, apart from monopoly in land, these three beneficiaries of special privilege and class-legislation have been the supreme causes of the destruction of our old-time republic through that worst of all foes of free institutions—a political caste led by unscrupulous bosses and rendered all-powerful through corrupt political machines wholly subservient to privileged interests.

The strange power that Roscoe Conkling seemed to exert over Mr. White was doubtless due largely to the fact that the latter was in a way one of Mr. Conkling's sponsors in his political debut, and nothing is clearer than that anything for which Mr. White felt himself in a positive way responsible had a very biasing effect on his judgment. A notable instance of this is found in his manifest admiration for such typical machine-politicians and champions of privileged interests as Senator Foraker. The fact that the Ohio politician was a student at Cornell when Mr. White was its president seemed to have blinded him completely to the limitations and weaknesses of his former pupil; while for so noble a type of high-minded and incorruptible statesmanship as William J. Bryan our author entertains such unmeasured aversion and contempt that he permits no opportunity to pass to sneer at and unjustly criticize him. A striking example of this injustice is found in a passage which reveals Mr. White's latter-day antipathy to exhibitions of spontaneous enthusiasm on the part of the public at great conventions. In this passage, in which we have all the contempt which the old Bourbon aristocracy of France and the satellites of the Stuarts felt for the honest enthusiasm of the great masses, Mr. White intimates that Mr. Bryan's nomination was due to the galleries—an implication which is as wide of the truth as the rest of the criticism is unjust. To anyone present at the Chicago convention it is needless to state that the vast majority of the delegates were uncompromisingly pledged to a radical candidate. Mr. Cleveland by the secret bond-deal and other unpopular acts, and by his studied ignoring of his ante-election pledges for radical tariff-reduction, which had led to his triumphant election, had all but destroyed the Democratic party, as was clearly shown in the Congressional election preceding the nomination of Mr. Bryan, when the greatest Republican tidal-wave known in recent years swept the land. In vain did the Whitney-Hill-Wall-street contingent strive with flattering promises and seductive visions, such as the priesthood of high finance knows so well how to conjure up, to influence those delegates. The more they labored the higher rose the indignation against the plutocratic wing of the party and the more positive was their determination to nominate a radical Western man. It is said that Garfield's speech nominating Sherman centered the opposition to General Grant on Garfield, and in like manner did the magnificent address of Mr. Bryan center the friends of democracy who were fighting the wealth and corrupting influence of Wall street, on the young but by no means untried statesman whose fine public record, like that of Lincoln before him, proved him to be a loyal friend of the people and an incorruptible statesman.

In denouncing the practice of permitting

the people to witness the nominations of their national candidates, Mr. White says:

"The whole thing is a monstrous abuse. Attention has been called to it by thinking Democrats as well as by Republicans, who have seen in it a sign of deterioration which has produced many unfortunate consequences and will produce more. It is the old story of the French Convention overawed by a gallery mob and mistaking the mob whimsies of a city for the sober judgment of the country. One result of it the whole nation saw when, in more recent years, a youthful member of Congress, with no training to fit him for executive duties, was suddenly, by the applause of such a mob, imposed upon the Democratic National Convention as a candidate for the presidency. Those who recall the way in which 'the boy orator of the Platte' became the Democratic candidate for the Chief Magistracy over seventy millions of people, on account of a few half-mawkish, half-blasphemous phrases in a convention speech, can bear witness to the necessity of a reform in this particular—a reform which will forbid a sensation-seeking city mob to usurp the function of the whole people of our Republic."

The spectacle of Mr. White characterizing Mr. Bryan's speech as blasphemous is well-calculated to excite the risibilities of the most taciturn. Our author's assumption, based on ignorance of facts, that it was the gallery and not the delegates that led to the majority of votes being cast for Bryan is one of many illustrations of looseness in dealing with facts of a political character that occur with painful frequency in this work. Another example of Mr. White's blindly partisan and reactionary views in regard to Mr. Bryan occurs in his description of his reply to an address by Professor Goldwin Smith, in which he had held that one of the greatest dangers to our nation arose from plutocracy,—a fact which, by the way, no intelligent thinker of the day, in view of recent events, can question. But Mr. White, who twenty-five years before had publicly declared that the greatest foe of republics is a political caste supported by rights and privileges, now gives utterance to these sentiments in answer to Professor Smith:

"I took pains to show that the whole spirit of our laws is in favor of the rapid dispersion of great properties, and that, within the remembrance of many present, a large number of the greatest fortunes in the United States had been widely dispersed. As to other declarations regarding dangers arising from the acquisition of foreign territory and the like, I insisted that all these dangers were as nothing compared to one of which we were then having a striking illustration—namely, demagogism; and I urged, what I have long deeply felt, that the main source of danger to republican institutions is now, and always has been, the demagogism which seeks to array labor against capital, employee against employer, profession against profession, class against class, section against section. I mentioned the name of no one; but it must have been clear to all present how deeply I felt regarding the issues which each party represented, and especially regarding the resort to the lowest form of demagogism which Mr. Bryan was then making, in the desperate attempt to save his falling fortunes."

It would be difficult to find, outside this work, more striking illustrations of loose or reckless utterances than are contained in the above. All men know that under present methods of high finance, by which the plutocracy operates, the vast fortunes being acquired are as a rule only augmented from year to year as the gamblers play with loaded dice and through their virtual ownership of the government feel perfectly free to do what would land poor men in the penitentiary.

One other typical example of our author's looseness in statement of facts occurs when he is speaking of the rejoicing in Europe over Mr. McKinley's reëlection. He says:

"Not only at home, but abroad, as I can amply testify, the news of his reëlection was received with general satisfaction, and most of all by those who wish well to our country and cherish hopes that government by the people and for the people may not be brought to naught by the wild demagogism which has wrecked all great republics thus far."

Here we find a man whose special pretension is that he is a historian, recklessly declaring that "wild demagogism" has wrecked all great republics thus far. Why did not the author enumerate all the great republics thus destroyed? Why, indeed, if he dared not presume upon the ignorance of the public to such an extent as to cite the great republics that have thus been overthrown, did he not enumerate some of the little republics that

owed their destruction to causes other than those of the domination of privileged interests or the sword of force? The great Roman republic, of course, towers in history as the most conspicuous of the attempts of a great ancient people to realize republican government, but Mr. White would hardly have had the hardihood to contend that its downfall was due to "wild demagogism." Florence, Venice and Milan rise before the mind as three typical attempts at republican government in medieval and early modern times; but their overthrow was not due to "wild demagogism." On the other hand, they went down by the three ways through which republics perish or pass into eclipse. Venice went down through political caste supported by rights and privileges, such as Mr. White in 1864 described. The republic of Florence was destroyed through the cunning of wealth employed by the great banking-firm of the di Medici family. Milan lost her momentary breath of freedom through the sword of force in the hands of Sforza. Political caste, wealth and privileged interests, and martial force—these are the supreme foes of republics.

These examples will be sufficient to illustrate the reckless character of our author's statements whenever the facts run counter to his prejudices and views which in later years he has imbibed from the privileged interests and reactionary influences that have environed him; while the further illustration to which we have alluded, of his sophistical reasoning, found in our editorial, will serve to place the reader on his guard—something that is necessary in a book so charmingly written and which contains so much of interest and value.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Hecla Sandwith. By Edward Uffington Valentine. Cloth. Pp. 434. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

It is a pleasure to notice a romance of American life so instinct with artistic, literary and scientific excellence as *Hecla Sandwith.* Here speaks the poet, the historian and the psychologist. The simple grace of style, enriched by the vivid imagination of one who observes nature through the eye of the artist, would lend so strong a charm to a far inferior romance as to make its reading a pleasure. The style is, however, but the raiment—a fabric woven with rich hues and shotted with golden threads —that garments the romance in which the historian presents with the fidelity of the realist and the discernment of the artist a sectional view of American life in one of the great commonwealths in the meridian period of the last century. Yet again, the historian's picture, fine, true and valuable as it is, is not the supreme excellence of *Hecla Sandwith,* but corresponds to the body, while the reflections of humanity in varying aspects and the action and interaction of the leading or predominant emotions of the human mind furnish the living, palpitating soul of the story. The depiction of human life is so true, so simple and convincing, that we see and know the various characters; they are old acquaintances; we have known many of their type. This fine mirroring forth of humanity is complemented by the presentation of some glimpses of the occult or hidden workings of the soul that are very fine. Mr. Valentine, though a poet and a historian, is also a psychologist of no mean power. Present-day fiction presents few truer or finer objective illustrations of the strange and inexplicable workings of the human mind under certain conditions and of the power of the imagination to idealize in one instance while failing to note finer manifestations of ideal qualities in another, under certain conditions, than is seen in the compelling fascination experienced by Hecla for her cousin,—a fascination largely due to long idealization on the one hand and to the feeling that he is forever denied her on account of her father's views on the other.

Why is it that we most desire that which seems just beyond our grasp, and why does the mind so frequently turn instinctively from that which others would force upon us, even though it be the very thing which, if left to ourselves, we would most certainly have desired? Here we have in Hecla Sandwith, Wentworth Oliver and Richard Hallett psychological studies very true and deeply suggestive. Richard Hallett of all men is the one

*Books intended for review in The Arena should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, The Arena, Boston, Mass.

who by nature and temperament could best fill the measure of love in the life of a great soul like Hecla; and yet she has dwelt on the image and remembrance of her favorite cousin during her school-days when away from home, until she has created an ideal which transcends all reality. Then comes the revelation that she loves this cousin, and also the knowledge that her idolized but sternly religious father will never consent to the union, while he does desire his child to wed the young Englishman, Richard Hallett. This more and more she comes to feel to be her duty, but love makes supreme demands on life; nothing must claim priority to its imperial sway. It is something that cannot be driven, and duty's lash but serves to deaden the tender sentiments that, had there been no implied compulsion, would doubtless have arisen between two natures so essentially noble and congenial as Richard and Hecla. Love glorifies the object of its voluntary affection, but once make duty love's taskmaster, and the little god becomes critical, searching for faults and flaws where otherwise it had been blind to all imperfections. And so we find Hecla at length wedded, through fidelity to her sense of duty, to Richard, a noble, self-sacrificing, manly, tender, generous and courageous man; and yet she becomes blind to all his finer qualities, magnifying his failings and falsely construing his acts and deeds, until at length a rupture comes and the husband sails for Europe. When gone, she knows that never again will she see him unless she sends for him. A great revulsion takes place. The feeling that duty had bound, and which had proved so galling, has vanished. Again her future lies in her hands, and with this freedom her eyes are opened and love, which before had beheld a master, now sees only the glorified ideal of manhood.

The psychological feature of the story alone would give permanent interest to the romance. It is, however, only one of many excellencies that combine to make *Hecla Sandwith* a story that novel readers who enjoy good literature cannot afford to ignore.

The Morals of Marcus Ordeyne. By William J. Locke. Cloth. Pp. 304. Price, $1.50. New York: John Lane.

Should the title of this work attract some reader in search of the meditations of a modern Marcus Aurelius, he will quickly be disillusioned. The hero is a man of the world with much of the cynicism of many modern intellectuals who are society people; and yet, deep down in his heart there is a finer sense of morality in regard to many things than is to-day evinced by many who make great pretensions to Christian virtue. The chief distinguishing quality of the story, however, is found in the literary and artistic merit rather than in its ethical worth. Clearly it is a tale written to amuse. The author possesses a peculiarly brilliant and finished style. Here on almost every page the reader will encounter bright epigrams, some satirical, some cynical, others wholesomely smile-provoking. Then again, the concept is unique and entirely out of the dead level of commonplace situations in most society novels; and finally, it presents in a very striking manner many of the extremes that mark what is considered conventionally proper in the society of the Occident and the Orient.

The hero early in the tale encounters a young girl of English parentage whose mother had married a Turk. The child has been reared in a harem. She has managed to escape with a young man who had sympathy for her perilous condition, as she is about to be married to an aged Mohammedan. This youth, however, is himself married, and on reaching England he sends her to London and blows out his own brains. This homeless and friendless girl encounters Sir Marcus. His heart is moved by her story, and her great beauty exercises a powerful spell over him. He adopts her as his ward. Then follows a series of more or less exciting happenings. During all this time the magic influence of love is working in the heart of the old cynic, and at length the consummation of his heart's desire is fulfiled when he wins the love of his ward, who, however, in the meantime has run away with one of Sir Marcus' friends, only to learn the bitter lesson which millions of confiding girls have learned before they have realized the baseness of some men's natures.

On Life's Stairway. By Frederic Lawrence Knowles. Cloth. Pp. 126. Price, $1.00. Boston: Dana Estes & Company.

In the May Arena we noticed at length *Love Triumphant*, Mr. Knowles' second volume of verse. Since its appearance we have received a volume of the third edition of his earlier work entitled *On Life's Stairway*, which has just appeared. This little work, though

full of charming verse, with several poems in which the author strikes the deeper note, is, we are glad to note, not so excellent as his second book,—a fact which confirms our belief that this poet has a real future before him.

Space forbids our quoting more than one poem from this work, but it is a gem that our readers will prize, for here the poet strikes the keynote of democracy's demand. The brave, true and powerful, never aping ancient error, never cowering when truth calls for a champion, never silent when justice needs a defender, yet ever gentle and pitiful for the weak, ever so clean-souled as to draw with magic power the open-hearted innocence of childhood,—such is the poet's ideal of what democracy should represent.

"Ofttimes, Democracy, thou seem'st to me
Not what the poets paint—a virgin fair,
With soft limbs, and pale cheeks of purity
Framed in the splendid noonday of her hair;

Nay, but some Western Titan, bare of breast,
Huge-legged, low-browed, and bearded as of old,
A man of mountain muscle, and a chest
Whose lungs indifferent drink the heat, the cold.

Thy laugh shakes empires to their fall; thy curse
Makes buried tyrannies tremble in their graves,—
The Erie cataract has no thunders worse,
Nor hoarse-mouthed Hatteras harvesting her waves.

Yet, coarse, colossal,—thou art tender too;
Though crouching nations hasten at thy beck
To pay thee homage, weakness finds thee true,
The face of childhood nestles on thy neck.

O pioneer of all the years to be,
Bearing the axe that fells the trees of Time,
Thy monstrous beauty meaneth more to me
Than all the goddesses of youth and rhyme."

The Quakeress. By Charles Heber Clark (Max Adeler). Illustrated in colors. Cloth. Pp. 390. Price, $1.50. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

The Quakeress is a romance told with charming simplicity and full of delicate touches. It is also instinct with human life; it thrills with the palpitation of human souls under stress and strain. It opens in the sunshine; a garden heavy with the perfume of fragrant flowers; trees drooping with luscious fruit; birds chirp and sing in the boughs and vines; while under a great tree are seated the two Quaker lovers and before them stretch valley, stream and hills. Fair and engaging as is the scene, however, almost with the opening lines we catch a warning note. A sense of uneasiness is present. Something impresses us that we are approaching the shadow; that into the fabric of life with which we are here concerned the Norns are weaving the dark thread of tragedy; that the gloriously brilliant threads with which the pattern opens will soon be shifted in the hands of destiny, and that black will form the background. And this feeling, of which we only catch a glimpse in the opening chapters, steadily creeps upon us with irresistible force as the young life of the heroine, in the hands of ruthless fate, is blighted and smitten for the rest of her little journey.

The story deals with a beautiful young Quakeress and her lover, a wealthy young Quaker, noble, fine, and true, but a man who does not arouse any thrill of ecstasy in the girl. Later there comes a dashing young Southerner on the scene who is brilliant, impulsive, reckless and of compelling personality. He captures the girl's heart. All the pent-up love of her strong nature goes out to this youth, who does not, however, tell her until he has completely won her heart, that he has already married in Mexico, where he ran away from his wife and does not now know whether or not she lives. This blow is followed by others. Then the war breaks out. The Southerner enters the Confederate army and is killed. His death takes all the sunshine out of the girl's life. Her old-time lover, however, proves her good angel in the hour of her darkness and distress and is all that man may be to woman in such a night-time of the soul.

The character-drawing is excellent. There are some highly dramatic passages and the story is replete with incidents and adventures. Perhaps its greatest value lies in its worth as a careful, interesting and faithful psychological study.

The Measure of a Man. By Charles Brodie Patterson. Cloth. Pp. 298. Price, $1.20. New York: The Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS volume is in our judgment by far the best work that has come from the pen of Dr. Patterson. It may be said to represent his ripest thought and to epitomize in a remarkably clear and comprehensible manner the philosophy, ethics and therapy contained in his preceding books. The keynotes of the work are found in these two passages from the New Testament:

"For the earnest expectation of the creature

waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God."—*Romans* 8: 19.

"Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."—*Ephesians* 4: 13.

The volume is divided into two parts. The first, entitled "In His Image," contains four chapters in which we have a strong, clear and thoughtful discussion of "The Natural Man," "The Rational Man," "The Psychic Man," and "The Spiritual Man." Part II. is concerned with "The Son of Man as Man," "As an Idealist," "As a Teacher," and "As a Healer."

The purpose of the author is thus set forth in the preface:

"I have one desire uppermost in my mind; it is that it may carry a word of hope to those who feel their need of greater life and light. In it I have tried to show, in so far as lay within my power, different stages or degrees of growth in human life, and that all these varying degrees are necessary; that the very mistakes and sins of men tend to bring about the fuller and more complete life; that in the grand economy of the universe nothing is lost, but that all things work together for good, whether we name them good or evil. Knowing this to be true, my message is optimistic; one of peace and good-will to all men; one of healing to the sick, and recovery of sight to the blind, or liberty to those in captivity; one wherein the acceptable year of the Lord is proclaimed."

There have been many works written during the past quarter of a century dealing with what is popularly termed the New Thought. Some have been concerned principally with the religious side of the philosophy; others have laid special stress on its metaphysics; all have more or less emphasized the curing of disease through mental or spiritual treatment, or the stimulation and arousing of the latent mental and spiritual energies resident in the soul of man. Many of these works have contained much that is thoughtful and helpful; others have been extreme and visionary when not rambling and lacking in logical sequence. But we know of no single presentation of the New Thought philosophy in its various aspects so thoroughly satisfying as this volume. It is a sane, temperate and deeply religious work that will appeal to all earnest men and women who are interested in metaphysical thought in so far as it relates to primitive Christian and modern mental healing of disease.

In ethical matters as they relate to present-day business life Dr. Patterson evinces a clear insight. He recognizes fundamental truth about which there seems to be much confusion among modern religious leaders. Thus, for example, he says:

"In referring to the outward manifestation of the inner power, the question is often asked: Is there a law of success? Yes, undoubtedly there is; but it is not, to my mind, a thing that can be reduced to an axiom. . . . 'Guides to financial success,' 'Success vibrations,' 'Infallible rules for success,' and their like, are, in my estimation, vain imaginings except as their influence may make for the awakening, the development, of the individual. I do not question the sincerity of those who profess to transmit these 'success waves' to others, but I do question their wisdom and their knowledge of law.

"There is a law of success, but it is merely the same law that governs all genuine growth, in which the lesser is included in the greater, and the unfoldment is from inner to outer. Outward conditions must fall in line with the inner development. That is the law. A confident assurance keeps pace with this development. 'Distrust of one's self really means consciousness of wrong.'

"Again, we must pay for what we get. We must give a just equivalent for all the world gives us. Money is no equivalent, unless that money stands as a symbol of previous effort put forth. We must give ourselves in exchange for the fulfilment of our desires—or what is given us.

"A man's moral status depends in large measure upon how his income is earned. *Some one* works for the interest that comes to him from the money he has invested, and *how* that some one works should concern the receiver of the interest; and yet we give such matters only superficial consideration, if any. While we are 'making a living,' let us endeavor to make a life as well.

"Joy in activity, the love of work, is one of the fundamental passions of the human soul, and it is because this passion has been misdirected that we have the economic conditions of to-day. Misused power on the one side begets overwork on the other, and so is brought about the lack of poise and the preponderance of misery in our present social relations.

. . . . . .

"All reasonable effort put forth in the making of money is laudable when a just equivalent is given for what one receives. But the getting of money without giving a return is the curse of our age. The effort to get rich quickly, regardless of what the effect is going to be upon the lives of others, has brought more misery, crime and degradation into human life than has almost any other one thing in recent years. People barter away everything that should be held dear in their insane money-getting efforts; for a man is not balanced who will sell his honor, or his friends, or any real or true thing in life, taking for its equivalent the dollar that thieves can steal."

And again, in his discourse on the Son of Man, he says:

"Another fact of deep significance in the life of Jesus is that he was a wage-earner. He had no respect for the money-changers who were parasites feeding on the fruit of other men's industry. His method of earning his living was direct—he gave value for value; he did as he would be done by. Only the man who has worked with his hands can enter into the true value of things; he alone knows that there is no short cut to the goal; knows the patient hours of toil necessary to attainment; and he knows, as the man who has reaped all his life where he has not sown can never know, how to place upon whatever he gives in return for honest work the true estimate."

Persons interested in metaphysical healing and the New Thought philosophy, and especially those who are interested in Christian healing or an exposition of the modern metaphysical concept of Christ as a healer, should not fail to read this volume.

Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation. By Albert Frederick Pollard, A.M. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 400. Price, $1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

FEW BOOKS are so helpful to young and old as well-written biographies of the great ones of history who have left an indelible impress on national life or the civilization of which they were products; and at the present time no works, in our judgment, are more needed than the biographies of the men who have been positive conscience-forces in the development of modern civilization, for we are living in an age when wealth and material possessions have so fascinated the intellect of civilization that college, press, church and other centers of civic, social and individual life are strangely dead to the influence of high, true idealism. Nothing to-day is so needed as the voice of the true prophet, aflame with moral enthusiasm and who, thoughtless of self and the praise or blame of the shallow and the soulless, dedicates his life, his all, to arousing the conscience of sleeping society. Works like Professor Pollard's, dealing as they do with the great moment in history in which the conscience-element dominated life to such a degree that civilization was lifted many steps up the steep pathway of progress, are of inestimable worth.

Cranmer was at once one of the most commanding and one of the weakest great men of a great epoch. That he was largely the victim of a time of great stress and strain and of circumstances that tried him as few have ever been tried, are facts that have too frequently been overlooked by those who in happier and freer ages have assumed to sit in judgment on one who was tempted and tried as few have ever been tried. It is with great satisfaction that we note in this very able and valuable work a resolute determination to deal justly with the great subject in hand. Professor Pollard proves himself to be a broad-minded philosopher, a man whose mental vision is able to sweep the confines of an epoch and whose imagination is strong enough to enable him to see, understand and feel the strong and imperative demands that the age of Henry VIII. and of Bloody Mary made upon the great men of the time. There is here no foolish adulation, no glossing over of facts, no undue attempt to extenuate the weakness of Cranmer; but while recognizing all his shortcomings, our author also shows how necessary it is in judging a character to take into due consideration the circumstances that environed the subject and the age in which he lived. This book is an inspiring work, both as a fine biography of a most admirable man and as an addition to the conscience literature that is so needed to stimulate the moral energies of our age.

Sir Bevill. By Rev. Canon Arthur Christopher Thynne. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 444. Price, $1.50. New York: John Lane.

THIS historical romance by the Rev. Canon Arthur Christopher Thynne, is a fairly well-

written story dealing largely with the life of one of the leading Cavaliers of Cornwall. The early portion of the story contains much about the life of John Eliot, one of the noblest martyrs of liberty in the history of England. Bevill Granville, the hero of the tale, was an intimate friend of Eliot, and had the latter lived it is doubtful whether the favor and flattery of the perfidious King Charles I. would have made him recreant to the cause of the people. After the death of John Eliot in the Tower of London, Bevill was driven more and more into sympathetic relations with the would-be destroyer of England's liberty and finally loses his life on the battlefield.

The early part of the romance is the most enjoyable portion, dealing in a charming manner with the boyhood, youth and early manhood of Eliot, Bevill Granville and other notable youths of the time. The author's intense prejudice against the Dissenters is displayed in his making the master-rogue of the story a Puritan, who is ever quoting Scripture; and though for Eliot he expresses genuine admiration, his sympathies seem to be for the most part with the King. The love-scenes also form pleasing parts of the work, which, however, contains many strong episodes some of which are handled with considerable dramatic power. ———

Cliveden. By Kenyon West. Cloth. Pp. 474. Price, $1.50. Boston: The Lothrop Publishing Company.

THE GENERAL reader, interested in historical romances dealing with the Revolutionary war, will find *Cliveden* one of the best of the numerous novels of this character that have appeared. It is an historical romance dealing with the British occupation of Philadelphia and the stirring events connected with the same. Mr. West has crowded his pages with incidents, many of them strongly dramatic. In fact, the story would lend itself to dramatization, and would, we think, make a much better acting play than most of the Revolutionary dramas that have appeared on the stage. The treatment is somewhat conventional in character, the hero being a British officer, the heroine, a patriotic maid. Washington figures rather conspicuously, while from first to last there stalks through the play the conventional melodramatic villain who poses as a friend of the colonies, a physician and surgeon, and who is also in the secret employ of Howe.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE COLORADO STRUGGLE: THE MOST IMPORTANT SERIES OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PAPERS OF RECENT YEARS: With a full appreciation of the immense importance and value of IDA M. TARBELL'S powerful *History of the Standard Oil Company* and of LINCOLN STEFFENS' masterly unmasking of the overthrow of democratic government in American municipalities, through machine rule acting in concert with privileged interests, and of the exhaustive and authoritative history of the overthrow of republican government in Pennsylvania through the QUAY machine and the public-service corporations, by RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG, now running in THE ARENA; and without wishing to minify the educational value of the confessions of Mr. LAWSON in his revelations of the inherent lawlessness, dishonesty and immorality of Wall-street's masters; and appreciating also the full value of other powerful exposures of the evil conditions of the hour, due to the ascendency of privileged interests and corporate wealth to the mastership of government in city, state and nation, we do not hesitate to pronounce the series of papers which opens in this issue of THE ARENA by the Hon. J. WARNER MILLS and which have been prepared after months of careful study by one of the most eminent legal authorities and authors of the land, as *the most important series of politico-economic papers that has been written in recent decades—by far the most important.* The others have been for the most part the recital of facts—the narrative of the historian. But here we have the whole subject treated by a man with rare philosophical grasp and the profound insight of the true statesman. Here we not only become cognizant of the supreme perils of the present, but we also strike the bed-rock of causes that have produced the irrepressible conflict. Here we have the white light of true democracy flashed on the body politic revealing the enemy at the vitals of the republic. This is a series of papers that every youth in America should read; it is a series of papers that no clergyman or other leader of men who places conscience and a love of right above selfish greed or sordid aims, can afford to ignore. Every lover of free institutions should make it a religious duty to disseminate these papers as widely as possible. We urge every reader of THE ARENA to see to it that at least ten friends read each instalment of these papers. Do this, friends, and we will start a mighty movement back toward the fountainhead of democracy, back toward the old ideals of justice, freedom, and fraternity that shall soon become irresistible—a movement that shall again make the United States the moral leader of the nations, the noblest and greatest world-power on earth.

Switzerland and Her Divorce-Legislation: Our series of papers by leading representative thinkers of foreign lands on vital topics this month deals with the divorce-legislation of the republic of Switzerland. This paper has been prepared for THE ARENA by Professor LOUIS WUARIN, who holds the chair of sociology in the University of Geneva. He gives our readers an excellent idea of the recent legislation in the republic of Switzerland, where part of the states are Roman Catholic and the remainder are extreme orthodox Protestant. In view of the strict religious convictions entertained by the Swiss people, the liberal divorce measures will impress many persons as being rather remarkable. Swiss statesmen, however, are as a rule deep thinkers. They look at sociological, political and economic questions in a fundamental manner and without fear or favor seek to secure for society measures which in the long run will prove most beneficent both to the individual and to the State, thus fostering the development of a broad-minded, free and happy people.

Mr. Blankenburg's Paper: This month we give another of those masterly revelations of civic corruption from the pen of Mr. BLANKENBURG. We are receiving many letters of appreciation from the more thoughtful of Americans in regard to the value of these papers at the present crisis, and we wish to call the special attention of our friends to the fact that these series of papers which are appearing in THE ARENA are from specialists and men who are not only on the ground and personally know that of which they write, but who also stand foremost in their community among the authoritative and most highly-respected citizens. In Mr. BLANKENBURG'S case special interest attaches to his papers from the fact that he has for more than a quarter of a century steadily fought the rise of corruption in his own party, and at no time has he shown the white feather or in any measure deserted the high standard of civic righteousness which democracy imposes upon all her true-minded and conscientious children. We would again urge our readers to carefully preserve all these papers. They will be of inestimable value as reference works, because the subjects with which they are concerned are bound to become the overmastering issues in our political life during the next few years.

How the People Should Acquire Public Utilities: The two brief papers from the eminent authorities and specialists on public-ownership of public utilities, Professor E. M. BEMIS, of Cleveland, Ohio, and FREDERICK F. INGRAM, of Detroit, who has rendered such conspicuous service to his city as commissioner of public lighting, are timely and filled with vital truths that will commend themselves to thinking patriots. Our readers interested in municipal progress and the battle for democratic government will find several points of special interest and worth in these contributions.

The Charm of Emerson: Readers of THE ARENA will find in Professor MOSLEY'S paper on "The Charm of Emerson" a discussion of exceptional interest and value. The author of this paper has for years made a special study of transcendental and metaphysical philosophical thought, and naturally enough the charm of our great, serene poet-philosopher has touched his thought-world as it has illumined, strengthened and inspired thousands of our finest and truest young men and women.

The Identity of Socialism and Christianity: This very thoughtful and scholarly paper by JAMES T. VAN RENSSELAER will appeal to a large number of conscientious and thoughtful persons in the church and out, who recognize the disintegrating influence of present materialistic commercialism on the millions of the nation and the prosperity and happiness of the multitude.

Professor Maxey on the Panama Question: Professor MAXEY in this issue continues his series of papers dealing with contemporaneous diplomatic history, this month his subject being Panama.

Andrew D. White and Public-Ownership of Railways: This month we publish a most admirable portrait of ANDREW D. WHITE, whose autobiography is one of the most important books of the kind that has appeared in years. We have made an extended study of the work in this issue and have devoted our principal editorial discussion to Mr. WHITE'S amazing position in regard to public-ownership of railways. It is our aim to make THE ARENA indispensable to American citizens who realize the importance of the present crisis—the battle of democracy against reaction and class or privileged rule—a battle which in fact involves the very life of free institutions.

The Third Great Struggle Between Autocracy and Democracy: In this issue we publish the third paper in Mr. POWELL'S series on the great struggles between autocracy and democracy in the United States. The next paper will deal with the present battle which is being waged. Mr. POWELL is one of the most careful and conscientious historians of the time as well as a broad-minded, versatile and critical author.

Homer Davenport: A Cartoonist Dominated by Moral Ideals: In our series of papers on leading American newspapar cartoonists we this month present a sketch of HOMER DAVENPORT whose powerful cartoons during the time he was working for Mr. HEARST did as much as perhaps the work of any other single person to arouse the American people to the peril of predatory wealth and boss-rule. In a recent letter Mr. DAVENPORT states that his father has been a reader of THE ARENA since its inception.

The Grub-Stake: Mr. FRANK H. SWEET contributes to this issue a pleasing short story, simple, direct and instinct with human interest as well as true to life. It is one of a series of short stories that will be features of succeeding issues of THE ARENA.

A Correction: A typographical error occurred in Mrs. SPENCER TRASK'S poem in the June ARENA. On page 599, in the third line from the top of the page, the word "ministers" should have been spelled "minsters."

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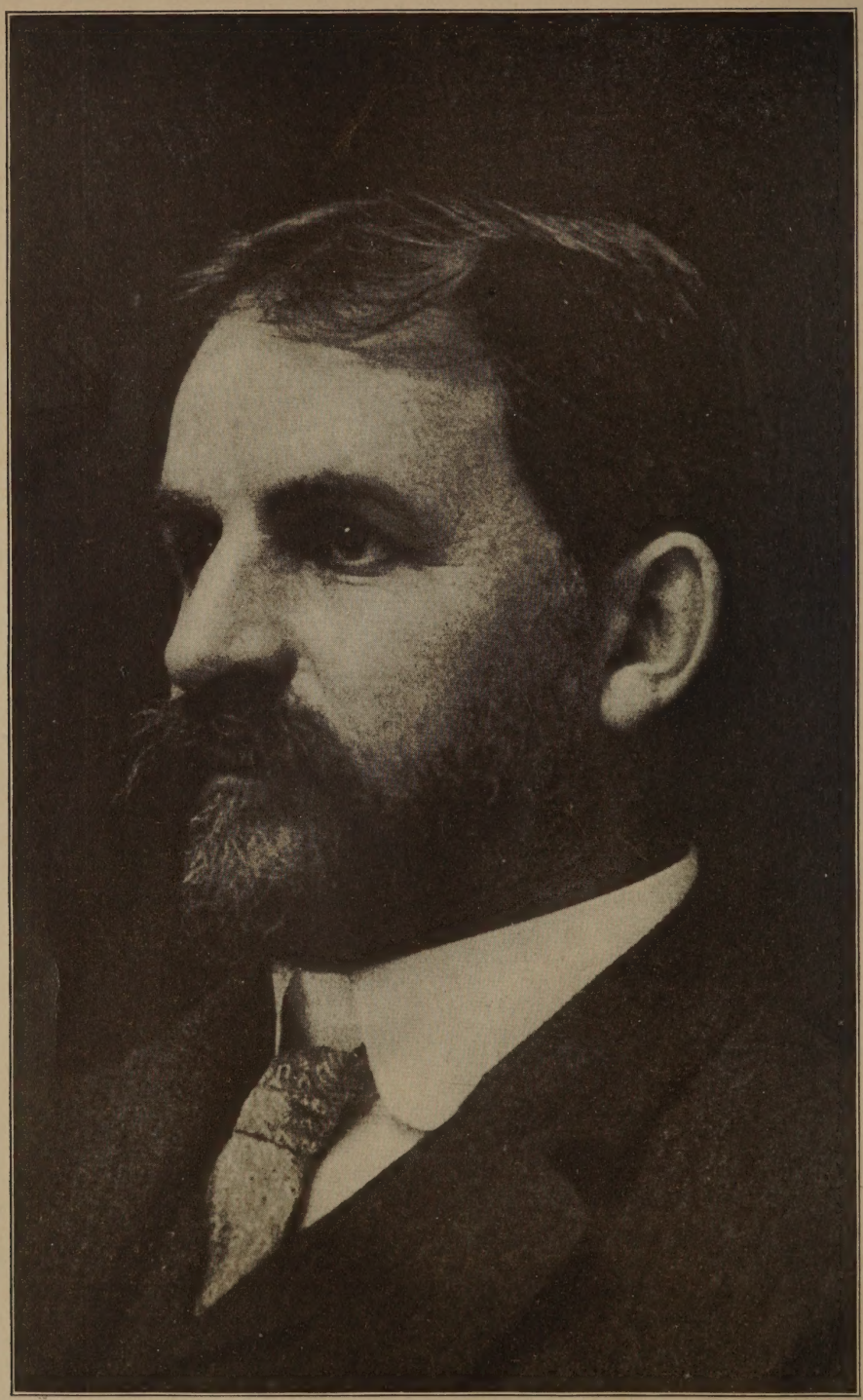

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"*We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,*
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

The Arena

VOL. XXXIV AUGUST, 1905 No. 189

THE EUROPEAN PARCELS-POST.

BY HON. J. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P.

THE AMERICAN is tolerant enough of foreign criticism of his ways; for such criticism he is persuaded is due either to presumption or to ignorance, and is therefore rather amusing.

The ideal of civilized government—a fair distribution of happiness—is doubtless more consistently pursued and more nearly attained in the United States than in any other country,—with the possible exception of England. With the prescience of genius Bacon placed his Utopia in the West. American institutions, however, are framed on so colossal a scale that it requires a certain degree of mental detachment to see them in their entirety. An inhabitant of some village like Chamounix, at the foot of the Alps, knows nothing of the feelings with which a traveler approaches that stupendous range and sees at one glance snow-capped summits spiring to the clouds, pine-forests, glaciers, green meadows and rivulets like diamond necklaces.

"'T is distance lends enchantment to the view
And robes the mountains in its azure hue."

Some phenomena are revealed by the microscope; others, for instance sun-spots, can only be studied with the telescope. For many years I have thus, from a far observatory, studied one feature of American activity—the post-office; and I think I may claim that my interest has been of a benevolent character. Let me not be hastily accused of perversity when I assert that the American post-office, with its 80,000 branches, has yet unexplored territories to develop, and that the chief merit in its administration is the existence of a deficit of $8,000,000. I am not, of course, bold enough to argue that a deficit is desirable in itself. If I were postal dictator at Washington for twenty-four hours I would abolish this deficit without injuring the service. But a great principle is at stake.

The high postal-officials at Washington have set the public interest above the natural desire to show a profit, and their courageous policy which shocks St. Martin's le Grand, is, I rejoice to see, imitated in more than one British colony.

The principle actuating them must before long bring about two-cent postage to the rest of the world, and what I am here concerned with, a *United States Inland Parcels-Post.* These measures seem to me of vital importance to commerce, and no less indispensable from the social point-of-view. One is reminded of the paradox of Oliver Wendell Holmes, philopher: "Give us the luxuries of life, and we will dispense with its necessaries."

The reason why the progressive republic is so far behind Europe in this respect was made clear to me in a con-

versation with my friend the Hon. John Wanamaker, for some years Postmaster-General of the United States. After hearing me dilate on the incalculable convenience and stimulus to trade of a parcels-post and the unrivaled excellence of the organization available, ramifying into every village, he spoke to this effect:

"All that is true. But there are four insuperable obstacles to the establishment of a parcels-post in our country. The first is the —— Express Company; the second is the —— Express Company; the third is the —— Express Company; the fourth is the —— Express Company."

(I do not give the names he mentioned; first, because it might be resented; and secondly, because I forget them.)

With the utmost respect for my distinguished friend, I contend that this simplifies the problem considerably.

A Roman Emperor wished that humanity—or did he content himself with saying the Roman people?—had but one neck, that he might end it at a blow. It is certainly convenient for reform when a gigantic abuse is concentrated in the hands of only four beneficiaries.

There is no doubt that American civilization is an independent growth, owing little to other countries. Conventions rigidly enforced on the Englishman, Frenchman or German are not binding on travelers from New York, Boston or Chicago. Some sense of this was conveyed in the sign of the place of entertainment at Paris, called "Hotel de l' Univers et des Etats Unis." Yet this precocious young nation has a few things to learn from its elders—for instance *that monopolies in private hands are contrary to public policy.* European opinion is in favor of entrusting the conveyance of parcels to the post-office, supplemented where necessary by private enterprise.

The first of the numerous advantages of a parcels-post over carrying-companies is cheapness. Theoretically an American tradesman has 80,000,000 of potential customers. But a parcel sent from New York to San Francisco, or from Galveston to St. Paul, has to run the gauntlet of the express companies, each, I presume, with a directorate to be remunerated and shareholders or partners hungering for dividends. Similar conditions existed in Germany not many years ago. Every little principality nibbled at the booty, which arrived like the empty shell of that stilton, from which the rats rush when it is placed before the King, in the pantomime of Dick Whittington.

The post-office has no shareholders to pay and can and will, even at the risk of a deficit, cut down its charges to the lowest remunerative point. The company may offer more civility, but the cold, repellent postal-official gives the utmost attainable speed and regularity of service at a lower rate. Some time since, by way of experiment, one hundred parcels were posted in England, and on the same day one hundred similar parcels were directed by the carrying-companies to the same recipients. Seventy-one per cent. of the parcels posted were received before their duplicates entrusted to the carriers.

He was a bold man who, in the middle ages, ventured a parcel in the hands of the English carrier or peddler. There must have been a certain amount of traffic from the large towns to country-houses and farms in their neighborhood. But who would then have ordered a London shopkeeper to despatch goods into Yorkshire or Devonshire? How many customers living more than fifty miles from the metropolis dealt with such a shopkeeper? Even when the stage-wagon and in more recent times coaches were regularly despatched, there must have been but a comparatively trifling number of small packages. Messrs. Pickford and other carriers took what there was to convey, and doubtless did their best.

But with the railway communication came a growing desire for a cheap, expeditious and universal system for the forwarding of parcels, and the greatest

of our postmasters-general, the late Henry Fawcett, established the English parcels-post on the first of July, 1883. He was blind, and had first grown to fame as an University Don, but as Minister he displayed the administrative skill of a Kitchener, and so brilliantly successful was the new organization that every considerable country, with the notable exception of the United States, soon had its parcels-post also.

One would like to think the British arrangement in every respect worthy of imitation, but it has two serious defects. It is hampered by the obligation to pay an excessive amount (fifty-five per cent. of the postage on railway-borne parcels) for railway transit. And it does not include the "cash-on-delivery" system, under which the post-office collects from the addressee the price of goods on delivery and transmits it to the sender. In these two respects the Continental parcels-posts are superior to ours.

In England the sender must take his parcel to a post-office, where the clerk has to be satisfied that it is not more than eleven pounds in weight; that the proper postage stamps are affixed and that its combined length and girth do not exceed six feet. That the British postman is, however, less robust than the German, who accepts any parcel up to 110 pounds, I refuse to believe. The rates of postage are:

For a parcel not exceeding one pound, 6 cents; two pounds, 8 cents; three pounds, 10 cents; four pounds, 12 cents; five pounds, 14 cents; six pounds, 16 cents; seven pounds, 18 cents; eight pounds, 20 cents; nine pounds, 22 cents; eleven pounds, 24 cents.

Our post-office likes to have the address written on the parcel. The regulations warn the public against writing addresses on "tie-on" labels, which frequently become detached in transit through no fault of the department. This mysterious phenomenon is doubtless the cause of much anxiety to the innocent officials. With the best intentions, the detached labels having been collected, might be attached to the wrong parcels, and thus an elderly spinster might receive a box of cigars and an obstinate old bachelor a curled "front."

Some of the rules err on the side of over-caution; for instance, that forbidding the forwarding of *cannon* to Ireland. What desperate rebel would venture on smuggling revolutionary batteries through the Saxon post-office? One can sympathize with the firm rejection of live creatures, such as the snakes, leeches and insects exchanged by ardent naturalists. But why is the dog, the friend of man, refused; or Grimalkin, best ornament of the fireside, or sturdy Chanticleer, while an exception is made in favor of bees?

The official antipathy to eggs points to a vast correspondence with the public on the subject of breakages. Minute directions are given as to the packing, but the sorrowful note is appended: "Even when so packed, eggs are very liable to be broken in course of transit." Compensation is refused for the breaking of eggs; but as another rule gives compensation for the loss of a parcel, the broken shells are duly delivered to the irate addressee.

With the exception of eggs, compensation not exceeding ten dollars is paid for any parcel lost or destroyed. If the parcel be registered (costing four cents) and a small fee (up to twenty-eight cents) be added, compensation not exceeding $600 will be allowed.

The severest American,—or for that matter English,—critic of German ways, will find much worthy of imitation in the German parcels-post-office. It may be regarded as the highest type of the arrangements existing in the greater part of the European continent; and it is therefore worth while to describe it in some detail. Broadly, the difference between the English and German posts is, that the former only does postal work for the individual which he cannot do for himself, while the latter undertakes everything that it can do better than the in-

dividual can. The former resorts to the powers of the state with fear and reluctance; the latter works them for "all they are worth."

As far back as the reign of Maximilian I., a contemporary of our Henry VII., there was an organized delivery of parcels all over Germany. The service was in the hands of private persons, each confined to the route between two great towns, and the most rapacious modern carriers would hesitate to put forward some of their pretexts for extortion. How it could be worth while to send parcels at all, I know not; one thinks of a fox trying to cross half a dozen hunting counties and losing fur in each.

Every section had its own tariff, calculated according to the course of the mails and the time occupied. When parcels were transferred from one contractor to the next, when mountain-passes or rivers had to be crossed, and even when the medieval road was bad, further fees were charged. Another tax was levied in support of certain industries unnamed (possibly including blackmail to local highwaymen). There was an additional charge in winter. Finally there were three classes of charges for goods. The first or lowest charge was made for articles of food, excluding dainties. The second applied to ordinary goods and was twice the amount of the first. The third, which was four times the amount of the first, was levied on precious goods like silk, velvet and luxuries, such as *printed books!* One is reminded by this harshness to literature of a much later German prince, our George II., who, says Thackeray, was always furious at the sight of books. It was, of course, difficult to know beforehand what there was to pay under what a German friend graphically describes as this "hubbub of charges."

The Great Elector (1640–88), founder of modern Prussia, vested postal administration in the state about the time when the British post-office was established by Charles II.

He abolished the mysterious allowances in favor of certain industries, and having no fear of professors of political economy, ordained *ex mero motu*, that poor persons should only be charged half-rates! As might have been expected, this enlightened prince also remitted the extra taxation on books, doubtless to the disgust of his Electoral brother and neighbor of Brunswick. In 1713 special charge during the winter months was abolished.

For a long time there was no great change in the conditions affecting the conveyance of parcels, except that in 1801 the length of the route was made the basis of charge. It is, however, noteworthy that the rates were raised under Frederick the Great during the Seven-Years' war, and again (fifty per cent.) during the domination of Napoleon. The "mailed fist" grabbed even at postage. In 1821 the division into three classes was put an end to. A uniform tariff applied to all parcels, whatever their contents, except those containing jewelry, etc.

The existence of railways facilitated the exchange of parcels, and perhaps suggested the agreement of the various kingdoms, duchies and principalities in 1857 to levy but one uniform rate throughout the Fatherland. Austria is also included.

In 1873 the present tariff was promulgated for the whole extent of the German and Austrian empires. Under this the charge varies first according to weight, and next according to distance.

Weight.	Distance.	Postage.
Not exceeding 5 kilog., or 11 lbs.	Up to 10 German, or 46 English miles.	6 cents.
	Unlimited	12 "
For every additional kilog., or $2\frac{1}{5}$ lbs.	10 German miles,	5 pfennigs: (less than 1 cent.)
"	20 " "	10 pfennigs.
"	50 " "	20 "
"	100 " "	30 "
"	150 " "	40 "
"	Over 150 " "	50 " (or 12 cents.)

(The limit of weight is 50 kilog., or 110 lbs.)

The German postman will convey anything that may be safely handled, but he

draws the line at explosives and caustic acids, the conveyance of which he prudently leaves to the parties interested. One remarks that he exacts an additional fifty per cent. for things requiring careful handling, such as animals and *hatboxes*. We can understand his claim for handling a Danish hound, able to swallow him, but the amercement on hatboxes seems unduly severe. It may indicate much untoward experience in dealing with them, or even a desire in high quarters to discourage the wearing of the "top-hat."

The German parcels-post has many merits. In the first place it adapts the "zone" system to the conveyance of goods. It is manifestly unfair that it should cost as much to send a parcel fifty as to send it 1,000 miles. A uniform charge is fair in the case of letters, which are of inappreciable weight and occupy little space. But parcels are comparatively heavy and bulky, and the post is largely employed by advertising traders. It is but just that a manufacturer sending his goods 1,000 miles to compete with local dealers should defray at least part of the expense of transit incurred by the post-office.

As the railway mileage of the United States exceeds that of all Europe, it is plain that an American parcels-post should be based on the "zone" system. In this way the danger which I understand is apprehended to small local industries would be done away with. The German view is that the local trader does not suffer. On the other hand, consumers and producers, without reference to their geographical position, are placed on the same footing. Everybody can supply his wants easily and cheaply from manufacturing headquarters, however distant.

It is even possible, by means of the post, to transfer certain industries to localities where lower wages and duties are paid and to open up new and remunerative markets.

Another distinguishing feature of the German parcels-post is its rapidity of operation. Nearly every train carries mails and parcels, flung in at station after station, and parcels are frequently delivered as soon as letters. It is needless to point out how vitally important this is to innumerable little industries, such as those of the struggling farmer and market-gardener. Flowers are received with the dew still glittering on their petals; fish that Dr. Jonathan Hutchinson would not disdain.

This breakneck speed might well inspire our phlegmatic British officials, who are content to observe a moderate degree of haste. "Moderation," said somebody, "is good in all things." "No, sir," replied Dr. Johnson (who as a Londoner was dependent on the carriers for country produce); "no sir; no man likes a moderately fresh egg."

The German post has no occasion to enforce heavy rates. It can impose its own terms on the railway companies. By law these have to carry free all parcels under eleven pounds in weight. Thus the mistake which has crippled the activity of the British parcels-post has been avoided.

But the value of the parcels-post to the people is, in my opinion, doubled by the ancillary system of "cash on delivery." Schmidt, resident in Trieste, sends a post-card to Zeiss, of Jena, ordering a microscope, price $250. Zeiss never heard of Schmidt, but he sends the instrument by the first train. He runs no risk. The postman at Trieste, before handing it over to Schmidt, presents the invoice, receives the $250 and by the next post the money is remitted by the post-office to Zeiss. How this plan encourages trade, by eliminating bad debts and long credits, may be gathered from the following figures which do not include Würtemberg and Bavaria.

UNINSURED PARCELS SENT BY GERMAN PARCELS-POST.

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1868	26,990,406	1893	119,352,461
1873	36,589,147	1903	190,516,363
1883	74,092,560		

The Imperial postal officials do not disdain to act as news-agents. A farmer in Silesia sighs for a Berlin journal—one of those flimsy, ill-printed and portentously grave publications over which our German friends love to pore by the hour. Good; he enters the village post-office and pays his modest subscription in advance; and thenceforth day by day is kept in touch with the outer world, while his subscription is duly remitted to the publisher of the *Blatt* selected.

I shall never forget my inspection of the parcels-post building at Berlin. Such grim bustle, such ordered haste, such sudden surges of uniformed toilers, such mountains of baskets, boxes, parcels, melting down into yawning vans; such galloping of hoofs without, such ceaseless trampling within, the whole din dominated by sharp words of command—it suggested the eve of battle and the stern methods of warfare rather than the prosaic humdrum routine of postal work. Cocks crowed in their crates, huge mastiffs bayed, canaries from the Harz shrilly piped; the huge yard of despatch could have furnished a fair, or supplied a settlement; and everything was sent off at the right time without a hitch, while Herr Karl Kirchhoff, the organizer and director of all, stood like an admiral on his bridge to see that all went well.

Now for a few figures. Let me beg my readers to bestow upon them not the reluctant attention of the schoolboy to the arithmetical blackboard, but the complacent appreciation with which they regard periodical bank-statements showing the investments to their credit. Though a lover of statistics, I will be moderate and will not abuse the editor's hospitality. I will not imitate D'Artagnan, who, when invited to lunch by the Curé, brought with him his three starving friends and their lackeys. Still it is well for the most confident reasoner to have figures in reserve, just as it is for the sheriff to be attended by his *posse* and for the ambassador to be backed by a compact squadron.

Here are some significant figures, especially in column four:

PARCELS DELIVERED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Year.	Number.	Postage.	Share of Railways.	Share of P. O.
1894-5	57,136,000	$6,426,835	$3,057,325	$3,369,510
1898-9	71,913,000	7,490,495	3,528,660	3,961,835
1903-4	94,426,000	9,972,170	4,690,860	5,281,310

This huge and increasing cantle annually claimed by the railways is secured under the rash bargain allotting them fifty-five per cent. of the postage on all railway-borne parcels. Englishmen can only regard with something like envy the powers of interstate railway-rates regulation which in the United States are entrusted to an independent commission.

On the initiative of the German government an International parcels-post was established, which has been of great value to traders. The figures appended speak for themselves:

1903-4.

PARCELS DESPATCHED FROM AND RECEIVED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Austria-Hungary	29,747	Orange R. Colony	37,889
Belgium	96,461	Queensland	12,039
Canada	172,026	S. Australia	10,634
Cape Colony	207,838	Spain	37,858
Egypt	52,480	Straits Settlements	21,132
France	494,223	Switzerland	90,502
Germany	807,915	Tasmania	4,996
Holland	108,016	Transvaal	172,973
India & Persia	248,138	Trinidad & Tobago	11,288
Italy	178,714	United States, (despatched only)	37,782
Japan	15,482	Victoria	25,883
Mexico	6,721	W. Australia	12,992
Natal	73,535		
Newfoundland	4,929		
N. S. Wales	33,671		
New Zealand	47,621		

These are the principal items in a long return. It may be added that the parcels despatched to the United States showed an increase of 15,666 over the figures for the preceding year. Total number despatched to all countries from the United Kingdom was 2,213,891, as against 3,509,303 received; the increase being respectively 104,064 and 50,634. I shall always regard the French and American figures with a sort of paternal interest. It took me years to secure a parcels-post to France, and years have elapsed since I first began to agitate for a

similar post to the United States, now happily agreed upon. It may be stated that the value of the goods exported from and received in the United Kingdom by parcels-post was last year $23,909,790. The British government has established a uniform set of charges for parcels to most of the colonies as follows: Up to three pounds, 24 cents; seven pounds, 48 cents; eleven pounds, 72 cents.

Let us join hands and have a post-office parcels-post in the United States.

J. Henniker Heaton.

London, England.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.*

I. THE VIEW-POINT—(*Continued*).

By Hon. J. Warner Mills.

Slandering Mine-Owners and Miners.

IT IS NOT true, as often asserted in the Eastern press, that Colorado miners or mine-owners are worse than other men and especially debased. Take them class for class and they will compare favorably with the people in any other part of our country. Their ambition and industry cannot be surpassed; and if at times they are cruel or unjust, still, as we have seen, we should turn our attention more to conditions than to men. The average men are so much alike that under the same conditions it is reasonable to expect the same general conduct. If there is a deviation it is because of the force or advocacy of some humble champion of moral worth who, like William Lloyd Garrison or Washington Gladden, rises to change the conditions and seeks to lift his fellows to higher ground. I have no faith in the boasted superiority of the average moral fiber of one part over another part of the same people or blood. There may be some sinners, but there are no saints in the brotherhood of man.

Let no one suppose, however, that the economic conditions of which I speak are to be allowed to become a hiding-place from blame or censure. There is no room for fatalism in the philosophy I maintain. These economic conditions are never permanently fixed. They are always subject to change; and some change, conscious or unconscious, large or small, is always occurring. But upon my brothers consumed by passion and violence, whether they be employés or employers, there are at least three common criticisms I would not pass:

1. I would not say that they are villains or outlaws, or essentially different in heart or mind from their determined opponents.

2. I would not say that under the same conditions and environment any other group of average men of the same class would have done differently than they have done, or would have behaved in any superior manner.

3. I would not say that force and violence are good methods to employ and are to be encouraged. Hot-heads and intractables need no encouragement.

But there are at least three other criticisms that, in my judgment, it would be just to make:

1. I would say that if their conditions are galling and tempt to violence, it is their duty to study the conditions and then to change them if they can, or at

*The first of this series of articles appeared in the July, 1905, number of The Arena.

least to contribute intelligently to a public sentiment that favors change.

2. I would say that whatever they do or whatever they fail to do, under existing conditions, affords no escape from honest criticism intended to sting them into better effort.

3. I would say that force and violence are not for the elect, and that if they are ever permissible at all, they are as available for the one class as for the other.

This last point is of great importance in the consideration of economic troubles, and in passing impartial judgment upon local disorders. As we have judged before, so may we judge again, or our judgments may be impeached to the end that public censure may be meted out with even hand. Let us turn now to a few pages of Colorado history and take almost at random some of the more important troubles of the past, and see what interests were represented and what lawlessness was threatened or committed, and also see what public judgment was pronounced, or what punishment was inflicted.

Cattle Troubles.

My first peep into a court-room in Colorado was early in May, 1877. It was the district-court in Denver with Judge Elliott presiding, held on the second-floor of the building still standing at the corner of Lawrence and Fifteenth streets. I merely remained long enough to have it explained to me that the great crowd of angry men both in and out of the court were sheep and cattle-owners and their respective partisans on the Kiowa, and that the former were trying to have the latter bound over to keep the peace. Many years have passed, however, since the cattle and sheep troubles have been near Denver. The scenes of conflict and violence growing out of the stock interests of the state have generally occurred in the distant counties of Mesa and Rio Blanco on the Utah border, and in the adjoining county of Garfield and in Routt and Larimer counties on the Wyoming line. These conflicts have been long-lived and often on a very large scale.

At the bottom of these troubles is the significant fact that both the sheep and cattle-men appropriate without pay to their own individual use the public domain of the United States. The ground over which they fight is ground that belongs to you and to me. On the high mountain-ranges, generally beyond any point where water is available for irrigation, but where there are rivulets or water-holes sufficient for stock, there are vast mesas, slopes and gulches, often well-timbered and covered with vegetation and grasses and other succulent herbs suitable for cattle and sheep. Here for grazing purposes are driven during the summer season great herds of cattle and vast flocks of sheep. The sheep are such close browsers they leave but little food for other stock upon ground over which they feed. Sheep can follow cattle but cattle cannot follow sheep. It is this fact that makes the economic fight for territorial supremacy. The cattle-men are generally the aggressors and the sheep-men are on the defensive.

In September, 1894, about 4,000 head of sheep, belonging equally to J. B. Hurlburt and C. B. Brown, were being grazed on the Book Cliffs in Garfield county, between Parachute and Roan creeks, some forty-five miles northeast of the thriving city of Grand Junction and about the same distance northwest of the famous resort, Glenwood Springs, county-seat of Garfield county. These sheep were divided into two flocks and were kept about four miles apart. There were generally two men with each flock, but on the occasion in question the second man was attending the Peach-Day fair at Grand Junction. This fact made the time propitious for attack and the cattle-men were not slow to improve it. About daylight on September 10, 1894, a troop of forty masked horsemen, armed with Winchester rifles and with daggers, and with many of the horses also in mask, suddenly rode upon the flock in charge of the herd-

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BRIGHTON BRANCH

er, Starkey, an old man sixty years of age. He was held up at the point of the guns, and was bound, gagged and blinded, and the sheep were taken from his possession. They were driven about four miles through a narrow gulch that opened upon the high and jagged precipices of the famous Book Cliffs. There nature lent herself to their tormentors. They were penned in on either side by the walls of the defile. The horsemen were in their rear and the yawning chasm was in their front. By Indian yells and rough-shod riding into and upon the shrinking bodies of the sheep, these masked desperadoes tried their best to stampede and crowd the entire flock to its horrible destruction over the cliffs.

Terror-stricken though they were, and though they were on the very edge of the cliffs, and though there was no avenue of escape, still not a single animal would commit suicide by throwing itself over. Thus foiled, some saplings were cut by the invaders, and with these clubs and their ready daggers the sheep were beaten, stabbed and slaughtered, many crowding so close together in the narrow gulch that hundreds of them were smothered to death, and in this inhuman way the whole flock was utterly destroyed.

The second flock was in charge of Carl Brown, the nephew of one of the owners. He was a young man and was taken unawares. With the flaps of his tent pulled back, he was engaged in cooking his dinner and was just stooping over the stove when the attacking party, unseen by him, and without a word of warning, deliberately shot him through the thighs. In his agony of pain he was told to turn over on his face and to lie still, or he would be killed. While a so-called doctor among the attackers was dressing his wounds, the masked assailants drove his flock of sheep into a corral near by, and with guns, daggers and clubs brutally destroyed the entire flock. When these ghastly deeds were completed by the maskers the shadows of night were hard upon them. On the gate-post of the corral, and referring to another flock belonging to Mr. Hurlburt and in charge of his son some seven miles away, was left the following suggestive note: "Lack of time is all that saves Hurlburt."

The aged herder of the first flock was cruelly left in his gagged and blinded torture during the bloody proceedings of the whole day. At nightfall he was turned loose and was told to seek aid for the wounded herder of the second flock. He hastened; but distances were long and for twenty-four hours Carl Brown was left alone in his suffering. He is still living and is one of our citizens, but is a cripple for life.

Let us look now a moment at the strenuous effort made by Hurlburt and Brown to secure compensation for their losses by this mob. They first applied to the Board of County Commissioners of Garfield county, but were turned down. Indeed, they applied to this board and to the sheriff for protection when they first heard of threats and dissatisfaction and before the deeds were committed, but it was refused. The governor was also appealed to but could do nothing. Senate Bill No. 53 was introduced by Senator Taylor in the Eleventh General Assembly, 1897, to give them compensation; and to the same end House Bill No. 204 was introduced by Mr. Camm in 1899. Two attorneys-general of the state gave an adverse opinion as to the right of the petitioners to legislative compensation.

Attorney-General Carr* says: "The preamble of the bill recites a state of facts which must appeal to the sympathy of the General Assembly or to any other body of men who are prompted by instincts of justice." He then says the Constitution declares (Art. V., sec. 28): "No bill shall be passed providing for the payment of any claim rendered against the state *with-*

* See opinion of Attorney-General Carr, March 17, 1897, *Senate Journal*, 1897, page 777. Where the state damaged a building of the Benedictine Sisters in blasting for State Canal No. 1, near Cañon City, there was no "previous authority of law" to do this wrong, yet the claim was held properly paid by legislative appropriation. 21 *Colo.* 69 (1895).

out previous authority of law"; and, as he concludes, there was no "previous authority of law" to pay this claim, compensation was out of the question! This opinion was later concurred in by Attorney-General Campbell. (Report of the Attorney-General, 1899, page 96.)

Relief was thus denied Messrs. Hurlburt and Brown, both by the state and by Garfield county, and they are still victims of mob vengeance and are left without compensation or remedy. Comment upon this case will appear further on.

The recent experience of Mrs. Nancy B. Irving, now Mrs. Nancy B. Irving-Miller, with her Angora goats in Mesa county, Colorado, of which Grand Junction is the county-seat, will receive a moment's attention. She was an energetic business-woman, and also energetic for reform. Whether her economic ideas added to her Colorado troubles I am not advised, but if they did, then the law's refusal to give her aid makes her a martyr to her chosen cause. That cause was Democracy as voiced by Henry George. In her words: "To the cause of equal opportunity to natural resources, to the abolition of special privileges conferred by legislative enactments, to the right of all men to labor in joy, and to the establishing of a social order based upon justice, I do dedicate all that is best in me." Let us now see how a woman of such strong devotion to exalted principles fared under the economic law working in the live-stock interests of Colorado.

Mrs. Irving-Miller organized "The Angora Ranch Association," and was so well thought of by her friends that when she needed additional capital for her enterprise, their thousands were added to her own. She became familiar with Angora breeding and the best method of marketing the product. She knew something of the trouble between the cattle and the sheep-men, and sought to avoid it with her goats by selecting a spot for her venture a few miles southwest of Grand Junction, where for five square miles about her the hills and ravines were covered with chico, rabbit-brush and low scrub-cedars, and there was scarcely a blade of grass in the whole area. This sort of browse made excellent pasture for goats but poor feed for cattle. In this ideal location on Pinon Mesa, favored also by springs, she bought 160 acres of deeded land and spent thousands of dollars in buying Angoras and in making needed improvements. In July, 1902, her goats were not on the public domain, but on the deeded land held by her or her associates in fee. There the kids were growing fat and the mothers were making fleece rapidly. Mrs. Irving-Miller lived upon her home-ranch a few miles away from Pinon Mesa and nearer Grand Junction. The goats were on the deeded land in charge of a herder. At the midnight hour of July 26, 1902, a mob of masked men suddenly descended upon her cabin on this deeded land and bound and gagged and blinded the herder. Then upon this same deeded land they entered the corral, and there with clubs they brutally broke the backs, heads, legs and noses of about 500 goats and kids and left them all to die in agony and torture. Few women were ever called upon to face a sterner scene than when the eyes of Mrs. Irving-Miller a few hours later fell upon the desolation wrought, and her ears heard the plaintive cries of kids and mothers almost as real as if they were human. A pistol shot given in mercy ended the frightful suffering of the goats,—but the sad heart of this unoffending woman is suffering still.

Then came the search for redress, and the same story is told as in the case of Hurlburt and Brown. The district-attorney would do nothing, neither would the sheriff. The press was silent and so was the pulpit,—the schools are never expected to speak. The Board of County Commissioners was applied to, to offer a reward in the hope that some unofficial person might be tempted to arrest the leader, who was under suspicion and could then have been easily tracked, but this board declined. This board con-

sisted of three members, two of whom were cattle-men, and one of the latter was accused himself of having been the leader of a masked mob of sheep-slayers some years before. She also applied to Governor Orman, but her petition was summarily dismissed. The district-judge was also applied to, but with no better success. The lawyers, too, were sensibly discreet. Those who had a right to be retained did not want to be, and those who wanted to be were in office and had no right. All of officialdom was palsied in the face of this atrocious crime. Some of them, of course, were willing to pose and to pretend to a courage they did not possess. They were put to the test however and found wanting.

When I inquired about this apathy of a leading citizen of Grand Junction, he frankly told me that the cattle-men ran the town and opposition to their interests was dangerous; that when this brutal crime was committed on deeded land the community was shocked; but justice was paralyzed and they did nothing except to search for an accusing fault in the innocent victim.

Some thought she was too bold in attempting such a venture; although it is very suitable for women, and Margaret Armer, of Kingston, New Mexico, owns more Angora goats, perhaps, than any other person in the world. Some thought she let too much be known of her plans and unduly excited the cattle-men; that she contemplated a vast enlargement of her work and was about to build a mill to treat the fleece of her goats. With such morsels of impertinence, the people of this ambitious county and town made no attempt to punish or to create a sentiment that would lead to punishment. To quote this citizen again: "It was as if you came to me for help when someone was burning down your house, and I would n't even go to see, but just stood around in idle gossip and did nothing but talk about you."

In Grand Junction and in Mesa county such was the helpless condition of Mrs. Irving-Miller when seeking redress for her grievous wrongs. One man only, and he a union working-man upon the railroad, said to her: "I am pained inexpressibly that this should have occurred and I feel that we, the people, property-owners here, have allowed this class of men to control us too long and I am willing to stand a special assessment on my property to help defray the cost of making good to you what you have lost."

The whole state, too, must share the blame. No arrests have ever been made or attempted and there have been no civil or criminal prosecutions. The courts have shown no "welcome" over their doors. The legislature has kept silence. And in no message has a governor of the state ever recommended redress, or even referred to either of these events, or to any of the many others of a similar nature that have occurred from time to time before and since 1894. The press has made no outcry; a mere item of news has sufficed to chronicle these wanton assaults upon life and property. What a picture for our youth and what a reflection on our boasted law and order!

If we look now for a moment at the perpetrators of these crimes and brutalities, we may be shocked to find them, when apart from their economic terror and revenge,—like the sheep-men themselves, and like the mine-owners and miners,—watchful heads of interesting families, amiable friends and valuable business-men and citizens in every walk of life; and many indeed creditably discharging public functions in official stations of every grade. They puzzle and confuse our moral judgments, as we see them with long bank-accounts liberally supporting our churches and our schools, and also successfully launching public enterprises of gravity and importance. The least defensible type of this economic genus, however, is not the "Virginian" of Owen Wister's creation, but the voluntary or incorporated cattle-company and its rich officers and affiliated bank. They pretend to respectability, social

station and power, and yet carry on their operations in the field by hiring substitutes. And the substitutes they hire, so the sheep-men charge, are in many instances deliberately hired with an ulterior purpose, from a class of reputed toughs and thugs who know how to interpret the carefully-veiled hints of their employers. When crimes are committed these "respectables" serve as a protecting "front" against exposure and arrest. What conscience they have they carry in their hands —as if to keep the *hands* clear of blood, was also to absolve from the guilt they instigate or protect.

When the cattle-interests speak in their own behalf they earnestly enlarge upon their trying situation. I would not minimize their aggravations. Probably their situation is trying in the extreme. But so are many other economic situations,—especially that of the men who can only work with their hands. When you mention the crimes of the range, however, it is then that you draw from the cattle-man the economic kernel of his peculiar situation, for he will boldly tell you: "We had to do it. It was simply a case of our losing all we had, or taking the law into our own hands." In this way does the economics of the range make morals for our stockmen and suspend the criminal code of the state. When the cattle-men think the economic moment has come, they rise above the law and strike. As we have seen, even a woman's entreating hand cannot stay the blow. Nor can the ties of blood and family avert its force. In an early case in Mesa county brothers-in-law were arrayed against each other, the one leading the masked mob, and the other forced to see the slaughter of all his sheep and then driven out of the country.

In the case of the range, the only promise of immediate hope is in counter-economics. Already there are signs. To many cattle-men there now appears to be more money in sheep than in cattle. They are close-herded and at small expense; there is no chance for "maverick" graft, and they avoid the loss and cost of branding and of the round-up. A prosperous owner of a large herd of cattle, residing in Denver, and who has heretofore posed as the raiders' apologist, and who has himself, perhaps, participated in terrorizing raids, recently remarked: "I see more money now in sheep than in cattle, and the crimes of the range have got to stop. I never did realize before the enormity to which they have been carried. The whole thing comes to me now in an entirely different light."

How many more will come into the light through these counter-economics it is now impossible to tell. We are reliably informed that one of the largest cattle-companies in Wyoming has recently ordered sheep-ways to be opened through its extensive ranges. If economics brings repentance, perhaps repentance will bring reparation and justice. In the meantime, however, and while passing judgments upon mine-owners and miners, let us not forget that the precedent established by the permission of the people of the state is, that when they think their interests demand it, cattle-men can act above the law. Moral, until we change our morals: If the law is not supreme, and cattle-men are, let us all be cattle-men. But seriously, we ought to see that it is an economic slander to blame either cattle-men, mine-owners or miners for the inherent vice of an economy that provokes violence and crime and then moulds public sentiment and through it the moral code to excuse some of the crimes,—and perhaps all of them.

Other Troubles.

Outside of the labor-strikes referred to in subsequent chapters, there are probably no instances of violence in Colorado reaching the proportions of the cattle and sheep-troubles. Of course there have been numerous mobs and hangings, but they have generally been retaliatory for the commission of other crimes; and while in a remote degree their cause may be economic, still such cause is too remote to bring the events within the scope of

these articles. The mob-riot in Denver, October 31, 1880, however, was purely economic, growing out of the Chinese troubles. Many laundries were destroyed including all the clothes and linen of their patrons, and many Chinamen were assaulted before they were locked in jail for safety, and two were killed. There were wholesale arrests but no prosecutions. The judgment seemed to be that a Chinaman had no vote, no advocate, and no right to live. Labor now, however, is more tolerant. While still jealous of Mongolian competition, it knows more of the economic law. It knows how "John" is crowded out of China, and how *it* is crowded by him here; also, who seeks his cheap labor and why. In Colorado at present, however, the economic racial troubles are too limited to require special notice in these papers, but they may appear incidentally.

From many minor economic disturbances that illustrate the moral tone of the state, our space will permit us to refer to but two. When these are read it must be understood they are merely fair types of scores of other similar cases we might cite.

In 1878, the Grand Cañon of the Arkansas river was nature's choice gem to be seized and fought for. This royal gorge was upon the public domain just west of Cañon City, and for many miles the frowning peaks in jutting, irregular and often perpendicular ascent to their lofty heights above the stream almost crowded against each other over the rushing waters. This is now justly famous as one of the scenic attractions of the world. Too narrow in many places for a double-track, contending corporations* fought for possession of this valuable prize. Each side rushed forward with an army of working-men armed with shovels, picks and Winchesters. Both armies were well officered and determined to win. Bloodshed was threatened and expected almost every day. A truce was wisely effected, however, and the matter was finally settled by compromise, and the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company built the road, and it is now giving an excellent service through this cañon of scenic wonders, with its rushing waters and imposing mountains. I do not now recall that any arrests or prosecutions followed this military exploit. But the point particularly to be noticed is the readiness with which private corporations can hire working-men to become their soldiers, as at this very moment is being done for possession of the Gore cañon in Grand county, on the Moffatt road. Like the petty barons of the feudal state, they can declare war and, if need be, wage it as the cattle-men have done, without any interference by the government. Let us suppose, however, that these same working-men had been their own paymasters—not drawing pay from the corporations—and had bought their own arms and furnished their own officers and commissary, not to seize the cañon for their own private gain, but to prevent any person or corporation from seizing it, and to keep it as a roadway of the public upon which they would build a track with public funds, and over which any person or company might operate its rolling-stock? Or suppose they thus armed themselves and declared their war to get a "chance to work"? In either of these cases what judgment would have been pronounced? Would they not have been branded as insurrectionists and anarchists? And would not all the power of the state have been exerted to arrest and disarm them, and would not the ring-leaders have been imprisoned and punished? Yet they would have acted, like the corporations, at the economic moment when, to their prejudice, natural opportunities were being seized before their eyes, or when such opportunities already held to private use were not used at all, or so indifferently used as to leave them without a "chance to work." Are we then to conclude that corporations belong to the elect and can resort to arms

* The Denver and Rio Grande R. R. Co. and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé R. R. Co.

to seize a natural resource and lock it away from the public for their special use, or to work out for themselves some other corporate gain, but that the very men they so arm cannot arm themselves when their economic moment comes for gain or advantage? Is our system of ethics so grounded in the existing economy that it gives no word of condemnation for such inequality in the domain of force and violence?

Another example. It was some fifteen or eighteen years ago, when our state capitol was being built, that it was discovered there could be a saving of a large outlay for wagon-freight and cartage if the stone and other materials were taken from the terminals in Denver to the capitol-grounds over a temporary railroad track. As soon as it was known that such a suggestion was being considered, an indignation meeting was called. It was attended by our "best citizens,"—professional men, business and real-estate men and bankers. An ex-Congregational minister, and at that time the wealthiest and most prominent real-estate man in the city, made a fiery speech showing how by such a scheme, in the finest residential part of the city, the streets would be disfigured and real-estate values would be depreciated; and, amidst enthusiastic applause, he urged his hearers to get out their Winchesters and other arms in defence of their property and homes. They were men, however, who had influence with the "powers"; and a bare threat of violence at the economic moment of their distress sufficed to avert further trouble. It seems, then, that threatening the public peace is all right if the end in view is not to get a "chance to work" but to save values to real-estate.

With a community's approval of the crimes upon the range, and with no public sentiment rebuking minor offences and breaches of the peace, what a sham it is to teach our children to respect the law. They can shame us out of countenance by pointing to these unprosecuted crimes. They can point out, too, the license enjoyed by favored corporations as shown above and as will be further shown in subsequent chapters; and they can point to other high places to bear witness to the impunity with which crime may be committed. If we would not teach them that force and violence are aristocratic privileges, belonging to the very elect, then, indeed, must we begin at once to revise our standard of ethics. But to such important labor we cannot long bend our energies without making the illuminating discovery that the moral judgments excusing the delinquencies of the favored few and the crimes promotive of particular interests, are an inseparable part of our moral code as reduced to practice; that they are economic delinquencies and crimes instigated by the existing economy itself, and that that economy obscures their existence or enormity by inventing the moral code as an ornament, in order to cover itself with a preservative enamel of outward fairness and respectability.

Inequalities.

Inequalities we are born with,—we cannot help. Differences in physique, disposition, temperament, ability, talent, ambition, perseverance, character and many other personal qualities, will always exist. But these inequalities are made more unequal by inequalities that ought not to exist. It is the economic inequalities that especially command our attention. Inequalities before the law make outlaws of those who are outlawed. Inequalities in the enjoyment of special privileges, natural opportunities and resources, make millionaires at one end of the social line and tramps at the other. Inequalities in wealth and taxation, however they arise, are trouble-breeders in every community. While ability and enterprise and push are always recognized as factors in success, still they wholly fail to explain the great disparity of rewards existing between the frugal and industrious on the one side and the profligate idle, drunk with opulence and

power, on the other. Too many now have tasted of the bitter cup of despair and have looked beneath the economic surface of things to be longer quieted by admonitions of sobriety, industry and perseverance. In success, they now see more the hand of fraud and cunning than the qualities of exertion and merit. Their disillusionment is known and appreciated in high places and is well-voiced in the following words:

"Though there are still many comfortably-situated men and women who believe that, on the whole, industrial conditions are such as to apportion the 'good things in life' in accordance with the deserts of the recipients, this belief is rarely held either by those whose circumstances give them a close and wide acquaintance with the 'hard facts of life,' or by those who have brought intellectual analysis to bear upon the processes by which distribution of wealth is affected. The political economy, not only of 'the masses,' as voiced by Karl Marx, Henry George and their followers, but also of the classes, through the mouths of academic teachers, is full of frank avowals of the deep injustices which underlie the existing apportionment of wealth. The following words of J. G. Hill may be taken as a representative expression of this feeling: 'The very idea of distributive justice or any proportionality between success and merit, or between success and exertion, is, in the present state of society, so manifestly chimerical as to be relegated to the region of romance.'"*

When you pick up a special privilege and examine it,—whether it be a franchise, a rebate, a tax or a tariff,—you have in your hands someone's special preserve. He is hurt if you criticise, and you are hurt if you do n't. The social organism is filled with these special preserves. They are a prolific source of economic inequality. They leave no place for a buffer in the successive distributions of labor brought about by the successive discoveries in the arts and of machines and tools. When the natural resources are someone's preserve and are closed to retreat, those crowded out of employment by machines and tools cannot fall back,—they must stagnate and starve, or else go forward. And "forward" here means to turn *backward* upon the preserves. At this point the contention is acute and some of its phases will appear in the following chapters.

No inequality, perhaps, is more portentous of strife than that growing out of our system of taxation. This will especially appear in subsequent papers of this series, and for words of rebuke we need only refer to the following impressive warning of President Harrison:

"There is a feeling that some men are handicapped, that the race is sold, that the old and much-vaunted equality of opportunity and of right has been submerged. More bitter and threatening things are being said and written against accumulated property and corporate power than ever before. It seems to many that more and more small men, small stores and small factories are being thrown upon the shore as financial drift or wreckage; that the pursuit of cheapness has reached a stage where only enormous combinations of capital doing an enormous business are sure of returns. . . . It is not only wrong, but it is unsafe, to make a show in our homes and on the street that is not made in the tax-returns. . . . This country cannot continue to exist half-taxed and half-free. . . . This sense of inequality breathes a fierce and unmeasuring anger,—creates classes and intensifies social differences. . . . Each person has a personal interest,—a pecuniary interest,—in the tax-return of his neighbor. We are members of a great partnership, and it is the right of each to know what every other member is contributing to the partnership and what he is taking from it. It is not a private affair; it is a public concern of the first

* *The Economics of Bargaining*, by John A. Hobson, Lecturer in Economics, Oxford University, *Progress*, Vol. IV., No. 11, page 721.

importance. . . . Our men of wealth and the managers of our great corporations should themselves come forward and take the lead in these reforms; they should not only show a willingness but a zeal to bear their full proportionate share of the public burdens. If they do not, ways will be found to exact more than is equal. To do justice is the best safeguard against injustice."*

A word more only and our foreword is done. There is a variety of special privilege that in its very essence is inequality, —it is licensed inequality. It assumes the name of franchise; and under this ægis it is not only a disturber of the peace but a corrupter of all the ordinary functions of government as well. It feeds on public favor and pollutes its benefactor. With its rule in Colorado it has brought political ruin and social tribulation, and we shall see something of its slimy trail in Chapter II., entitled "Dominant Trusts and Corporations."

(To be continued.)

J. Warner Mills.

Denver, Colo.

FORTY YEARS IN THE WILDERNESS; OR, MASTERS AND RULERS OF "THE FREEMEN" OF PENNSYLVANIA.†

VII. "LAW AND ORDER."

By Rudolph Blankenburg.

"AFTER CLOUDS, SUNSHINE."

EVENTS have been following each other for the last few weeks with lightning-like rapidity and have brought in their wake such a transformation in public affairs that a rearrangement of the last two of this series of articles has become necessary.

The August number was originally intended to give a brief account of additional phases of corruption and maladministration that have lain like a leaden hand upon our community, and to speak more fully of the one agency that has, during the depressing years of vice and crime, stood like an adamantine wall—a strong and persistent factor for the redemption of the city: "The Law and Order Society of Philadelphia!" We have to hurry over the field, as the distance this chapter must traverse allows only a few lingering moments at some of the more important stations.

The "Organization" has for years, in its rapacious ramifications, stopped at nothing to carry ill-gotten shekels to the coffers of its adherents; it even attacked and tried to enslave in its predatory excursions the public-schools and the teachers of our children. Not only in Philadelphia, but in other Pennsylvania cities, have the disciples of the school of graft, under the Quay-Penrose-Durham-McNichol professorship, attacked the citadel of education and levied blackmail upon the teachers, men and women, by extorting money from them to secure positions. A few cases of this incredible system of extortion happened to become public and reached trial in a court of justice; the defendants were found guilty and served time in prison-cells. As they have expiated their crime and were vic-

* Ex-President Benjamin H. Harrison before the Union League Club of Chicago, February 22, 1898.

† The first of this series of articles appeared in the January, 1905, number of The Arena.

Photo. by Wheeler, Grand Junction, Colo.

EVENING, IN CORRAL AT THE ANGORA GOAT RANCH

(SEE "ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO" BY HON. J. WARNER MILLS)

tims rather than representatives of "the system," and for the sake of their families their names are left unmentioned.

It has been stated, but hitherto doubted by many, that for the past six years for every dollar honestly expended by the municipality *a dollar has been stolen or wasted.* Investigation now being made tends to confirm this estimate and will show the truth to the people of Philadelphia who, so long plundered, so long resigned to what they considered the inevitable, have at last been aroused to a feeling of resentment that bodes the discomfited public plunderers no good.

We deem it best for the cause of justice not to anticipate the results of investigations now being conducted. One example of the magnitude of graft in public contracts will serve as an interesting specimen: A few years ago the contract for collecting garbage in the fifth district was awarded for $88,500. The contractor sublet this work for $37,500, at which price the sub-contractor made, as he said, good money which gave him a fine balance in bank! This steal shows that for every dollar actually paid for doing the work, nearly one dollar and forty cents was filched from the city treasury. Tweed would turn in his grave if he realized that he was quite a moderate grafter.

The culmination of "Organization" effrontery and thievery is the proposed "Northeast Boulevard," which, at an ultimate expenditure of ten to fifteen million dollars, is to open in curves as crooked as its projectors a three-hundred-foot avenue through farm-lands bought at a low price by the plotters. Boulevards are generally supposed to run in a straight line, but this scheme of the grafters is planned to run for ten miles at all kinds of angles in the direction of and past the lands acquired by the "Gang," increasing the value of their holdings immensely. The craftiness and subtlety of this steal is best exposed by the statement that the Thirty-fifth Ward, the main beneficiary of the proposed boulevard (it has been called "boodle-vard"), contains almost twenty-five per cent. of the area of Philadelphia (21,287 acres) with only 8,614 inhabitants (Census of 1900), and of these less than one in five who live or own property close to the steal would be really benefited! Such conspiracy to enrich a few looters at the expense of the whole community seeks its parallel. Fortunately, Mayor Weaver has the power to stop this "extravaganza" and the first step in that direction has already been taken.

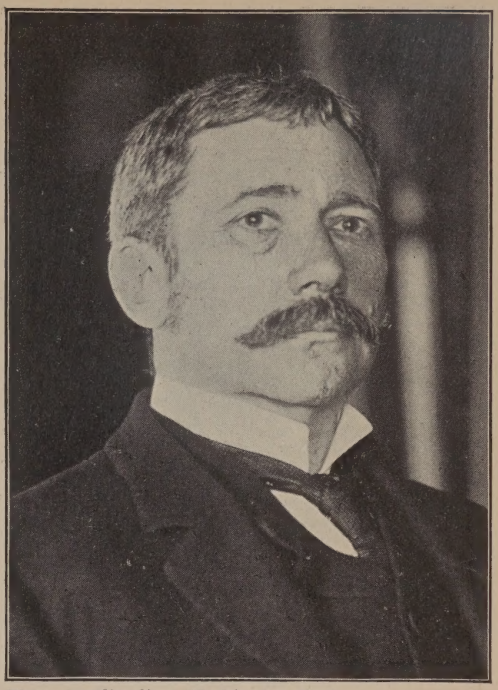


Photo. by Clinedinst, Washington, D. C.

HON. ELIHU ROOT, OF NEW YORK.

FORMER SECRETARY OF WAR.

He and former Judge James Gay Gordon, of Philadelphia, are Mayor Weaver's private Counsel.

Policy-playing had, during the Ashbridge administration, taken such a hold upon certain classes of people, under the very eyes of the police, tolerated and connived at by them, that it threatened the very life of the family. Exposures made in a series of startling articles by the *North American* attracted the attention of President-Judge Finletter, of Court No. 3, and prompted him to sit as a committing

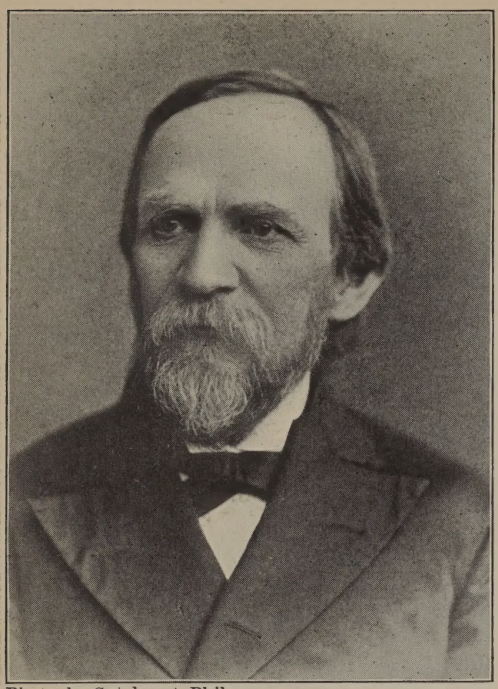


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

HON. THOMAS K. FINLETTER,

PRESIDING JUDGE, COURT COMMON PLEAS No. 3.

He sat as a Committing Magistrate and investigated policy-playing by school-children of tender age during the Ashbridge adminstration. He announced the results of his investigation in a scathing arraignment of the guilty parties.

magistrate to investigate this crying evil. The evidence produced was of a sickening character; children of tender ages (from six to twelve) testified how they were sent to policy-shops to buy slips, and how, when unable to find the place, even police-officers would direct them where to go. The judge, in announcing the result of this investigation, said: "The evidence shows conclusively that our public-school system in this city is in danger of being corrupted at its fountain; that children six or seven years of age are familiar with the crime of policy-playing; that in one of the schools over 150 of the scholars were buyers of policy . . ."

These saddening facts can be directly traced to an "Organization" that had to protect crime because it was criminal itself; that tolerated the execrable Ashbridge administration because it was less its master than its servant. That administration committed outrages and permitted abuses which almost shocked the hardened leaders of the "Gang" itself.

The Law and Order Society, our safeguard during these dark days, will be twenty-four years old on September 22d next, having been organized in 1881. Its original purpose was to bring about a better enforcement of the Sunday-laws, especially those relating to the sale of liquor on the Sabbath. Since that time, and particularly in the last six years, it has been forced to perform nearly every branch of voluntary police-work, owing to the offensive and depraved political conditions that existed in the city.

At the time the society was organized, the liquor-license fee was only $50. Licenses were issued to anyone who had the price, with utter disregard for fitness or character. It did not matter either whether or not the licensed place was next to a church, a school or a factory. Remonstrances were usually in vain.

Immediately after it was established the society began to secure evidence that the loose laws were violated, and in a short time hundreds of persons had their licenses revoked and many saloon-keepers were fined by the court. In 1887, the last year of the old license-law, there were 5,773 retail saloons in the city, and the records of the wholesale places were so badly kept that there was no way of ascertaining the exact number. Often a record of a wholesale license would be found sandwiched in between the record of a dog-license and the license given an itinerant peddler. At least ninety-five per cent. of the licensed places kept open on Sunday; a large number were also dives and brothels of the lowest order, run under the guise of concert-halls. Dissolute men and women frequented them and low variety-shows were given to attract the unwary. A child of six could buy beer or whiskey as easily as a man of fifty.

In 1887 the Law and Order Society

was instrumental in bringing about the passage, by the state legislature, of the act known as the Brooks High-License Law. It went into effect June 1, 1888, and raised the fee from $50 to $500. In 1895 the fee was increased to $1,100 in Philadelphia. The new law changed the power to grant licenses from clerks and the city treasurer's office to the Court of Quarter-Sessions, and gave the court power to refuse or revoke a license because it was not needed in the locality applied for, because of the moral unfitness of the applicant, or because he had violated the law. The result was that at the first session of the license court in 1888, upon evidence furnished by the society and to satisfy public sentiment, the number of licenses was reduced from 5,773 to 1,194. Work then began in earnest, for speak-easies began to grow up over night and flourished under police protection. A large number of saloon-keepers who were refused licenses started speak-easies, and in a short time several hundred of the owners were arrested on evidence furnished by the society, nearly all of them being either fined or sent to jail. For the next four or five years that was about all the work it was able to do. The courts were careful and acted with the utmost fairness in granting licenses and finally the sale of liquor in saloons on Sunday was stopped entirely. The conduct of the liquor business grew better under the Brooks law; concert-halls and dives disappeared, and in the past year there has not been a single complaint of Sunday-selling against a licensed dealer.

It is true that at the present time the city is cursed with a large number of speak-easies and so-called political clubs, but these places, which number about 1,000, can in no sense be attributed to any defect in the Brooks law. The chief reason for their existence in defiance of law is found in the fact that the city has until now been absolutely dominated by the most corrupt gang of political reprobates who were ever allowed outside the walls of a penitentiary. The "Organization" owned the police-department, the members of which, to keep their jobs, had, though reluctantly, to do as they were told. If the police officials had been honest and respected the law, the speak-easies and fake clubs would have gone out of existence in short order. Since 1887 the population has increased about 500,000, and the number of licenses from 1,194 to 1,892; there are now few complaints heard against licensed liquor-dealers as they are anxious to conduct a legitimate business.

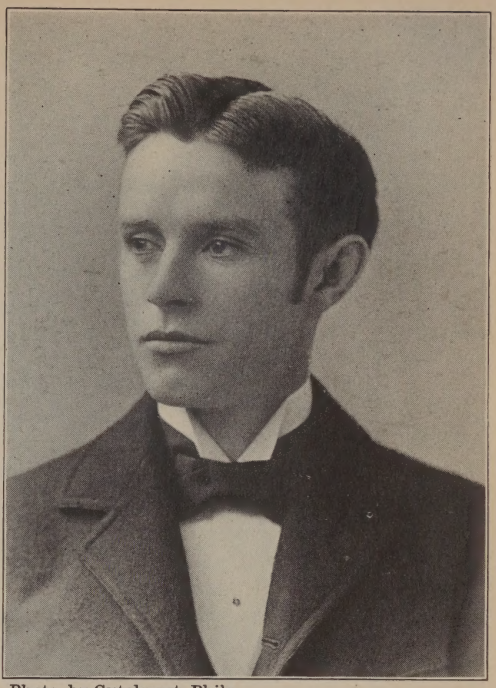


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

D. CLARENCE GIBBONEY,

SECRETARY OF LAW AND ORDER SOCIETY.

A terror to evil-doers, and whose splendid work for the redemption of the city will be ever remembered.

The work of the Law and Order Society has grown to its present enormous proportions within the last six years. D. Clarence Gibboney, a man whom even the crooks and thugs respect because, as they say, he "is on the level," and who never makes a move until he is sure of his ground, was elected secretary of the society in 1890 and has had full charge of the work ever since. He is to many one of

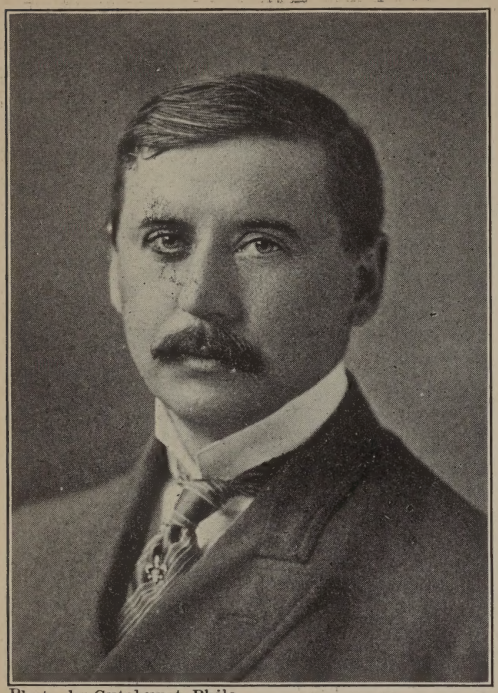


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

DAVID J. SMYTH,

FORMER DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC SAFETY.

"Dismissed" for the good of the service.

the strongest individual figures in Philadelphia to-day—and rightfully so. In the last six years he has caused the arrest of more than 2,000 keepers of speak-easies and 2,500 white-slave-den owners and disorderly-house and gambling-house keepers and inmates. The records of the Court of Quarter-Sessions show that more than ninety-seven per cent. of the Law and Order Society cases have either resulted in pleas of guilty or in convictions after trial. Mr. Gibboney has been called to many parts of the state for counsel and assistance and has rendered efficient service away from home. Other states have called on him, and at one time he investigated Camden, New Jersey, and arrested 210 persons on charges of selling liquor without a license or for conducting gambling-rooms. Of those arrested, 209 pleaded guilty, while the 210th man was let off on recommendation of the prosecutor of the pleas, as he was an old man and had relinquished the business. Gambling paraphernalia worth $10,000 was confiscated and the county was enriched by fines and costs amounting to $21,000.

The greatest record made by the Law and Order Society was within the last nine months. During this time it disrupted the "'Organization' and police-protected" white-slave syndicate, which was composed of the scum of the world, moral lepers who should not be tolerated in any town on earth. Though strongly intrenched the syndicate was broken up, its members arrested or made fugitives, and scores of young girls released from a life of bondage and shame. In nine months the society, under the direction of Secretary Gibboney, arrested 177 keepers of white-slave dens, dive-keepers and other officially-protected criminals. Of this number 173 pleaded guilty or were convicted, three died and one was acquitted. In the same period the police, forced by public sentiment to make some showing, made 380 arrests. Of this number 274 were acquitted upon the friendly testimony of the very police who had arrested them. A few, who were politically "wrong," were convicted, while a number have not yet been tried.

The Law and Order Society has been doing its work with nine men, while the police department numbers about 2,600 men and costs the city more than $3,000,000. The society has never had more than $14,500 for an entire year's work, and all it has done so far has been in the face of police obstruction.

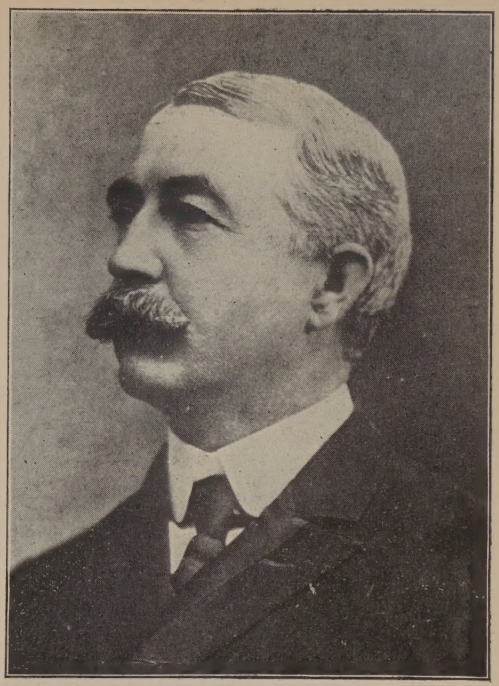
It was about six years ago, at the beginning of the administration of Mayor Samuel H. Ashbridge, that Philadelphia began to be corrupted through the protection and aid given by the police to white-slave dens, gambling-houses and speak-easies. One of the principal prices demanded and paid by this dangerous class of lawbreakers was votes. From that time until the present there is hardly a brothel, a speak-easy or a gambling-den that does not contain from four to twenty fraudulent votes. This illegal

registration is one of the strongest bonds, with money as a further tribute, that exists between the corrupt "Organization" and the criminal classes of all kinds.

White-slave dens, places of the lowest imaginable order, where ignorant girls are lured to a horrible fate and kept prisoners, sprang up during the Ashbridge administration, and had reached their greatest number a few months ago when the Law and Order Society started on its most successful crusade. In striking at the white-slave evil the society hit one of the bulwarks of the "Organization's" strength. The members of the white-slave syndicate, many of whom are now in jail, are politically powerful. One of them, "Abe" Carlos, was strong enough to get the recommendation of David J. Smyth, then Director of Public Safety, and of James L. Miles, the High Sheriff, for a private-detective license. Another, "Eddie" Cullen, who died several weeks ago, was allowed to run a gambling-den in which policemen in uniform were often seen, either drinking or gambling. In political cases policemen were sometimes sent to Cullen for orders.

It is such conditions that the Law and Order Society has had to contend against, with Secretary Gibboney's life threatened, the police-force opposed to him, and other sworn officers of the law throwing every possible obstacle in his path; but his work will continue until an honest administration shall, by enforcing the laws, do away with the need for the Law and Order Society.

The fight has so far been waged between a powerful political organization, without scruples or honor, against a small society with little money and few political friends. The worst elements in the city —brothel-keepers, gamblers, speak-easy proprietors, repeaters, ballot-thieves, crooks and thugs of all descriptions—are opposed to the Law and Order Society. The "Organization" has taken up the battle for the criminal classes. It, with the thugs and crooks and moral perverts at its back, has aligned itself defiantly



PETER E. COSTELLO,

FORMER DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC WORKS.

"Dismissed" because he served the "Organization" and deceived his Superior.

against honest, decent men and women. It is a fight of right against wrong, of good against evil, of morality against vice, of thieves against honest men, of corrupt politicians against reputable citizenship. It will be a fight to the finish and will cease only with an absolute and unconditional surrender of the criminal classes to the followers and believers in law and order. Thanks to Mayor Weaver's spirited proclamation of a new "Declaration of Independence," that day is not far distant.

Unexpectedly and with startling suddenness the citizens of Philadelphia have been at least disenthralled from the tyranny of their thievish despoilers. Like a bolt of lightning out of a clear sky, the fearless exercise by Mayor Weaver of the power conferred upon him by the Bullitt-Bill Charter in removing his Directors of Public Works and Public Safety, chief

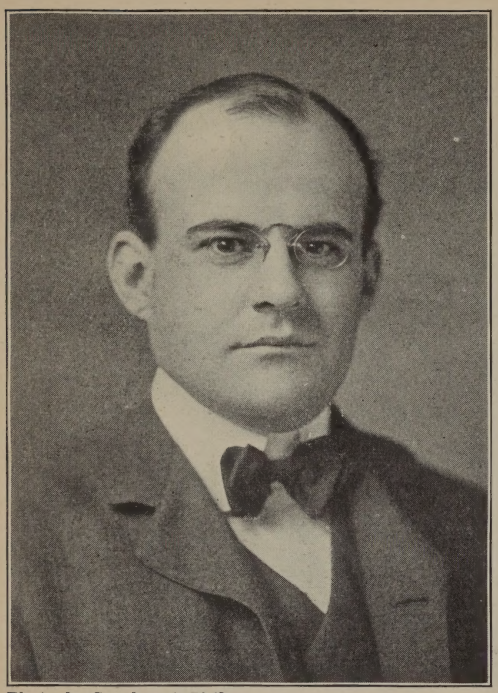


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

FRED. J. SHOYER,

DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SUPPLIES, ETC.

Mayor We ıver's warm personal friend, who has above all other men stood by him, counseled, strengthened and advised with him in the great work of redeeming the city. Few people appreciate the debt of gratitude the city owes Mr. Shoyer for his heroic work in the regeneration of Philadelphia.

props of the gang "Organization," has opened the prospect that the forty years of slavery to arrogant political mastery are about to end, and that the people of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania are preparing to march on and take possession of their own proper domain and restore in both city and state "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

With the passage of the gas-lease through Councils, as presaged in the July ARENA, Mayor Weaver, who had been ignored by the plotters and treated as of no more importance than a mere pawn in the game being played by the gang of public thieves, asserted himself in the most unequivocal manner and at once began to unlimber his guns and bring them to bear on the chief citadel of this gigantic conspiracy. He had ten days in which to veto or sign the ordinance. Announcing that he would veto it, the citizens rallied to his support with a unanimity and a zeal that indicated that Philadelphia was at last really awake. They began to hold indignation meetings in the many wards and to appoint delegations of prominent citizens to wait upon their recreant councilmen and demand that the Mayor's coming veto should be sustained. Large numbers of our most influential and public-spirited citizens, as also a delegation of one hundred Methodist clergymen and other ministerial bodies, waited on the Mayor and urged him to veto the steal. In answer to their request he announced that he would use to the utmost his power to defeat the iniquitous proposition.

He made good his promise by notifying Directors Costello and Smyth, the chief agents and supporters of the plotters, that their resignations were wanted. The resignations, with a string attached, were tendered the next day, but the Mayor now thoroughly aroused, refused to accept qualified resignations and peremptorily removed them from office, appointing Colonel Sheldon Potter and A. Lincoln Acker, two well-known citizens who command the respect of the community, as their successors, supplementing this drastic action by the announcement that he had employed ex-Judge James Gay Gordon, and former Secretary of War Elihu Root, of New York, as his counsel. The looters obtained a momentary advantage by securing from Judge Ralston a temporary injunction restraining the new directors from exercising the functions of their offices, but this temporary suspension was vacated in a few hours by a supersedeas issued from the Supreme Court installing the new directors and instructing them to exercise the duties of their respective offices.

This supersedeas knocked the last prop from under the tottering "Organization." The "Gang" had hoped to get a decision

from a complacent court that the new appointees could not exercise their duties until they had been confirmed by Select Council, the members of which, being the mere puppets of the plotters, would have obeyed the Penrose-Durham-McNichol combine and refused confirmation. Before the time for argument arrived, however, some of the gang-lawyers read section 4 of article VI. of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, which provides: "That appointed officers other than Judges of the Courts of Record and the Superintendent of Public Instruction may be removed at the pleasure of the power by which they shall have been appointed." This left their case without any legal support.

The President of the United Gas Improvement Company hastened to send a letter to Councils withdrawing its offer of $25,000,000 for the extended lease of the gas-works, embodying at the same time a statement that for fanciful figures and problematical riches makes King Solomon's mines look like "thirty cents." He estimated the net result of $25,000,000 cash payment to the city at 3½ per cent. compound interest, by the year 1980, at $310,714,446, and added enough for extensions, free lighting, etc., to make the total $437,281.227 and *forty-eight cents!*

This more than bountiful generosity on the part of the U. G. I. to the city of Philadelphia could have been made infinitely more munificent and attractive if the lease had been prolonged for another century or two at a continued compounding of interest. As it takes almost exactly twenty years at 3½ per cent. compound interest (semi-annual) to double one's capital, the city treasury would, under a lease until A. D. 2080, accumulate $13,984,000,000, or enough to pay the combined national debts of France, Germany, Russia and England, and if the far-sighted City Councils had extended the lease until A. D. 2180, the grand old Quaker City would have in its strong-box by that time the fabulous sum of $447,488,000,000, or more than a hundredfold the total money on earth to-day—an amount that might possibly satiate even the McNichol and Durham contracting firms of that period.

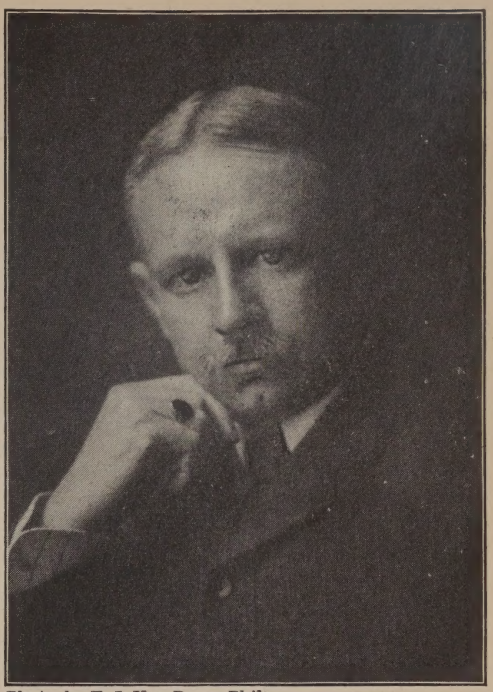


Photo. by F. J. Von Rapp, Phila.

COL. SHELDON POTTER,

THE NEW DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC SAFETY.

A well-known citizen under whose intelligent and powerful administration this important department will be administered for the welfare of the whole city.

The statisticians of the U. G. I. forget, however, that one can not have the cake and the penny both. If the money is needed and expended for improvements, it cannot draw even single and much less compound interest. But if we, to humor them, accept their mode of showing the vast benefit accruing to the city from the lease, it takes but little figuring to show that the amounts payable to the city, as established in the July ARENA, if saved and compounded at 3½ per cent. until A. D. 1980 or 2180, would so far outstrip the U. G. I. figures as to quite stagger belief.

The councilmen soon began to tumble over each other in their eagerness to as-

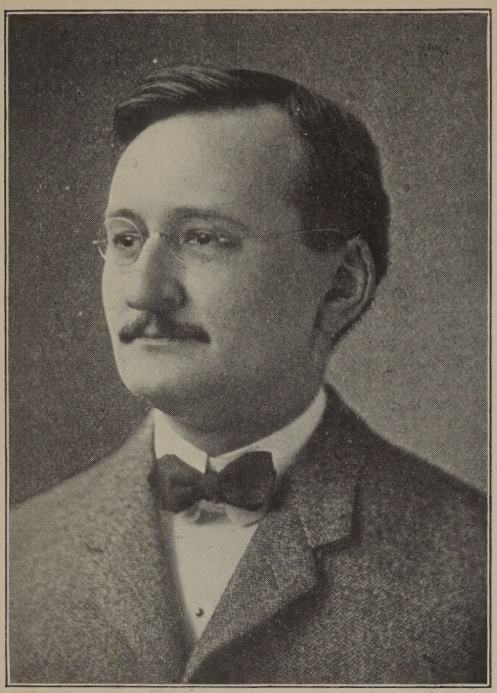


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

A. LINCOLN ACKER,

THE NEW DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC WORKS.

A life-long friend of the Mayor's. Prominent in business circles. He is applying business methods to the exclusion of political favoritism in the administration of his office.

sure the Mayor that they would confirm his new directors and support his future policy. Finding himself deserted by his principal henchmen in power, Durham himself capitulated and left his friends in councils free to support the Mayor's nominations and sustain his future policy.

Within five days of the removal of Costello and Smyth, the boasted ironclad municipal "Organization" of looting freebooters was a mass of ruins, having crumbled about the heads of its leaders like a house of cards, and its thoroughly-frightened dependents and retainers were scurrying for safety to enlist or seek refuge under the reform banner. Since that time the work of installing an honest city government has gone forward apace, without serious obstruction by the late despots themselves, and with the aid and hearty assistance of a keenly interested public.

At the first regular meeting of councils, following the removal of the "Gang" directors, the gas-lease ordinance was withdrawn; A. Lincoln Acker and Colonel Sheldon Potter were unanimously confirmed as Directors of Public Works and Public Safety, respectively, and repeal ordinances were introduced revoking the obnoxious trolley-franchises. In pursuance of the policy of reorganizing the municipal service on a business basis, the Assistant Directors of Public Works and Public Safety resigned by request, and their places were filled by the appointment of ex-Postmaster Thomas L. Hicks and ex-Magistrate Thomas W. South, men of unquestioned integrity and unusual qualification for the respective positions to which they were appointed. Rolla Dance, a creature of State Senator McNichol, was deposed from the Secretaryship of the Board of Civil-Service Examiners, and Frank M. Riter, Director of Public Safety under Mayor Warwick, accepted the appointment as a public duty. In future, subordinate appointments will be made upon tests of fitness, instead of, as heretofore, through the power of political "pull."

Assistant Director of Supplies Arthur R. H. Morrow, a "Gang" henchman and sympathizer, was supplanted by a capable and well-tried official, and Director Shoyer, of the Department of Supplies, who is justly entitled to the credit of having managed his department with absolute honesty and upon business principles from the date of his appointment, will in future be able to administer his own department untrammeled by the presence of disloyal subordinates foisted upon him by "Gang" influences. He is the trusted friend and chief adviser of Mayor Weaver in the heroic course by which the city government is being emancipated from the despotism of "Gang"-rule.

With the confirmation of Messrs. Acker and Potter as the heads of his two principal departments, insuring him that during the remainder of his term as Mayor he will have the loyal and effective support

of subordinates in cordial sympathy with his own purposes, Mayor Weaver made this brief announcement: "I set out to defeat the gas-lease, to secure confirmation of my appointees, and to place my administration upon a firm business basis." The first two of the above-named purposes have already been accomplished, and he has yet the best part of two years of his term before him in which to establish business administration of municipal affairs. The Mayor's announcement, however, not only changed the policy of the government, but the attitude of citizens, corporations, and the whole army of officials and municipal employees. One of the most significant changes involved was at once shown by the attitude of the officers of the Pennsylvania Railroad toward the city government, which threw a flood of light upon the new conditions and demonstrated unmistakably that the seat of government had been transferred from the Betz building, where it never should have been located, to the City Hall, where it properly belongs. Under the old conditions the Pennsylvania Railroad and other corporations each maintained a legislative agent, commonly known as a lobbyist, to engineer their schemes through councils. Requests for ordinances or legislative privileges required by the several railways had heretofore been made in the offices of Durham or Penrose and not to the official head of the city government.

On the morning of June 7th, closely following the installation of the new order of things, President Cassatt, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, accompanied by one of his principal assistants, made a personal call at the office of Mayor Weaver, spending nearly an hour conferring with him about some entirely proper ordinances relating to the removal of grade-crossings and the extension of the company's tracks in West Philadelphia and elsewhere. Three weeks earlier, such a conference, if held at all, would have taken place in the office of Israel W. Durham, in the Betz building, or

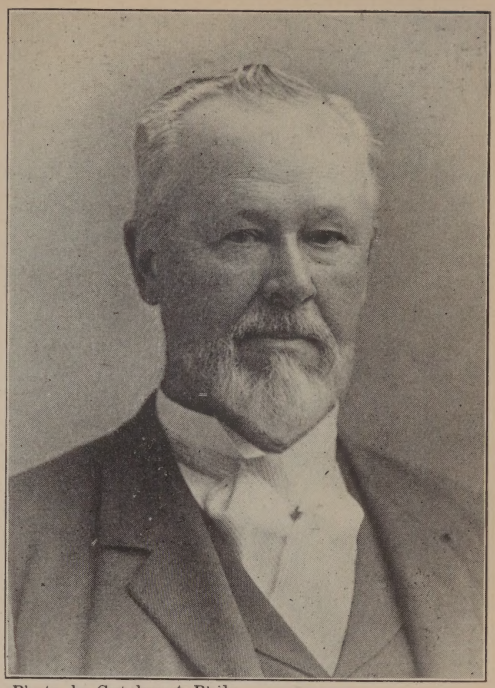


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

JOHN H. MICHENER,

PRESIDENT BANK OF NORTH AMERICA.

Member Mayor Weaver's Advisory Board of Fourteen.

at the Company's offices, instead of in that of Mayor Weaver, in the City Hall.

Another distinctive change occurred at once. Upon the retirement of Director of Public Safety Smyth, a dozen or more policemen, who had been tried and found guilty of intoxication, neglect of duty, disobedience of orders, and other offences subversive of discipline, remained unsentenced. Under Director Smyth, offences of this kind were generally punished by suspension for a few days followed by restoration to duty, which amounted in effect to a condonation of the offence. Director Potter promptly dismissed from the force eleven of these offenders, thus serving notice at the very outset of his administration that in future police discipline would be rigidly maintained and that political influence would not save a derelict member of the force from the just penalty of his own misdoings. The effect of this example was to

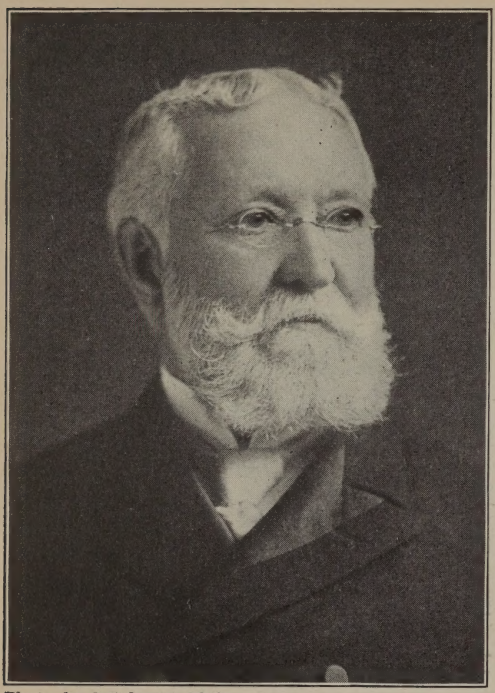


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

WILLIAM W. JUSTICE,

MEMBER MAYOR WEAVER'S ADVISORY BOARD OF FOURTEEN.

He has always taken a deep interest in civic and educational questions.

at once increase the efficiency of the police force and to restore it to its proper sphere in the municipal government. Following out this policy, Director Potter notified the captains and lieutenants, and through them the entire body of policemen, that they were to serve the city and not the machine; to maintain its peace and not to mix in its politics.

The police and all municipal officials were next informed that they would not be required to pay political assessments or contributions of any sort toward the maintenance of political clubs, this information being supplemented by the further intimation that membership in political clubs would be looked upon in the future with disfavor and treated as a bar rather than a reason for promotion. City employees were also notified that they would be expected to pay their debts, complaints having been made in many quarters that bills incurred were long overdue. The merciless blackmailing for political purposes, to which they had been subjected by their tyrannical masters in the Betz building, was doubtless in many instances responsible for their inability to pay their debts, and the order releasing them from these exactions removed any valid excuse for their failure to pay their debts in future.

The severest blow, however, to "Gang" supremacy was yet to be inflicted and that was administered by an order requiring all city employees to report to their superiors the number of real voters who should be assessed from their respective houses. As has been formerly stated, thousands of fictitious voters had for years been carried on the assessment lists from the residences of policemen and other city officials. Director Potter had been furnished indisputable proof of this, and his notification to the employees to report the number of actual voters domiciled in their respective places of residence carried with it the assurance that if they attempted any deception they would be detected and punished summarily. While it is too early to approximately foreshadow the effect of this order, the general impression is that it will eliminate scores of thousands of fraudulent or fictitious names from the assessors' lists, thus wiping out at a single stroke one basis upon which the enormous fraudulent machine-majorities of former years has rested. With the assessed list of voters reduced to honest proportions, and the voters themselves relieved of the terrorism imposed by the power of official pressure, the public sentiment of Philadelphia will in future be able to express itself. In other words, "Gang"-rule can never be revived in Philadelphia except by the deliberate consent of a majority of its real instead of its bogus citizens.

Although the overthrow of the masters of Philadelphia came almost without warning and in the twinkling of an eye, it has jarred, if not shattered, the autocratic machine-organiztion throughout

the length and breadth of the state. The tyranny inflicted by the "Boas Mansion Junta" upon the country members of the legislature at Harrisburg, during the last session of the legislature, had been bitterly resented in every section of the state, and the disruption and complete shattering of the Durham-McNichol power in Philadelphia was followed by instant signs of revolt everywhere. To check the growth of this discontent into immediate organized revolution required prompt action, and although Durham was disheartened and hopeless, and Penrose, never a cool-headed, courageous or competent leader in times of political stress, had lapsed into a state of abject limpness, there were still some cool heads among the "Organization" followers in the state.

The death of Justice John Dean, of the Supreme Court, had unexpectedly opened the way for a fusion of all dissatisfied voting-elements of the commonwealth, by the nomination of an Independent Republican of acknowledged fitness and state-wide reputation to fill the vacancy. Democratic papers and leaders were advocating the nomination of Judge John Stewart, an Independent Republican of Franklin county, upon the Democratic ticket, the Democratic State Convention having nominated a strong and popular candidate for the office of state treasurer. It was clearly foreseen by those "Organization" leaders who had not entirely lost their heads by the political earthquake in Philadelphia, that if the Democrats should adopt this course the proposed combination ticket might easily rally to its support half the Republican voters of the state, carrying the machine state-ticket down to irretrievable defeat.

A hasty conference of Republican congressmen, state senators and administration office-holders and ex-office-holders was called in Philadelphia, and although the proposition to place Judge Stewart, who had been an independent candidate for governor in 1882, defeating General Beaver and insuring the election of Rob-

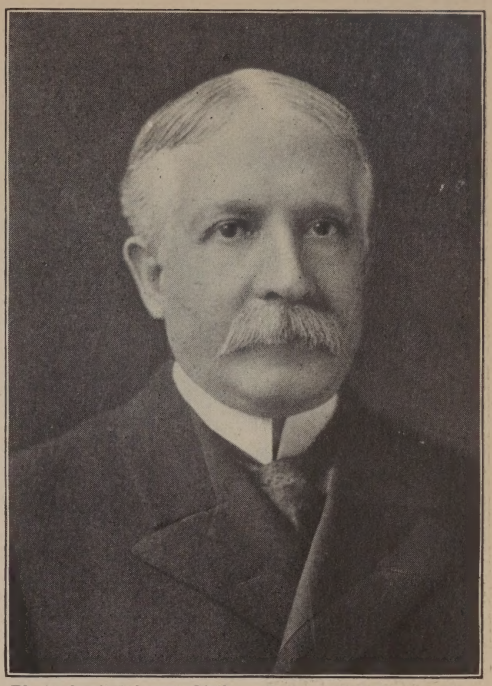


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

JOSEPH G. DARLINGTON,

EX-PRESIDENT UNION LEAGUE.

Chairman of Committee of Twenty-one whose attempt to regenerate the "Organization" through its own conversion was received with mingled feelings of hilarity and disgust.

ert E. Pattison, was wormwood and gall to the thoroughly-cowed and humbled machine-leaders, it was either that or inevitable defeat. And so with inexpressible grimaces of disgust the "Gang" swallowed their medicine and agreed to recommend to Governor Pennypacker the immediate appointment of Judge Stewart, and provided for the calling of the Republican State Committee within two weeks to place him in regular nomination for the full twenty-one-year term. Thus dissolved into thin air the fond but unsubstantial dream of Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker that he should fill this coveted office at the behest of the "once most influential political leader" of Philadelphia. Turning to John Stewart to save them from political annihilation comes perilously near to the Scriptural alternative of calling for the rocks and

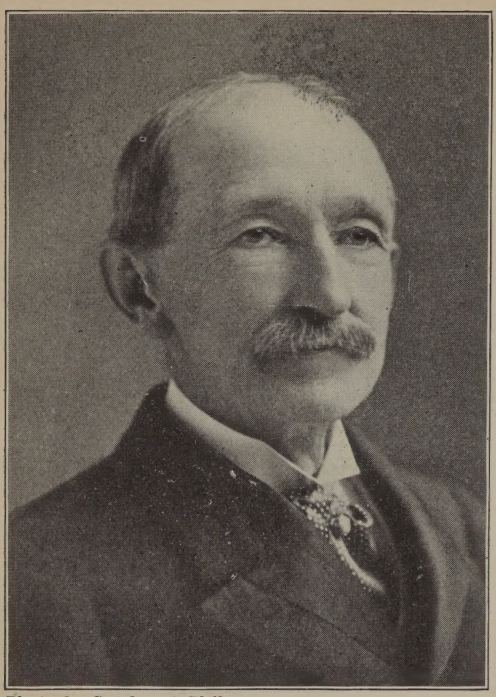


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

HON. WAYNE MAC VEAGH,
EX-UNITED STATES ATTORNEY-GENERAL,
EX-AMBASSADOR TO ITALY.
Counsel for the Town-meeting Committee of Nine.

the mountains to fall on them to save them from impending wrath.

It is not the scope of this article, nor would space permit a recital of the magnificent and effective work done under Mayor Weaver's direction since the ever-memorable 22d of May, when he threw down the gauntlet to the looters, who, drunk with power and ravenous for plunder, were more arrogant and insolent than at any time during the "Organization's" existence. The history of this municipal revolution, unparalleled in the annals of our country, will ever prove a most interesting theme when recorded from its inception to its consummation and results.

It must suffice now to briefly embody in our story the latest happenings that bear upon the subject, and to have the reader follow further developments as they will be related in the press of the country, for Philadelphia's arising has been of national moment and importance and its history is followed at home and abroad with ever-increasing interest.

A move that caused consternation and dismay in the ranks of the "Organization" was the selection by Mayor Weaver of an "Advisory Board" of fourteen well-known citizens, to discuss and advise with him on questions relating to the administration of the business of the municipality. The members of this board are John H. Converse, Hon. William Potter, Hugh McCaffrey, Rudolph Blankenburg, Hon. Charles Emory Smith, Walter F. Hagar, Mahlon N. Kline, Francis B. Reeves, William T. Tilden, William W. Justice, Morris Newburger, Dr. John H. Musser, John H. Michener, and Charles H. Harding. The naming of this "Advisory Board" was hailed with satisfaction by all but "Organization" friends and a few individuals whose allegiance with corporations and whose general interests make them look askance on any movement that threatens to change conditions under which they have been thriving and prospering.

The community was startled by the arrest of Select Councilman Frank H. Caven, who was charged with being illegally interested with the McNichol firm in sand contracts for the filtration plant. At the hearing before Magistrate Eisenbrown, Daniel J. McNichol, the ostensible head of the firm, testified that he had only one-twelfth interest in the concern, and named as the co-partners, Israel W. Durham, James P. McNichol, and at one time the latter's wife (while J. P. was a member of Select Council). This statement threw a flood of light upon the whole political situation; McNichol and Durham were not only in political but in business partnership, with the city of Philadelphia for years the helpless victim. Caven was held in $2,500 bail for trial at the next term of court.

In the meanwhile the Rapid Transit Company was engaged in an attempt to prevent the repeal of the trolley-bills which had been passed by councils over the mayor's veto, but as the City Solicitor's

opinion, rendered with a dispatch very annoying to the "Gang," declared the repeal bills legal, the mayor was sustained by a now quite lamb-like councils. Thus a steal of millions that had been in the grasp of the grafters was annulled.

The Mayor has as his legal adviser ex-Judge James Gay Gordon, perhaps the brainiest, most competent and courageous member of the Philadelphia bar, free from corporation fetters and social checks. Judge Gordon was overwhelmed with work, his task was herculean and his responsibilities so great, that Mayor Weaver also retained ex-Secretary of War Elihu Root, one of the most distinguished members of the American bar.

The "Organization" suddenly made its appearance in brand-new reform-livery and rumors spread that there would be a surprise. It became known that the "Gang" candidates for sheriff, coroner and county commissioners would be asked to withdraw to make room for men, who, while not tarred with the "Organization" stick, had enough of its flavor to be palatable. When it was ascertained, however, that the reform bodies would not deal with Penrose, Durham, McNichol & Co. under any circumstances a different move became necessary. In this "Organization" dilemma a new committee suddenly made its appearance—the committee of "Twenty-One." It is not known whether this committee was authorized at a town-meeting, or whether it was born or foster-fathered in a private-office of the president of a savings institution who has close connections with the Pennsylvania Railroad. No one seems willing to father it, or even stand sponsor for it, yet it does not appear to be the offspring of spontaneity. By merest accident twenty of its members are also members of the Union League, two of them ex-presidents of that body; eight are not even residents of Philadelphia, but vote in adjoining counties.

The burden of the letter addressed by these "eminently respectable" citizens to Sheriff Miles, chairman of the City Committee, shining light of the "Organization," leader of one of the most disreputable wards, is that the present reform-wave portends evil to the Republican party of "Lincoln, McKinley and Roosevelt," and that what we want is "reform within the party." They asked that a new ticket should be named. President Roosevelt has since replied to this "wail of the wisp" by ordering the removal from federal office of C. Meeser, one of the men implicated in the Salter ballot-frauds and a member of the Republican party of "Penrose, Durham and McNichol"!

The "Organization" again took heart and politely replied that while the "City Committee" was the only legally-constituted body to act in this matter, it would be pleased to have the counsel and advice of the "Twenty-One." Upon investigation the origin of this movement was traced to a shrewd, fertile-brained member of the bar, who had had experience in political "flops." He broached to Senator Penrose the project of calling upon "eminent respectability" to help the "Organization" in its extremity. The Senator gladly assented. It is but just to say that a number of the signers were taken unawares and really thought they were performing a public duty by signing the letter. Some have since declared that they affixed their signatures before the Caven hearing, etc., and no movement of this character ever fell as flat as this effort to bolster up a gang of corruptionists by an appeal to genuine Republicans.

An excellent *bon mot*, expressive of the general opinion on this ill-advised move, was by ex-Mayor Stuart, who, when asked why he had not signed the letter of the "Twenty-One," replied: "Because *I am* twenty-one."

Chairman Miles wrote Chairman Darlington of the "Twenty-One" that he had appointed a sub-committee of three, of course all converts to the cause of reform: Messrs. Lane, Martin, Miles (*ex-officio*), who would be pleased to confer with a similar committee of the "Twenty-One" (since, if rumor is correct, consid-

erably shrunk in membership). This probably will, and certainly should, end an abortive effort to galvanize into new life as corrupt a body of politicians as has ever been known.

The arrest of John W. Hill, Chief of the Filtration Bureau, who had resigned his office, on charges of forgery and falsification of papers, created profound excitement; he was, after a prolonged hearing, held in $8,000 bail for court.

We must here stop our narrative, although many matters of interest might be added. Investigations in all city departments are being made, and before this issue of THE ARENA reaches its readers there will probably have fallen into the hands of the law some of the star actors in this drama of the most "American" of our cities, no longer "Corrupt and Contented," but now being "Cleansed and Chastened."

When I commenced to write these papers on "Forty Years in the Wilderness," it was far from my thought that the reign of corruption which had its beginning in 1865, at the close of the Civil war, might come to an end in 1905, or within the number of years the children of Israel wandered in the wilderness.

The eyes of every community afflicted by evils similar to those we have so long suffered, nay the eyes of our whole, vast country, are to-day riveted upon John Weaver, Mayor of Philadelphia, who has taken a courageous, uncompromising and unalterable position to secure for us the best government obtainable. We all wish him God-speed!

The future is promising indeed; the people now know that their power is irresistible if stirred in the holy cause of honesty in public affairs, and they will not again, let us pray, permit public plunderers to take the place of the faithful, unselfish and fearless citizens of the republic. My heart was heavy and almost despaired when I undertook the task of writing these articles. The day of deliverance seemed far off, but, thanks to the abnormal voracity, the unheard of arrogance and utter defiance of the laws of God and man on the part of the "Organization," and thanks to an awakened public conscience the day has come, let us hope to stay!

(*The end.*)

RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG.

Philadelphia, Pa.

A VAST EDUCATIONAL SCHEME.

BY ELTWEED POMEROY,
President of the National Direct-Legislation League.

"The most powerful and perhaps the only means of interesting men in the welfare of their country is to make them partakers in the government."—*Alexis de Tocqueville.*

"The whole body of the nation is the sovereign legislative, judiciary and executive power for itself. It is the will of the nation which makes the law obligatory; it is their will which creates or annihilates the organ which is to declare or announce it. . . . The will of the majority is the natural law of every society and the only sure guardian of the rights of man. Perhaps even this may sometimes err, but its errors are honest, solitary and short-lived. Let us forever bow down to the general reason of society."—*Thomas Jefferson.*

"According to our ancient faith, the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed. . . . Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government and that, and that only, is self-government."—*Abraham Lincoln.*

THERE is no one article of their political faith in which the American people believe so thoroughly as in education. Attack our educational system in any of its parts, and the American people will regard you as their enemy. Praise it, and their hearts open as to a friend. Criticise it, and if the criticism is felt to be honest and needed, you are

sure of an appreciative and patient hearing.

This article proposes a vast, a needed and an easily obtained extension of our system of political education, an extension on the lines of our best political thought, that simply embodies into an institution the teachings and in some cases the actual practices of the fathers of our country, that is in harmony with true democratic development, and that will correct the present dangerous centralizing tendencies of both our business and our political life.

Under the referendum, no law goes into effect until a reasonable time after it is passed,—say thirty days for a city, sixty days for a state, or four months for the nation. If during that time a reasonable minority of the people—say five per cent. —sign and file a petition for its reference to the whole people, it is held from operation until the next election, when all the people vote upon it, a majority enacting or rejecting.

Under the initiative a reasonable minority of the voters by signing and filing a petition for a law force it to a vote in the legislative body, and if it is not passed there it then goes to a vote of the people, a majority enacting or rejecting.

These two measures constitute direct-legislation or the "most powerful and perhaps the only means of interesting men in the welfare of their country," the means of finding out the "will of the nation," which is, as Jefferson says, "the sovereign legislative, judiciary and executive power for itself," and as Lincoln advises, the method of allowing "all the governed an equal voice in the government."

What will be the results under direct-legislation? Citizens opposed to some law will sign a petition against it, thus forcing the law to a vote of the people. For instance, the prohibitionists might institute a referendum petition against some license or liquor law. If you think they are entirely in the wrong, you vote to sustain the existing law. Before the vote takes place, however, you have been obliged to consider the law, a copy of which is usually sent to every voter. Perhaps some voter knows nothing about what the prohibitionists advocate, regarding them only as fanatics who seek to limit personal liberty. He is now obliged to give some thought to the subject and naturally obtains the facts and talks them over with his neighbors and friends. The prohibitionists may be utterly defeated, but they have forced an education on the subject that could not have been accomplished in any other way.

In Oregon a few years ago three groups of voters instituted petitions under the direct-legislation law that is embedded in the Oregon constitution. Two of these, those for direct primaries and for local option, were carefully considered, carefully drawn and moderate measures. The petitions for both secured the requisite number of signatures, eight per cent. of the total vote, or a little over four thousand. The third was a radical socialist measure. It did not secure the necessary number of signatures and so failed. What was the inference to be drawn? Either a reasonable minority of the voters of Oregon did not care even to sign the petition for its submission, or else its advocates did not possess sufficient enthusiasm to ask for signatures. Indifference, either among its advocates or among the people, prevented its submission.

In Switzerland some years ago the radical socialists started an initiative petition for a very radical measure for providing work for the unemployed. The principle appealed to the people and the petition secured a large number of signatures, more than the fifty thousand required. The measure was widely discussed. Some of its opponents pointed out that if enacted into law its extremely liberal provisions would quickly bankrupt the public treasury. This information spread and the petition was overwhelmingly defeated. The extremists had had an opportunity to express their desires; the people were not in accord with them.

The socialists found that they must do one of two things: either moderate their demands so as to have a majority of the people with them, or educate the people up to their demands. They could not possibly find fault with the government. It was their own government; they were a part of it; when they were able to convince a majority of the voters that they were in the right they could obtain the desired legislation; and they could at any time easily find out whether or not the majority of the people agreed with them.

In the Oregon case in a less degree and in the Swiss case in a much greater degree there was a wide education of the public both on the principle and on the method of carrying out that principle. In Switzerland the agitation for the extreme measure resulted in a large number of small measures for sanely and carefully helping the unemployed. The radical measure first proposed had compelled thought and discussion which in time resulted in suitable legislation.

It is an oft-noticed fact that ministers and college professors have, comparatively speaking, little influence with the mass of the people. True, there are certain notable exceptions, but as a rule when they address large gatherings their remarks are received with comparative indifference or perfunctory applause. The reason for this, I think, lies largely in their training which tends to destroy active sympathy with the common people and to carry them out of touch with the thoughts, ideals and aspirations of the average man. They live and develop in another atmosphere. It is a subtile differentiation but a very important one. They learn from books, which is life at second hand, and are therefore not in actual, direct and positive touch with life as lived by the masses. They are teachers; they are accustomed to speak authoritatively; they come, often unconsciously, to feel that they are above the mass of the people; and so when they see men who are their inferiors in education and training swaying the people in a manner impossible for them, they think of the people as something apart from and below them—as "the great unwashed." This of course tends to separate them still more from the throbbing heart of popular life and makes them more aristocratic in sentiment, suspicious of democracy and out of touch with the great vitalizing currents of our life and thought.

A second important reason for this phenomenon is found in the positions they occupy. Our churches and most of our colleges are dependent upon the contributions or the endowments of the rich and the well-to-do. There is rarely any actual condition attached to these donations or endowments, but every college president knows that if he expresses opinions contrary to the moneyed interests his college will receive no more endowments; so he remains silent and silences his staff of teachers. By and by this attitude, which perhaps was not natural at first, comes to be natural, and he and the members of his faculty grow more and more away from the common people. Some years ago I suggested to the pastor of a prominent city church that he permit a group of workingmen who had formed a mutual aid or insurance society, to meet in one of the church-rooms on an evening when it was unoccupied. They had been meeting over a friendly saloon. He would not consider the proposition for a moment; it might offend some of his wealthy parishioners who were the pillars of the church. Insensibly the worship of wealth had entered into the mind and soul of this good man,—and he was and is sincerely good. His church has many wealthy and many well-to-do families in it, but hardly a single workingman.

Whenever in the history of the past a certain trained class has been set aside for educational work, such as priests, ministers and teachers, we find that while that class may have had wide influence at first it has soon come to regard itself as something apart from and better than the people and has thereby lost touch

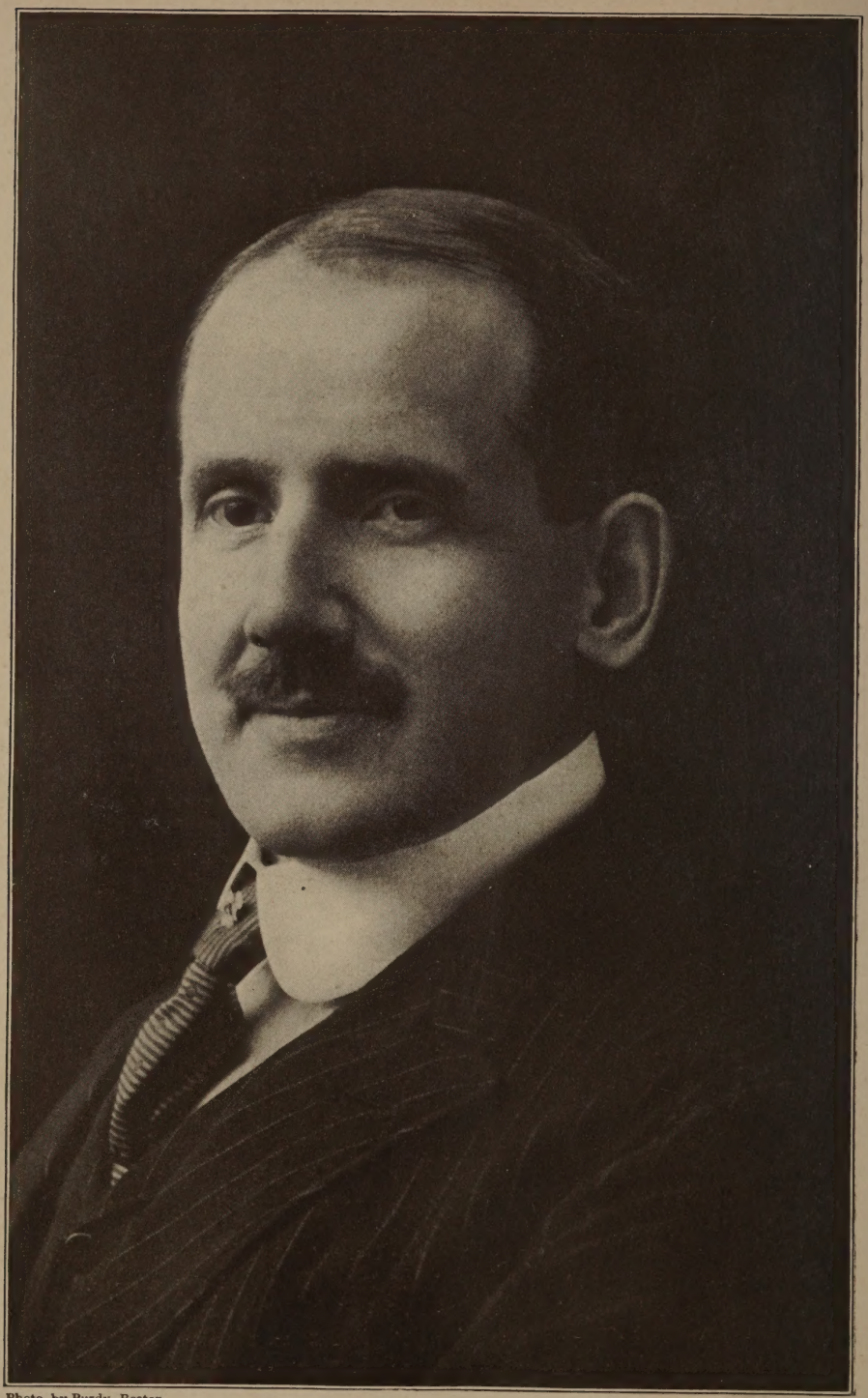


Photo. by Purdy, Boston

ELTWEED POMEROY, A.M.

with their life and has ceased to influence them in a compelling way.

Under direct-legislation a group of people separates itself from the mass with a proposition for a certain measure that has been made the subject of thorough study. A vote is forced on the question by its advocates, who thus become the teachers of the people for a brief period, either accomplish their object or are defeated, and then sink back into the people again, perhaps to re-form into other groups with other people, perhaps never again to appear before the public. But whether they have succeeded in accomplishing their purpose or not, they have succeeded in educating the people.

One class in the community may feel that it is suffering under some injustice. It formulates a remedy, and by this very act its demands become less hysterical, more sane and more reasonable; and, as has happened in Switzerland, the mere making public of its intention of working to remedy some injustice persuades at least a partial reform of that injustice. Its demands then go before a tribunal of the whole people who decide whether or not there is need of the law. Is there any higher tribunal on earth?

In Yellowstone Park when one of the great geysers is ready for an eruption, the water boils furiously, a jet spurts up here, another there, a third, a fourth, and a number of jets spurt from other sides; then the great mass goes up into the air. Suppose it were confined under the earth until the pressure became so great that there was an explosion, doing enormous damage. Our present system sits on the safety-valve and prevents legislation until there is danger of an explosion. Under direct-legislation we should have numerous small attempts for a reform, until the people had been educated to the point where they recognized the necessity of the reform, when they would act through the regular channels and obtain it.

Life, scientists tell us, is ever in a state of flux, ever plastic, growing, advancing or retiring. Direct-legislation allows for this constant flux of the body politic. It is the method of life, the method of freedom, the method of growth; a vast educational scheme in which the teachers of the people come out from among them, deliver their messages like the Jewish prophets of old, and then retire into the mass of the people again after having accomplished their mission, and not becoming a priestly or teaching class separate and distinct from the people, antagonistic to the real interests of the people and the servants of their rulers.

Direct-legislation gives freedom for the formulating and bringing before the people of remedies for all kinds of injustices. The belief in freedom is the last touchstone of the true American. As Jefferson has said: "We need never fear an error which reason is free to combat." Believe that really and truly deep down in your heart, and you are an American. Accept it and develop it into the working institution of direct-legislation, and you have freed our political institutions by enlarging the franchise from the voting on men once a year or once in two or four years to a continual franchise on measures. Our politics are educational. One great reason of our progress lies in the fact that they are so free. But they might be more free than they are, and then they would be vastly more educational than at present. The characters of men are unknown, changing and mysterious things to understand, weigh and decide upon; and the characters of candidates are vastly more unknown and non-understandable than those of average men. Free our politics by permitting votes on measures as well as on men, and we have known and definite laws to consider instead of fluctuating and unknown characters.

Millions of men did not vote at the last election. Why? They did not care to; they felt that the franchise was a limited and comparatively valueless affair, and that no candidate who stood even a small chance of obtaining office, really repre-

sented them. Allow men to vote on the measures they wish to vote on, and they will do so. Perhaps they may not vote on questions about which they are indifferent. What is the harm? They will of course acquiesce in the decision of the other voters; they are indifferent. So long as each man has the right to vote, just so long there is no harm in a small vote, as it is an automatic self-disfranchisement of the ignorant and the uninterested. But let each man be free to vote for the measures which he desires and against those to which he is opposed, and at one bound our political system gains an educational scope that is almost limitless and whose capstone and crowning glory is freedom.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

East Orange, N. J.

THE SANE VIEW OF THE RAILROAD PROBLEM.

BY LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

SIGNS multiply that the railroad question is for the immediate future to hold a commanding place in public discussion. "A long train of abuses and usurpations" have at last fixed public attention to such a degree that there is a rapidly-crystallizing popular demand that something be done to protect the public from injustice at the hands of their carrying-companies. What that "something" shall be is but vaguely outlined in the public mind.

Doubtless there is a general comprehension of the fact that by freight discrimination the railroads have built up great concerns while driving smaller establishments to the wall, and an equally general expectation that some scheme will be evolved to remedy this evil. Yet this ill-defined notion as to what is demanded probably is due to a more or less vague conception of the real nature of the railroad problem.

While it may be conceded that a satisfactory solution is a most difficult matter, and that its accomplishment will test to the utmost the highest skill in statecraft, still that solution would be materially aided could the common people see with clear penetration the position into which the railroads must be forced before this question can be considered settled.

On the other hand, a lack of definite knowledge of the true nature of the problem, of what must be the end of legislative journeying into the field of regulation and control, in order to achieve the relief demanded, presents a golden opportunity to those who wish to forestall any effective action.

In the actual condition of the public mind it should be easily possible to impose upon the public some scheme which would leave untouched the root of the evil against which the people cry out.

The real problem, the thing to be accomplished, if after all the foreshadowed labor the mountain is to bring forth more than a mouse, is to compel the railroads to resume and maintain the position of common-carriers in the common-sense use of the term. Anything short of this will be but a lame and impotent conclusion. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the plain, average citizen be shown, by those who understand, the correct view of the railroad problem, and that he be taught to know the vital difference between fixing rates and compelling railroads to give the people that service which their nature and the law of the land imperatively call for. This knowledge is indispensable if one would judge discriminatingly the arguments so confidently presented by railroad experts and publicists.

A failure to grasp the core of the question will not only disable one to appreciate the force or detect the fallacy of what may be said for and against various remedial proposals, but it will also render one prone to draw erroneous conclusions from demonstrated facts. The solution of public questions would, indeed, always be greatly facilitated if they who study them could "see things as they really are." It is, perhaps, within the bounds of truth to say that most of the social injustice and distress would speedily be eliminated if the majority of mankind were gifted with the power of seeing into the reality of things.

In a former article* it was shown that the first requisite to an understanding of the railroad question is to have a common-sense view of what a railroad is. It was there pointed out that while the public mind has been much befogged by the supposition that a great railroad is a great business enterprise, to be conducted by its managers along the ordinary lines of business for the profit of its stockholders, such a conception of the nature of a railroad is fundamentally wrong, that not only is a railroad not a business enterprise in the ordinary and legitimate use of the term, but that it is a public highway sustaining under the system which obtains in the United States—outside of its territory at Panama—precisely the same relations to the public as an ordinary turnpike or toll-road. Created for the same public service, it must be subject to the same public right of control, if it perverts or neglects its functions. Its managers cannot, without usurpation of public rights, choose its customers or select its markets and, in fact, so long as its operations are confined within proper limits it can have nothing to manufacture, nothing to buy or to sell. It merely has a service to render to the public, and for the performance of this service it is permitted to charge and collect a reasonable toll.

It is apparent, therefore, that railroad corporations are in no sense to be classed with manufacturing or trading corporations, such as the so-called trusts, and that they are to be viewed and treated apart from the industrial combinations as forming, in the language of the law, a class *sui generis*. So true is this, that whatever of an industrial nature may have become grafted onto these railroad corporations—whether mining or otherwise—must be cut off by legislative pruning before the people can be fully restored to their rights. It cannot be too often, nor too strongly, impressed on the public mind that just so far as railroad corporations have engaged in industrial enterprises, just so far have they departed from the purpose for which they were created, and have perverted the powers conferred by the public for public ends. It cannot be too often nor too earnestly urged that any attempted settlement of the railroad question which does not leave the great carrying companies stripped of all occupation save that of carrying persons and property, though it may be a palliative, cannot be a solution of that question. For there can be no solution of an economic problem which leaves undestroyed one of the prolific sources of the evil which gives rise to the problem.

The problem is, then, to make of railroads, common-carriers in fact, as they are and always have been common-carriers in law. Can the "plain people" master it? Are its essential conditions easily within the grasp of the ordinary individual who is too much preoccupied to devote time to the special study of details of railroad operation? Yes.

One need not be an expert on transportation, nor a statesman, nor even a shifting politician, in order to understand the rights of the people as against corporations created by them and the obligations of those public creatures to their creator.

One need not comprehend all that is to be known about special favor in terminal facilities, secret rebates, rate discriminations, private-car lines, refrige-

*The Arena, May, 1905, p. 522.

rator-car service, elevator charges and the many other devices for favoring certain shippers and enabling them to crush out business competitors, in order to discern the end to be aimed at in dealing with this question.

It is not required that we should know all the intricacies of organization, all the complicated adjustments necessary in practical railroad operation, in order to know the ultimate and inevitable result towards which as a goal our authorities must move if they are to give the public relief.

The average man should not, therefore, be frightened from an independent consideration of this question by the complications of the railroad system in actual operation. "A plain man's common-sense" is amply sufficient to judge the remedies which may be proposed and urged as likely to accomplish a result worthy to be called a solution of the railroad question.

This result, this solution, as before stated, is not a "regulation of rates"—excepting, perhaps, incidentally—nor the fixing of "reasonable rates," as such. The work to be achieved, by whatever means accomplished, is the restoration to the public of the railroads as common-carriers of persons and merchandise.

Common-carriers must of necessity carry for all alike. Hence the problem is simply to compel the railroads to serve all the public alike, not to compel them to serve the public for less. This must be the aim of all intelligent treatment of the railroad question and the public mind should be focused on this point. Discussion of rates, rate-making power and right of control are all too likely to divert public attention from the fact that to make of the railroads, common carriers in the true sense, is the task before the people and that what is not shown to tend directly to that end may be dismissed as likely to mislead, if not, in fact, intended to deceive. Whatever phases of the question may be dwelt upon, this should be kept to the front as "the 'fore the fust" concern.

It is apparent, therefore, that the official talk about "government regulation of rates" and "unreasonable rates" may confuse the average mind as to the true nature of the railroad problem, by creating the impression that the public grievance is excessive freight-charges, whereas the fundamental grievance is *unequal* charges. The actual rate, whether high or low, is of secondary importance compared with the need of *uniform* rates.

This may be illustrated by the tariff duties. The trade at large, in a given line of imports, would not be materially affected, save, perhaps, in its volume, whether the duties collected at the custom-house should be high or low, provided all who import pay the same rate of duty, while it would be in the highest degree destructive to the importing business generally if the government officials were permitted to grant special rates to certain large importers, even though the charge exacted of the many non-favored importers were, in itself, a low rate. The railroads with their charges for transportation stand in much the same relation to our domestic trade as the custom-houses with their tariff-schedules stand to the importing trade. Justice requires substantial uniformity of charge for moving goods over our internal highways no less than for moving goods from outside our borders through our tariff-gates. The demoralization, the disaster and the tyrannical injustice which plainly would result in our import trade, were discrimination and rebates permitted in tariff-rates, find their melancholy counterpart in the actual condition of our domestic trade under a system of discrimination and rebates in transportation rates.

Since, then, inequality of charges and not excessive rates is the burning issue, we should be on our guard lest we be misled by the effort to confer on a government tribunal the power of fixing rates. When the people are clamoring for the bread of just—because equal—rates they

should take care that they do not permit themselves to be soothed into slumber by the gift of the stone of lower but still unequal, rates.

Walter D. Hines, lately First Vice-President of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, recently said:

"Undoubtedly the giving of secret rebates has created far more discontent and far more public injury than all other actual or imagined railroad evils combined. The demand for the rate-making power for the Interstate Commerce Commission has received more impetus, and now receives more support from the discontent and sense of injury growing out of secret rebates than from all other sources put together. Yet the subjects have absolutely no connection. Secret rebates are in no sense due to the fact that the commission has no rate-making power and could in no way be abated or corrected by the exercise of that power."

Mr. Hines recognizes clearly that inequality of rates, not excessive rates, is what has given rise to the widespread and swelling discontent and that the injurious effects of this inequality has led to a demand for "regulation of rates." He positively declares that the exercise of the rate-making power by a governmental agency could not correct the evil. If Mr. Hines is right in his view as to the ineffectiveness of the rate-making power as a means of suppressing rebates, then the importance of a clear understanding that the problem is not one of rates, but of equality of rates; not one of regulation, in itself, but of compelling the railroads to act in their true capacity of common-carriers, becomes perfectly apparent. For the confusion of mind depicted by Mr. Hines is precisely what gives rise to the danger of an abortive attempt at settling the railroad question. Men may not unnaturally conclude that when government officials shall be clothed with the power of fixing "reasonable" rates, discrimination in freight-rates will necessarily end. Mr. Hines points out, with apparent soundness, that no such result need follow.

Hence the vital importance of trying every suggested remedy by the common-carrier test. Will it compel, or tend to compel, the railroads to render the same service to all, on equal terms? should be the ever-present query, and until its advocates can answer in the affirmative the public should resolutely withhold its assent. Nothing should be permitted to divert attention from this crucial point. Let the people but know clearly what they want, then persistently and consistently demand it, and ultimately they will get it.

That railroads are, so to speak, public highways on wheels, and only that, and therefore must at all hazards be removed from the power of individuals to use them to favor one set of citizens at the expense of the rest, is the lesson which should be unremittingly taught to all whose minds may not be clear on the subject.

The power to fix transportation charges at the will of the traffic-managers is a power over the property of the individual citizen such as no free people would, for a moment, endure in the hands of a public official. For it is the power of practical confiscation of individual property and destruction of the business prosperity of the entire communities. If this power would be intolerable in a public officer, it is none the less insufferable in a railroad officer who is wielding powers conferred by the public for public purposes.

In a word, the railroad problem is not a matter of rates, but a matter of highways. It is merely a question of recovering and retaining the peoples' highways for the people. The danger is that, in the discussion over rate-fixing powers and regulation, this fact may become obscured in the popular mind.

Much depends upon the point-of-view from which one approaches the subject. If the emphasis is placed on government-ownership, visions of evils to flow from government undertaking matter properly belonging to individual effort, at once flit

before our eyes. If, however, stress is laid on private-ownership and control of our public highways, the gross injustice which may arise from the bestowal on individuals, for private gain, of the people's sovereign rights as promptly suggests itself.

From the one view-point, approval of government-ownership may seem to be radicalism or "socialism"; from the other, it will appear to be conservatism because preservative of public property-rights against private spoliation. The sane attitude which should be assumed and courageously maintained is that we will abolish all manner of favoritism and inequality in service by railroad companies, through private-ownership if we can, through government-ownership *if we must.* When this position shall be popularly, intelligently and determinedly taken, a solution will be found.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.
Trenton, N. J.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF YELLOW JOURNALISM.

BY LYDIA KINGSMILL COMMANDER.

YELLOW journalism is outwardly distinguished by the flaring make-up of the paper, the striking headlines in startling type and the free use of illustrations; by the attention given to crime, sports, divorces and the tragic aspects of life in general; and by the constant appeal to the emotions in the presentation of the news. Human interest goes into every column; everything is a story and is told as such.

No papers were ever before, no others are now, so execrated and so beloved as are the yellow journals. But whether approved or condemned they must be considered, because of their tremendous influence. Their circulation figures are staggering. Not merely thousands, nor even hundreds of thousands, but millions of Americans read the yellow papers regularly. Therefore they cannot be ignored by anyone who would understand his age and his people.

The harshest criticism of yellow journalism is passed upon its method of obtaining circulation by indulging the low tastes of its readers. This is most reprehensible in the eyes of people of refined nature, who revolt at the details of crimes, despise prize-fights or horse-racing and loathe the exposure of family scandals.

But, after all, is not the difference between the readers and the critics of the yellow press one of cultivation, rather than of kind? The latter simply prefer scandal, crime and combat that deal with imaginary or historical characters. They are indifferent to the tragedy enacted yesterday in a slum tenement; but they follow with vivid interest the investigations of Sherlock Holmes; and thrill with the horror of Poe's tales or Balzac's gruesome stories or Stevenson's morbid, ghoulish, dual creature, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Is not the biography which stands preëminent in the opinion of the world—Boswell's *Life of Johnson*—a mass of petty, personal detail, a bundle of gossip? The high literary skill of the master-writers makes yellow-journal subjects acceptable to the cultured few who turn with disgust from the crude newspaper of the multitude.

The very people who affect to despise the racing-reports of the yellow press attended in thousands the play of "Ben Hur," and in hundreds of thousands read the book; yet the whole interest of both centers around the chariot-race.

The Shakesperian tragedies and the Wagnerian operas, appreciation of which is supposed to unfailingly indicate a cul-

tivated taste, are filled with battle, murder, tragedy and sudden death, such as would make first-class "copy" for the yellowest of journals.

Even the clergyman who denounces the sensationalism of the yellow press has possibly within the hour read aloud to an attentive and approving congregation a sanguinary chapter from the gory records of the Old Testament.

The public response to the yellow newspaper, the mighty circulation it rolls up, shows that it is just what the mass of people want. The finer a paper is the less it is in demand. This is a pity, but it is true; and the yellow journal looks the facts in the face, and appeals to people as they are. For the shortcomings of the yellow press we must blame the American people. As a whole we are interested in crime, scandal, prize-fights and horse-racing. If we were not, the yellow journals would not be the most popular newspapers in the country.

But a sensational presentation of the news is not the only distinguishing characteristic of the yellow newspaper. If it were, there would be little to be said in its favor. The yellow journal, like the American people, though faulty in the extreme, has also its full share of virtues. It is vulgar and emotional; but it is kind and generous, active, wide-awake and progressive. It is bound to do many wrong things because it is doing *something* all the time. The only person who never does wrong is the one who never does anything. The man who never makes a mistake never makes anything else.

The yellow journal is not merely a newspaper; it is a living creature. It has a heart and conscience, as well as brains and strength. Other papers have opinions; it has feelings. It loves or hates, pities and protects or despises and exposes. Ordinary journalism talks; yellow journalism acts.

Each of the two great yellow papers of New York, the *World* and the *Journal*, has a colony of criminals in Sing Sing, offenders with whom the regular officers of the law either could not or would not deal, but whom the yellow press tracked and brought to justice. A few years ago a child was kidnapped and the police were powerless to find her. The *Journal* offered $2,000 reward and put its detective-reporters to work. The child was discovered and restored to her parents and the kidnappers, a husband and wife, are in penitentiary.

Quick-get-rich schemers, policy-kings, tricksters and thieves of every sort, as well as murderers, owe conviction and punishment to the activity and relentless pursuit of the yellow press. It would be impossible to enumerate a tenth of the crimes that have been exposed and criminals convicted by these papers. The law-breakers of New York fear yellow journalism far more than they do the police.

Yellow journalism guards the people's interests. Three summers ago the Ice-Trust had New York at its mercy, when ice meant life to hundreds, especially among the babes of the tenements. The price was raised to sixty cents a hundred and no five-cent pieces would be sold. This was annoying even to the well-to-do; but it brought suffering and death to the homes of the poor.

All the papers complained, but the *Journal* promptly began a lawsuit against the trust. Exposure, threats and legal action combined to destroy the ring, reduce the price of ice and restore to the poor the five-cent pieces which were all they could afford.

Two years ago gas was soaring in price and diminishing in supply while by some trickery meters measured incredible measurements. The *World* made a systematic examination, exposed the roguery, and cut the gas-bills of the city in two.

A few years since a scheme was put on foot to get possession of the New York city water-supply. It was a plausible plan; and in order to make it work reflections were cast upon the purity of the present sources. The two yellow papers

were roused and vied with each other in exposing the treachery. They had investigations made by competent men and published sworn statements that convinced the people and threw the schemers out.

The activity of the *Journal* in its opposition to the Remsen gas-steal and its present suit against the Coal-Trust, which is bringing to light the unscrupulous and lawless methods of that oppressive combine, are present-day history.

Yellow journalism is a strong educational force. In the first place it teaches people to read regularly, who have never looked at print before. The great circulations of the yellow journals do not lessen those of other papers, but rather increase them; for the person who has learned to read one paper is apt to buy more.

In gathering the world's news, which is contemporanous history, the yellow journals are stopped by no trouble, staggered by no expense. The *Journal* has a wire to San Francisco which costs it $300 a day. Both papers keep representatives not only in the prominent cities and countries, as all modern newspapers must, but in the remote corners of the earth. The result is that they obtain the first and the most detailed news from everywhere, sometimes at almost unbelievable cost.

But in addition to the news, the yellow papers constantly record the progress of science, invention and exploration. Every new discovery is chronicled in language so simple that a child of ten or twelve can understand it. The most ignorant classes of the community are kept informed of the work of the leading inventors and the discoveries of the great biologists, chemists, travelers and astronomers. They know something of radium, N-rays and Sir William Ramsey's five new elements.

This puts the mass of the nation in touch with the highest work of the world, thus creating a public sentiment favorable to progress and encouraging the development of science. If there seem to be no relation between the achievements of our scientific men and the approval of the ignorant, it need only be remembered that a few centuries ago every effort to widen human knowledge was met with stern opposition; and the daring man who would add a new contribution to the sum of truth was apt to pay for his hardihood with his life. Gutenberg, Coster, Faust, Pfiester, Castaldi, Mentol and Valdfoghel were all persecuted by their generation because they invented type. That same type has so educated people that to-day X-rays and wireless telegraphy meet a warm and ready welcome. All progress is ultimately based on the intelligence of the majority.

Supplementing its accounts of actual achievements, the *Journal* frequently gives, in simple language, the gist of valable but abstractly-written books by great thinkers. Sometimes the editorial columns of that paper will contain a review of a new scientific or philosophical work of which the majority of people would never otherwise hear. Two summers ago it published serially the entire *Life of Jefferson* by Thomas E. Watson.

In the course of a year the *World* and the *Journal* publish articles from the majority of the leaders of thought in this country, and many from prominent foreigners. Almost every man and woman of note at some time contributes to the yellow press. It would be much easier to give a list of those who never write for these papers than to enumerate those who do.

These articles, which go to the people for a penny, or, in the Sunday edition, for five cents, are often secured at considerable expense. A recently-returned explorer was paid $300 by one of the yellow papers for a Sunday story of about eight hundred words. A much-coveted article from an eminent public man cost the same paper $450. $2,000 a year was offered to a prominent divine for a monthly sermonette of five hundred words; and one dollar a word promised to a famous

American author for a thousand-word story. All this matter is given to the public at a price which does not pay for the white paper on which it is printed. It is education for the people, practically free.

Several years ago the *Journal* sent three boys, one from New York, one from San Francisco and one from Chicago, around the world by different routes, to see which would first make the circuit. The boys were selected by means of a literary and athletic contest in the schools of their respective cities, and each was accompanied on his trip by a reporter. Accounts of their travels were published daily and the countries through which they passed described, thus improving the geographical knowledge of all who followed them. To stimulate interest prizes were given to a boy and a girl in each the three cities who could first guess which contestant would win the race and tell most nearly at what time he would again reach his home. The prizes were trips,—one a ten-days' sojourn at the Buffalo exposition in care of a guardian, all expenses defrayed by the *Journal.*

Every year thousands of dollars are distributed by the yellow papers as rewards for the display of intelligence. Prizes for puzzles, for the best letter on some subject or the cleverest way of meeting some emergency are continually offered.

Nor is the physical side of education neglected. Exercises are described and illustrated, big prices being paid to specialists for the articles. Food, clothing, the care of children and of the sick, what to do in cold weather and what not to do when it is hot, the care of the hair, the hands and the complexion, all in turn receive the attention of the yellow journals and are discussed,—not in back columns tucked away, but on the editorial page as often as not. Everything is told the people that can help to make them comfortable, healthy, happy and intelligent.

Letters of inquiry on any subject receive careful attention. When necessary money as well as time is spent to acquire the information sought. Each of the yellow journals keeps open, from June till September, a number of "Information Bureaux," to give to the public, free of charge, all that can be known in regard to summer trips, hotels, cottages for rent, etc. Each paper publishes yearly an almanac which is a condensed encyclopædia.

Morality also receives attention. Not another paper in New York would unite with the *Journal* in its present active attack on whiskey. For over a year past it has been publishing editorials and cartoons against liquor. For a long time it had a daily record of the crimes and evils traceable to drink, which were chronicled in the day's news. Naturally it has lost all its whiskey advertising,—worth $100,000 a year. Both the *World* and the *Journal* are strenuous opponents of cigarettes, at the cost of valuable advertising contracts. These papers continually deal editorially with the various vices of humanity, in language absolutely simple but so forceful that the most careless or hardened must be impressed.

The yellow journals are full of sympathy. They are like human beings, with big, kind hearts. Whenever and wherever there is trouble they spring to the rescue. When the great Galveston flood brought devastation and death to a whole city, almost overnight the Hearst papers, in New York, Chicago and San Francisco, equipped three full trains with provisions, clothing, medicines, bandages, doctors and nurses and sent them flying across the country to the suffering survivors. The *World* sent a similar train from New York. Such help, in proportionate measure, has been despatched by either or both of the great yellow papers to the scene of every extensive catastrophe.

In the city the yellow journals are the constant resource of the unfortunate. If a child is stolen, a young girl lured from her home, a husband or wife deserts the family, or an aged relative wanders away, the police may fail to locate the missing one; but those bereaved turn, with child-

like faith, to the yellow journals, which seldom are unable to solve the mystery of the disappearance.

Those who suffer injustices and report their grievances to either of the yellow journals find a prompt and powerful friend. This is realized by the poor, who endure a thousand petty but bitter wrongs. My laundress recently told me of the oppression of one of her neighbors, by an overbearing landlord, and concluded with: "Do you think I 'd stand that? Well, I would n't! I 'd go right straight and tell the *Journal!*"

All summer long the *World* and the *Journal* rival each other in kindness to the poor. The *World* has a "Fresh-Air Fund," for sending little ones to the country. It receives contributions; but much of the money the paper itself supplies.

During the month of July the *Journal* gives free excursions to a nearby beach. About a hundred children are taken daily, always under the charge of responsible people. They get the trip, their mid-day meal, a bath in the ocean, a play on the sands and entrance to many of the amusement places with which beaches abound.

A year ago the same paper offered a two-weeks' vacation, at a beach or in the mountains, to the entire family having the largest number of children attending the public-schools of the city. Two families having an equal number (eight, I think) applied. The paper generously rose to the occasion and sent one family to the mountains and the other to the beach for a glorious fortnight.

Each December for several years the *Journal* has asked all children not expecting a visit from Santa Claus to send in word what toys they want. Every address and request is recorded. On Christmas day, from early morning till late at night the city is traversed by a score of great vans, each loaded with toys, in charge of a Santa Claus. Trip after trip is made and load after load of toys distributed. When all who have written have been supplied the vans drive up and down the poorest streets, bestowing Christmas cheer on every waif of the sidewalk. It is because of such kindnesses that the people love the yellow journals and listen to their teachings.

The two principal educational forces in this country are the public-schools and the newspapers. With the young the schools deal more or less successfully. But among the mature we have great masses of people who are densely ignorant. Some have missed school through going to work in childhood; some live in states where the public-schools are very inefficient; and some are immigrants.

We have over two and a quarter millions of males of voting age, classified in the census as "illiterate." We have over a million and a half people above ten years of age who are unable to speak English. Over five millions of our male voters are foreign-born. There are, besides, over a million men of voting-age, who are foreigners yet unnaturalized. Altogether we have a foreign-born population of more than ten and a quarter millions; and it is being tremendously increased every year. Nearly a million immigrants came in last year, and no lessening of the tide is at present reported.

Nor is this foreign element homogeneous. All the principal countries of the world contribute to it. Russian Jews, Italians, Germans, Irish, Poles, Hungarians, Greeks and Assyrians alike come to the United States and amalgamate with the American nation. Some of our immigrants are intelligent, high-class people, the best their native lands can supply. But many are illiterate and crushed peasants, needing training of every sort. All require to be taught American ideas and ideals.

We have, too, an enormous native population on a very low level of intelligence. Many who can read and write, and thus escape the classification "illiterate," are still extremely ignorant. Yet, if men, they can vote and help to determine the destiny of the nation. Altogether the foreign and the ignorant comprise the bulk of the American people.

The principal problem that confronts us in our struggle to develop an American democracy, is the education and uplifting of this vast mass. We meet the question of enlightening children with our compulsory education acts; but we cannot force knowledge upon grown people.

Theories of every sort are constantly advanced; but the one institution that is successfully coping with this problem, day after day, and getting practical results, is the yellow journal. It gives the people what they want,—sensation, crime and vulgar sports,—thus inducing them to read. But having secured its audience, it teaches them, simply, clearly, patiently, the lessons they need.

Undeniably the yellow journals are not "nice" and "proper." But neither are the people they are intended to reach. When a new employee begins work on one of the yellow papers his first experience is apt to be an interview with the editor-in-chief, during which the tactics and purposes of the paper are explained to him.

"We do n't think our paper is 'nice,'" says the editor. "But we do know it reaches the people. It is our intention to teach the people, and the first step is to get them to listen to us. We believe that it is better to raise a whole city one inch than to hoist a few men or women ten feet in the air."

That is the principle of yellow journalism. It appeals to two classes of people,—those who need it and those who understand it. There remain many who disapprove, either because they have a superficial acquaintance with the papers they criticise or because they judge everything in the world by its relation to themselves.

There are literary papers enough, but who in the tenements reads them? No one; for they are written only for the educated, in utter disregard of the great majority who most need instruction. Their very language puts them beyond the comprehension of any but the fairly educated.

The literary law of the yellow journals, on the contrary, is simplicity and vividness. To the *World* employés Mr. Pulitzer says: "Write every sentence so that the most ignorant man on the Bowery can understand it," and the primary mandate of the *Journal* is "Simplify!"

Thus, in the adult kindergarten of yellow journalism, the great underlying mass of the nation, formerly unconsidered and untaught, are prepared for the duties of American citizenship.

Lydia Kingsmill Commander.
New York, N. Y.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER: A STUDY OF CHARACTER, MOTIVE AND DUTY.

By W. G. Joerns.

THE WORLD was electrified when Dr. Washington Gladden, that grand and venerable humanitarian, sent out his ringing protest against the acceptance of John D. Rockefeller's $100,000 gift for foreign missions. Other good and thoughtful men joined in the protest. The reflective moral sentiment of the nation fervently said: "God-speed, ye *faithful* followers of Christ! Amen!"

It has been said that money is king. There was a time, not so long ago, when, on the surface of things, it threatened to be more than king; yea, not less than the Czar of Czars. Providence, however, works in mysterious ways. Things seen are often influenced mightily by things unseen. Indeed, when worldliness and

sordid power appeared at their mightiest, the oligarchy of wealth seemed to have become triumphantly enthroned and permanently entrenched; sycophants and apologists were prating of "benevolent feudalism" and sounding the death-knell of republican institutions, and patriots were deeply solicitous, at that very time the spirit of Christ was already abroad in the land and sapping the foundations of the luxuriant and massive castle that Mammon had built. The cycle of Truth and Beauty and Brotherly Love had begun and the cycle of Mad Commercialism was on the wane.

Do not think that the broad reform-movements which are sweeping over the world are merely sporadic manifestations. The great revival of substantial religion, the renewed struggle for political and economic liberty, the demand for a broader humanitarianism—individual, national and international—the marvelous growth and free expression of true democratic spirit, and, crowning all, the moral awakening and the stinging rebuke to ill-gotten wealth are surely more than an ephemeral outburst. Sordidness and selfishness in their utmost ramification, had taken possession of the souls of men and made them mad. Beatitude alone can permanently satisfy and in its expansion mark increasing bliss. Of all material pleasures, of all sordid things, man, in the ultimate, must tire and become surfeited in their excess. In the final analysis *conscience*,—individual and national, —must and will reign supreme. Any other ultimate spells ruin and decay. The American nation has taken but the initial steps in the unfolding of divine purpose and the development of its manifest destiny, and serious and sober second-thought is the order of the day. We are certainly witnessing the dawn of a new era.

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There are worse men than John D. Rockefeller. There is probably not one, however, who, in the public mind, so completely typifies the grave and startling menace to the social order. Hence public condemnation or recognition, in his case, are alike fraught with the gravest possibilities for good or evil. Men of conscience and noble purpose are beginning to see that to temporize and condone the principles and methods that he stands for is to invite the living death.

Mr. Rockefeller is supposed to be the richest man in the world. His enormous wealth is alike his power and his curse. It represents on the one hand the coercive force, the honeyed bribe, the stifling gag; on the other it marks blasted hopes, betrayed trusts, individual ruin, national degradation and, withal, a shriveled soul. His methods, in the misuse of qualities that might have made for good, are poison for the body politic; and the benefits that his peculiar practical qualities might have developed for the race are outweighed a thousandfold by the deadly virus of economic oppression and moral obliquity in which they are overwhelmed. The "nine hundred and ninety-nine buds and blossoms" that have been ruthlessly sacrificed that one economic monstrosity (not "American Beauty") might expand to deadly proportions, were after all the real "salt of the earth." It is to such as they that the world must look for progress and not to the Capital Kings. It is from the rank and file that Mr. Rockefeller himself sprang. It is to the rank and file that his progeny must eventually return.

The mental organization of the "Great Oil-King" is superlatively selfish. This selfishness is not of the ordinary haphazard and spasmodic sort, but of the cold, calculating and persistent kind—the kind that weighs and measures and is indefatigable. The sordid spirit of gain is the cardinal feature of the man. To it friendship, loyalty, truth,—all that men ordinarily hold dear,—must bend and, if need be, break. But John D. Rockefeller had other qualities that aided him in the earlier day in improving unusual opportunities with startling success. He was a keen reasoner, a great planner,

an accurate judge of men; had fine constructive capacity, the talent for detail, great energy and industry and a marvelous gift of concentration and persistency. No effort was too great to win, no time too long to wait. He was also cautious and secretive to a degree. He could plan the trap and build it. He could keep his counsel and bide his time. His victim, once in the toils, was lost. The unfortunate either became an adherent or a bankrupt, as he might develop usefulness of the predatory type or manifest too glaringly the ethical qualities for which the "system" had an abhorrence born of its own iniquity.

The practical and material development of the man might well be classed as superb. It was a magnificent machine devoted to the one prime and exclusive object,—the amassing of wealth. Not so the ethical development. It was sadly lacking in all that goes to make the lovable, the benevolent or the upright man. Here were no generous promptings or conscientious scruples to interfere with "business"; no feeling of fellowship or affection, none of the ordinary human instincts to stay the hand of ruthless spoliation. Cold, keen, selfish calculation, almost brutal in its indifference to moral law or human weal or woe, planned the attack and aimed the fatal blow. No consideration, save that alone of ultimate safety before the law; no scruple between him and the desired end, to attain which hallowed any means.

But John D. Rockefeller had one vulnerable point, to wit: his religious instinct. Dissimulator and hypocrite by nature, the so-called development of veneration is nevertheless plainly marked. Combined with his practical and intensely sordid nature, it naturally runs more to the form than the substance of religious thought and practice. He early neutralized any restraining moral influence from this direction by a hypocritical self-hypnotism of assumed righteousness; but the outward observance has stuck to him to this day. This peculiar bent of Mr. Rockefeller's mind sheds light upon the active participation of himself and family in church-work and the several donations for so-called religious purposes that have from time to time come to public notice, though all these, we may be sure, have received the same thoughtful and cold-blooded calculation of debit and credit that so thoroughly marked his transactions in the more material affairs of every-day life. Mr. Rockefeller's peculiar, if distorted, religious instinct also explains why, for once, indignant moral protest has stung this otherwise strangely calloused man to the quick. The church, shell only though it be to him, is John D. Rockefeller's only connection with the higher life. If it should turn against him, its gilded patron, for his many grievous sins and spurn the unclean money that he offers to purchase respectability among men and perchance in an attempted bribe of Eternal Justice, it would strike him a hard blow in a tender spot; but it might bring this old man, with one foot already in the grave, to serious counsel with himself. It is not likely that it would, and yet it might prompt John D. Rockefeller to make amends before it is too late, before he is called to face his Maker and to answer for his sins.

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On the church, at the present moment, rests a great responsibility. Not to the time-servers, the weak and timid and the fawning sycophants within her doors is given the divine power of the solution of this problem, but to those of manhood and courage who are the true disciples of the Nazarene. Their honest protest has not been in vain. It will yet be heard. The sophistries of the worshipers of the "Golden Calf" may be intended to obscure the issue; but they delude no one. The world knows that John D. Rockefeller comes with unclean hands. It is useless and idle for his apologists and hirelings to deny it. It is a great moral crime to talk, in this connection, of John D. Rockefeller's "generosity and love." As yet his donations are nothing but a

bribe, and the willing bribe-takers are his apologists. If by some miracle Rockefeller repented of his sins against God and man and came with contrite heart to make amends, it would not be for his fellow-man to judge too harshly or too nicely on the measure of his repentance. Even then, however, he could best make his peace with God by righting first, so far as in his power lay, the economic wrong that he has done his fellowman. If thereupon Rockefeller came to the church, no good man would cavil at his offering, for it is the spirit and not the substance of the deed that must evermore determine the value of it.

Rockefeller, however, is not repentant. The sordid curse still rests upon him and his kind. At least there is no convincing evidence that a single ray of the light of God has as yet entered his soul. To all intents and purposes, so far as the world can judge from what he has done and what he has left undone, he remains the same abject and benighted slave to Mammon that he ever was. Enormous wealth of the material kind is his; but the grace of God is not with him. He has sacrificed all on the altar of Greed and the eternal curse is upon him evermore. The veriest hod-carrier is truly rich in comparison, for the hearts of his fellowmen, in his limited sphere, beat in friendly unison with his. Rockefeller is the most cordially hated man in America and for him there are no heart-beats but those that come in answer to the click of coin. Poor, old, wretched billionaire! To him apply with startling force the burning words of the Savior:

"For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

. . . . . .

But what shall be said of the apologists in clerical garb who are masquerading as servants of the Lord? How can they be sincere, and, if not, how, in their heart of hearts and between themselves and their Maker, can they possibly justify themselves? Has wealth become so dominant in the church as to stifle conscience? Is it a matter of no moment whether the church sets the seal of its approval upon methods that are condemned by all right-thinking people? Can there be any doubt whatever that by receiving the brazen offerings, the church publishes broadcast that it condones the evil, that is known of all men, and bestows upon the giver a cloak of respectability that is not properly his? Is it not true that, while thus dealing a wicked blow at individual and business integrity and fair-dealing and at democratic institutions, these apologists are likewise undermining the church for the interests of which they profess to stand? Oh, for greater earnestness of purpose in the faltering and greater strength for the weak in this grave crisis! It is the time of choosing and never were the stirring verses of Lowell more needed or better timed. Read them, weak and erring ones! And dare, if you are honest, to betray your charge!

"Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood,
For the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah,
Offers each the bloom or blight,—
And the choice goes by forever
'Twixt that darkness and that light.

Then to side with Truth is noble
When we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause bring fame and profit
And 't is prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses,
While the coward stands aside
Till the multitude make virtue
Of the faith they had denied.

Though the cause of Evil prosper,
Yet 't is Truth alone is strong;
Though her portion be the scaffold,
And upon the throne be Wrong,—
Yet that scaffold sways the future,
And behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the Shadow,
Keeping watch above his own!"

W. G. JOERNS.

Duluth, Minn.

SAM. WALTER FOSS: A NEW ENGLAND POET OF THE COMMON LIFE.

By Rev. R. E. Bisbee, A.M.

THE ONLY important untruth I find in the writings of Sam. Walter Foss is in the last line of his poem, "The Calf-Path," where he says:

"But I am not ordained to preach,"

for this great humorist and philosopher is nothing else so much as he is a preacher.

To be sure, he has written some things just for fun; for instance, his poem on "A Prosperous Couple" and this one on "An Art Critic":

"He 's smart, our boarder 's smart, they say,
Say he 's almighty smart.
An' what 's he do? Wall, what d' ye think?
A lecturer on art!
A lecturer on art! Good Lord!
An' what the deuce is art?
A mess of good-for-nothin' gush—
But our girls think he 's smart.
'What 's art?' I says to him one day,
'"Taint bread, nor cheese, nor meat;
'Taint pie, nor puddin', nor corn'-beef,
Nor nothin' fit to eat.'
An' he caved in an' owned right up
'Twar n't nothin' fit to eat.

. . . . . .

He showed a picture t' other day
That made a monstrous hit,
A picture of a durned ol' cow
They said was exquisite.
'How much milk does your picture give?'
Says I to him one day;
An' you 'd ought to seen him wiggle,
For he did n' know what to say.
'My cows give milk an' make good steak
That 's mighty hard to beat;
But that ar painted cow of yourn,
Is she good steak to eat?'
He hemmed an' hawed an' squirmed, and owned
That she warn't fit to eat.

Git out with art! Stone images
An' picture filagree!
O vittles! vittles is the stuff
That suits the likes of me.
Humph! art or vittles? What 's your choice?
Stone images or pie?
Pictures of cows or cows themselves?—
'The cows themselves!' say I.
'Yes, Turner's pictures,' said the fool,
'Are very hard to beat.'
'Are they best baked or biled?' said I,
'An' are they fit to eat?'
An' then the fool he owned right up
That they war' n't fit to eat."

Even this bit of fun has its ethical note. It is indeed a keen and kindly satire on the materialism of an old "gone-to-seed," and there are many such poems from the pen of our author, luminous with a gentle wit and humor and pointing an important moral.

But most of his work, while humorous, some of it to a very high degree, has a more serious undertone and a more obvious moral purpose, and this is what I call his preaching. His preaching, however, is without cant, and he is always true theologically, due probably to the fact that he never studied theology. He has sought for truth in the inner recesses of his own spiritual being, has kept free from prejudice, and has no external standard by which he must think. This has left him free to grow. The second part of the following poem on "Two Gods" is autobiographical:

I.

"A boy was born 'mid little things,
Between a little world and sky,—
And dreamed not of the cosmic rings
Round which the circling planets fly.
He lived in little works and thoughts,
Where little ventures grow and plod,
And paced, and ploughed his little plots
And prayed unto his little God.
But as the mighty system grew,
His faith grew faint with many scars;
The cosmos widened in his view—
But God was last among His stars.

II.

Another boy in lowly days,
As he, to little things was born,
But gathered lore in woodland ways,
And from the glory of the morn.
As wider skies broke on his view,
God greatened in his growing mind;
Each year he dreamed his God anew,
And left his older God behind.
He saw the boundless scheme dilate,
In star and blossom, sky and clod;
And as the universe grew great,
He dreamed for it a greater God."

Mr. Foss has dreamed not only his

greater God, but a greater Christ than most of our creeds call for. He is an apostle of a larger, nobler, freer manhood. In the opinion of the writer the poet's greatest contribution to religious literature is "The Infidel," which appeared some years ago in THE ARENA. The first stanza runs as follows:

"Who is the infidel? 'T is he
Who deems man's thought should not be free,
Who 'd veil truth's faintest ray of light
From breaking on the human sight;
'T is he who purposes to bind
The slighest fetter on the mind,
Who fears lest wreck and wrong be wrought
To leave man loose with his own thought;
Who, in the clash of brain with brain,
Is fearful lest the truth be slain,
That wrong may win and right may flee—
This is the infidel. 'T is he."

This sentiment, when comprehended, will work a revolution in theological thinking. And here is another sentiment, taken from the last stanza of "The Higher Catechism," which shows the optimism and sublime faith of the man:

"What is the purpose of the scheme towards which all time is gone?
What is the great æonian goal? The joy of going on.
And are there any souls so strong, such feet with swiftness shod,
That they shall reach it, reach some bourne, the ultimate of God?
There is no bourne, no ultimate. The very farthest star
But rims a sea of other stars that stretches just as far.
There 's no beginning and no end. As in the ages gone,
The greatest joy of joys shall be the joy of going on."

Mr. Foss is true sociologically for very much the same reason that he is true theologically: he has never been warped by studying theories. His views on the great social and industrial questions of the day are well summed up in his poem, "The Dialogue of the Spirits," the last stanza of which implies the whole:

"Says the Spirit of All Time: 'In this climax of the years
Make no machine of man.
Your harnessed rivers panting are as lyrics in my ears,
And your jockeyed lightnings clattering are as music of the spheres,
But 't is well that you remember, in this climax of the years:
Make no machine of man.'"

But Mr. Foss is a philosopher as well as a preacher, and his philosophy is that of sunshine, cheer and good fellowship. Live and let live is his motto. Keep an open heart and do n't be afraid to show it; or,

"He is the greatest poet
Who will renounce all art,
And take his heart and show it
To every other heart."

He speaks out of his own greatness of soul when he exclaims:

"Let me live in a house by the side of the road
And be a friend to man,"

and his sincere call to us all is:

"When you see a man in woe,
Walk right up and say 'hullo!'
Say 'hullo,' an' 'how d' ye do!'
'How 's the world a-usin' you?'
Slap the fellow on his back,
Bring your han' down with a whack;
Waltz right up, an' do n't go slow
Grin an' shake an' say 'hullo!'"

But this is not all of his philosophy. He thinks as truly and as deeply as do Whitman and Browning, but he expresses himself in the simplest form, so that even children can grasp his meaning. His poem on "The Unexpressed" is as deep and true as anything in "Rabbi Ben Ezra."

It has been the custom in some circles, while admitting the truth of all the foregoing concerning Mr. Foss, to nevertheless claim that he is no poet, but a mere doggerel rhymster. This is unjust. It is true that he has written much hastily, has published some things which will probably be suppressed in the final edition of his works, but he has never given occasion for unkind criticism. His humor never turns on base insinuation, but is always pure. He is always clean and wholesome even when not lofty and inspiring, and he has written some things which entitle him to high rank as a poet. There are few more musical lines than these on "Ownership":

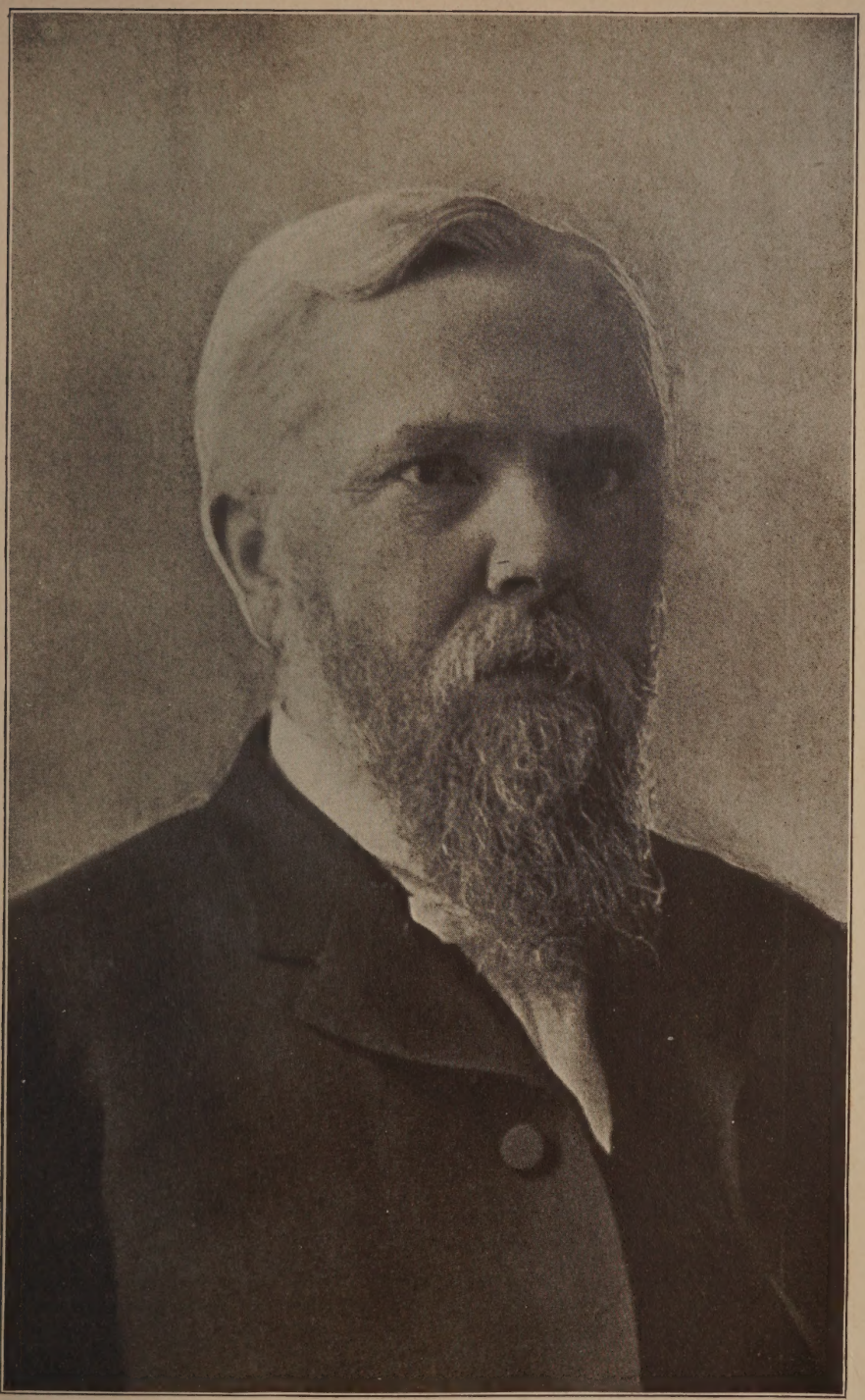

Photo. by Willis, Milford, Mass.

REV. R. E. BISBEE, A.M.

"He took my fiddle in his hands,
And drew its ancient bow:
It sang the wind-song of the pine,—
A voice that weeps and grieves,
Then murmured like the rustling lisp
Of multitudinous leaves.
And then there came the giant crash
Of wild wind-driven rain,—
The old tune of the ancient wood
Played by the hurricane.

And then the sunlight smote the leaves,
And then there rushed a throng
Of glad bird-voices in a storm
Of million-throated song.
My fiddle in the beggar's hand
Sang all the songs it knew
And learned long years ago within
The wood in which it grew."

Scattered throughout his poems are many lines which show what our author can do with words when he tries.

But Mr. Foss will be longest remembered for his optimism and human sympathy. The former is perhaps best expressed in the chorus of "The Song That Silas Sung":

"Let the howlers howl,
And the scowlers scowl,
And the growlers growl,
And the gruff gang go it;
But behind the night
There 's a plenty of light,
And everything 's all right,
And I know it!"

while his sympathy is most beautifully manifested in his introduction to "Songs of War and Peace":

"Who will write the best song, who will paint the best picture,
Whose music is best?
He who understands man, knows the heart of him, loves him
Above all the rest.

Put stars in your song and put skies in your picture,
Put mountains and seas;
But one heart-throb that 's tuned to the heart of a brother
Is greater than these.

Man first in your song; man first, and then mountains,
And the woods and the seas;
And know, while you picture the star groups of midnight,
He is greater than these.

What is art, what is art and the artist's achievement,
Its purpose and plan?
'T is the message that 's sent from the heart of the artist
To the heart of a man."

To those interested in the personality of the poet it may be said that he is about forty-seven years of age, was born in New Hampshire, worked his way through Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, became a newspaper man, wrote hasty poems for several years to keep the pot boiling, at present lives in Somerville, Massachusetts, where he is the very successful city librarian, and is right now patiently doing his best, though perhaps not most popular work, as a poet. His friends think that the years to come will show him to have been the founder of a new and higher order of humorous religio-ethical poetry.

R. E. Bisbee.

Maynard, Mass.

THE DECLINE OF THE SENATE.

By Robert N. Reeves.

DURING the past twenty years there has been a continuous demand for a change in the present method of electing United States Senators. This demand has not come from one class of people or from one section of the country. It has found expression in the platforms of political parties, in the resolutions of the national House of Representatives, in the petitions and resolutions of numerous state legislatures, and in the pages of some of the nation's most influential newspapers and few persons acquainted with the history of the American Senate, its forma-

tion, its early splendor and subsequent decline, will question the propriety of this general demand.

No part of the creative work of the American Constitutional Convention of 1787 was the subject of more profound study and earnest debate than was the formation of the Federal Senate. It was comparatively easy for the framers of the Constitution to determine the qualifications and manner of electing the members of the House of Representatives, but in the absence of a titled class, as in Great Britain and continental Europe, it was exceedingly difficult for them to evolve a plan of electing the members of the Senate or Upper House, which would be radically different from that of the Lower House, and which, at the same time, would insure to the nation another, and as they believed, a better type of statesmen.

The patriots who constituted the Convention of 1787 were men of the highest political ideals, and while every member of the Convention believed the new government to be but an experiment, each builded with the hope that it would be more than that: that ultimately it would prove a government as enduring as it was free and equitable.

The Senate, according to the Convention, was to play a very important part in the scheme of government. It was to be one of the rocks upon which the governmental structure rested. The Convention intended that their Senate, like the Senate of Rome, of which it was a prototype, should contain the collected wisdom and integrity of the nation. And that dignity, honor and stability which tradition has given to the more ancient body, they intended should be fully realized in the new one created by them. If the people, the House of Representatives, or the President were troubled by momentous and weighty questions of state, the Senate was to be the body to which they were to go for advice and counsel; and the Convention presumed that the Senate would always be capable of guiding aright the other branches of the national government.

Though the Convention, to a man, readily agreed upon the high place which the Senate was to hold in the government, and the exalted type of statesmen who were to compose it, the method of electing such a body became one of the most perplexing problems before the Convention, and one which, more than any other, delayed the formation of the Federal Constitution. The aristocratic notions of Europe still lingered in the minds of many members of the Convention who, as Gouverneur Morris put it, were afraid of the "turbulence and follies of democracy." These distrustful members believed that the people would be subject to gusts of popular passion, and that the House of Representatives, as the popular branch, would be more or less hasty and impetuous in its legislation. They wished, therefore, to place the Senate in a measure above and away from the people so that it would act not only as a check upon the Lower House and the people, but should express the sober second thought of both. Another element—the disciples of Jefferson and Madison—believed that the people should have the fullest possible voice in every branch of the new government, and the debates of 1787 show how often these latter statesmen clashed with their more aristocratic colleagues in discussing the qualifications of Senators and the manner of their election.

John Dickinson, of Delaware, wished the Senate to bear as strong a likeness as possible to the British House of Lords, and to consist of men distinguished for their rank in life and their weight of property. Alexander Hamilton stated that the Senate should be composed of men of great experience whose comparative independence of popular election would make them an element of stability in the government. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Gouverneur Morris believed that Senators should represent the wealth of the country and that there should be a property qualification. "The Senate," said Morris, "ought to be composed of men of great and established

property. Not liberty, but property, is the main object of society. The savage state is more favorable to liberty than the civilized, and was only renounced for the sake of property."

Against these rather patrician sentiments the more democratic members protested. James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, favored an election of Senators by the people in large districts; and George Mason, of Virginia, one of the brightest minds in the Convention, declared that the people should never intrust their rights and liberties to a body of men not directly chosen by them. After much debate of this kind between the advocates of popular power and those anxious to restrain it, a compromise was effected by which it was agreed that the Senate should be elected by the legislatures of the various states. The reasons for thus electing Senators was perhaps best stated by Hamilton in the *The Federalist:*

"Through the medium of the State Legislatures, who are select bodies of men, and who are to appoint the members of the National Senate, there is reason to expect that this branch will generally be composed with peculiar care and judgment; that these circumstances promise greater knowledge, and more comprehensive information, in the National Councils; and that, on account of the extent of the country from which will be drawn those to whose direction they will be committed, they will be less apt to be tainted by the spirit of faction, and more out of the reach of those occasional ill humors or temporary prejudices and propensities, which, in smaller societies, frequently contaminate the public deliberations. It is recommended by the double advantage of favoring a select appointment, and of giving the State Governments such an agency in the formation of the Federal Government, as must secure the authority of the former, and may form a convenient link between the two systems."

Whether due to the system thus enunciated or to a then higher moral standard in the nation, or to something else, it is nevertheless true that the Federal Senate for the first fifty years of our national life answered fully to the expectations of Hamilton and his compatriots. In an almost incredibly short time after its formation it became the foremost legislative body in the world, looked upon by our own statesmen and by those of Europe as the most impressive and dignified part of the American Constitutional system. When Alexis de Tocqueville visited this country in 1831 he found in the Senate statesmen of a high order—men who understood thoroughly national interests, and whose reputation for integrity inspired and merited the confidence of the nation. "One hardly sees there," said de Tocqueville, "a single man who does not recall the idea of recent fame. They are eloquent advocates, or distinguished generals, or able magistrates, or well-known statesmen." And this happy condition de Tocqueville attributed solely to the fact that the Senate was elected by an elected people. "The popular will," said he, "has only to pass through this chosen assembly to shape itself in some sort, and issue from it in a nobler and finer form."

None can question the high character and ability of the Senate that de Tocqueville saw, nor criticise him for the praise which he then bestowed upon the manner of its election. The Senate that de Tocqueville saw and wrote about justified the praise of every student of our institutions. From its formation up to a period so late as the Civil war, the Senate boasted the membership of the republic's greatest men—its most illustrious orators, statesmen and diplomats—men whose personal eminence gave it a moral weight in the nation and in the world. There sat the titanic Webster, holding with rapt attention the nations even of Europe; there sat Henry Clay, more brilliant than Webster, if less profound; there sat the eloquent John C. Calhoun; there sat the

great champion of human liberty, Charles Sumner; there sat the fearless and aggressive Thomas H. Benton; there, too, sat Douglas, Cass, Chase, Fremont, Seward, Corwin, Choate, Crittenden, Winthrop and Houston, all men whose personality added something to the force and welfare of the nation.

From this high standard the Senate has deteriorated wonderfully within the last four or five decades. Out of a body once renowned for its integrity, dignity and intellectuality, there are to-day few, if any, names that will permit of a serious comparison with those that made the Senate famous fifty years ago.

The character of the Senate as a legislative body depends obviously upon the collective character of its individual members. If Senators are weak and commonplace it is but natural that the Senate should become trivial in its legislation. It has become quite noticeable of late years that when questions of great moment press upon the country, the members of the Senate, instead of meeting the questions with dignity and energy, too often resort to filibustering and dilatory tactics for purely partisan ends; harangues, long drawn out, and full of bitterness and personalities are indulged in, and are permitted because of the Senate rule which makes it a violation of the dignity of the Senate for a Senator to interrupt or abridge the speech of another. Because of such conduct at critical times when sound legislation is imperative, the Senate, as a legislative body, has become ineffectual, especially in the enactment of those laws whose value depends upon their completeness and decisiveness. Instead of improving, therefore, upon the work of the Lower House, the Senate in most instances now perverts and obstructs the legislation of that branch of Congress, and keeps it busy thwarting the schemes of a body which it was intended by the Constitutional Convention of 1787 it should look up to for advice and council. It is for this reason that the House of Representatives, as well as the people, has ceased to look to the Senate for those fruitful expositions of great issues which formerly made the United States Senate so powerful.

In dignity and in legislative ability our modern Senate when compared with that of fifty years ago seems to have lapsed into a state which someone has aptly termed, "conservative demagogism"; and that mature wisdom of the nation, that "sober second-thought" hoped for by the framers of the Constitution, has become more or less of a tradition.

But there is another and a far more serious charge brought home to its doors. It is charged with being the most corruptible element in our national political system. It was ex-Speaker David B. Henderson, of the House of Representatives, who a few years ago declared the Senate to be always the body upon which great corporate interests concentrate their efforts to defeat proper legislation. And it is because an increasing number of men, allied with corporate interests, are finding their way into the Senate, that that body is unfortunately becoming known as a corrupt body, not alone to Americans but to those foreign statesmen and writers who in recent years have given our institutions some attention. James Bryce in his great work, *The American Commonwealth*, comments repeatedly upon the growth of corruption in our Senate; and William E. Lecky, in a later work, *Democracy and Liberty*, refers to this phase of American politics and says that the taint of personal corruption in the American Senate is greater than in the British House of Lords and in most of the Upper Houses of Europe.

Another evidence of the decadence of the Senate is the increasing number of rich men who are finding their way into that body. This fact deserves more than a passing notice because, if we examine the history of earlier republics, we find that their decline was coëval with the growth of wealth in their legislative bodies. The great Roman Republic was doomed when its rich citizens began

to creep into the Senate, coveting a place there merely for the rank and honor it was supposed to bestow upon them.

The Senate has often been referred to as a "Millionaire's Club." Professor Bryce even went so far in describing its personnel as to pointedly say: "Some are Senators because they are rich, some are rich because they are Senators." And there is some excuse for these expressions. If one takes the trouble to go over the biographies of Senators as published in the *Congressional Directory*, and notes the number of bankers, capitalists and rich corporation lawyers, one is very apt to believe that the possession of great wealth is almost as necessary before one can enter the Senate as is a certain hereditary rank necessary in England before one can enter the House of Lords. Nor is it difficult to understand why rich men seek thus to invade the Senate. In the first place, the Senate under the present system of Senatorial elections, is easy of access; and in the second place, it is in our government the nearest approach to an official aristocracy. A seat in the Senate gives to the man of wealth, his wife and his children a certain official precedence that cannot be had in any other office outside of the Presidency. Besides, the term of office is for a longer period than that of any other elective office, requires less labor, and is sure, however poor one's statesmanship, to secure to a certain extent the eye of the public. If we are to have an aristocracy of wealth this is all very well, but if the Senate is to take a serious part in the affairs of the nation the desire for mere social distinction must be laid aside.

The most cursory observer can readily see wherein the Senate of to-day differs from that of half a century ago. Our modern Senate is not dignified, not wholly incorruptible nor particularly intellectual. It is no longer a united body of statesmen that stand sturdily together in the interests of liberty and good government. But to what must we attribute this decline of the Senate? Do we not, after all, find that the primary cause of its decadence lies not so much within the Senate as outside of it? Has not the legislative system of electing Senators, which the Constitutional Fathers supposed would be the means of elevating it, been the cause of its decline? The system of electing Senators, which drew such generous and deserving praise from de Tocqueville, has not been able to withstand the pressure and machinations of latter-day politics. The state legislatures of to-day are vastly different from those of a hundred, or seventy-five, or even fifty years ago. The great increase in national wealth, the rise of great corporations, and the purely commercial tendencies of the nation have produced temptations from which the early legislators were at least free, if they were not impregnable to them. These new conditions the framers of the Constitution did not foresee; and while they sought to guard the Senate from the effects of human passion and national waves of emotion, they forgot to guard both the state legislatures and the Senate from the effects of human avarice.

There is scarcely a state in the Union that has not begun to regard with alarm the decline in the quality of its legislators; and when we call to mind the fact that with this decline there has been a corresponding decline in the character of the United States Senate, we must admit, however reluctantly, that there is some sinister relation between the two; that in some way the state legislatures and the Federal Senate each add something to the corruption of the other. President Roosevelt once stated that he had, after sitting in three New York legislatures, concluded that about one-third of the members were always open to corrupt influences. Perhaps in this respect the legislatures of other states are not more free. The numerous cases of legislative bribery and scandal that reach the ears of the public from time to time prove that the legislatures are too often under the control of men whose judgments are sub-

servient to political bosses, to political machines, and to the gold of unscrupulous men of wealth who wish to dabble about in the rather perilous sea of national politics. The scandalous proceedings in the legislatures of New York in 1881, in Indiana and New Jersey in 1887, Washington and Wyoming in 1892, Kansas in 1893, Oregon in 1882 and 1895, Ohio and Montana in 1898, and the recent scandals in Delaware, prove to what an extent candidates for the Senate will corrupt legislators in their efforts to secure an election.

Theoretically, the legislative system of electing Senators is excellent. One would suppose that a body of statesmen elected by an elected body would be of a higher type than one elected directly by the people. But this system, extolled by Hamilton and de Tocqueville, has failed because of the manner in which it has been employed, and the uses to which, under present conditions, it is capable of being devoted.

Outside of the fact that the present system of legislative elections is bringing about a decline of the Federal Senate, there is still another way in which that system works harm. Two sessions out of every three in the various state legislatures are called upon to settle a senatorial controversy. At such times the candidate for the legislature that is to elect a a Senator often becomes a mere puppet in the hands of his managers. His nomination is secured for him, his campaign expenses are secretly paid, and voters are urged to cast their ballots for him regardless of his qualifications, in order to insure the election of this or that man for United States Senator. State affairs are consequently lost sight of and men are elected who know little or nothing of the legislative wants of the state they are supposed to represent.

The legislative system of electing Senators has broken down. Time has proven that the public will, instead of being purified, as the Constitutional Convention supposed, by passing through the legislatures, has, on the contrary, been contaminated by such procedure. It is not now the people but the legislatures that are to be feared. Our national interests are becoming day by day more complex. New conditions, hitherto unthought of, are arising, but our Senate is becoming less capable of meeting these new conditions. Instead of progressing it is retrogressing. And so long as the selection of Senators depends upon the state legislatures it is safe to say that the moral fiber of both will continue to weaken; and, instead of solving the problems that present themselves, we will be more deeply involved in new ones. Some remedy, therefore, must be devised and applied that will bring back that seriousness of thought which once was and should always be the spirit of the Senate. If notorious fraud and corruption continue to exist in that body, if the partisan motives of the politician, and the mercenary motives of the trader continue to influence its proceedings during the next fifty years as flagrantly as they have during the past fifty, the Senate will become a menace and not a protection to our institutions. If a reform is to be brought about in the Senate, if the highest statesmanship in the country is to be again enlisted in that body, it can be done only by abolishing legislative elections and giving the choice of Senators over to a direct vote of the people.

Many attempts have already been made, both by the Lower House of Congress and by many of the state legislatures, to bring this reformation about. The legislatures of Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, New York, Oregon and Wisconsin have at various times expressed themselves in favor of a popular election of Senators. In California, Iowa, Illinois, Georgia and Nebraska the people have already voted formally against the present method. In Georgia and Nebraska an ingenious attempt has been made to evade and in a measure defeat the provisions of the Federal Constitution, by having the people,

when they vote for members of the state legislatures, also express their choice for United States Senator. But this is only a moral force, as the members of the legislatures are in no way constrained to vote for the man whom the people desire to have elected Senator.

The present method of electing Senators is in direct opposition to the spirit of of our institutions; and the people are justified in demanding, as they have been doing, the right to speak only through Senators of their own direct selection. A century of progressive national life has proven that the American people can safely be trusted with this power which the Constitutional Convention of 1787 denied them.

A popular system of electing Senators would elevate the state legislature and the National Senate. It would free the legislatures of a duty that now interferes with their functions, impairs their usefulness, and increases their liability to corruption. As to the Senate, the best ability in the country would again find its way into that body. We would have more Lincoln and Douglass debates and less secret caucusing and political dickering; and the millionaire would thus be prevented from buying and the political boss from forcing his way into a National legislative body that should always be dignified, intelligent and incorruptible.

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THE DIVORCE QUESTION: A LAWYER'S VIEW.

BY ERNEST DALE OWEN.

THERE is just now an epoch of divorce agitation. This agitation is mostly due to the clergy; and naturally, therefore, takes its trend from the clergyman's point-of-view. Naturally, also, the public press largely reflects the action of those who make themselves busiest in the movement, falls in with the edge of the strongest current, and floats in its general direction.

The lawyer, however, comes directly in contact with the very living and practical thing itself, and ought to be heard in the general movement towards a solution of the question. The assistance he may be in suggesting what his experience leads him to say, is based, not only on cases actually brought and tried, and that become public, but on the scores of instances where men and women lay bare before him their innermost lives for his counsel—instances of which the world, and even the clergy, know little.

The marital relation is the most important thing on earth. It is the very material out of which humanity is formed. Its influence upon the direct parties to the relation is stupendous—its effect upon the children they bear is beyond all calculation. Church, law, the various forms of ethical promulgation are all puny factors, as formative of society, compared to the characters which the individuals of humanity bring with them into their lives at the start. And the thing that controls such individual characters is the relation of the parents to one another physically, mentally, morally, and in their relative and reciprocal actions.

The responsibility of influencing this reciprocal relation, therefore, is so high, its proper adjustment is of such transcendant importance, that we must avoid unripe conclusions, narrow action, or such as is based on any fundamental except it be the result of all views, all experiences and all natural considerations.

There are two distinct and different points from which the subject is regarded: The ecclesiastical and the sociological.

First: As to the ecclesiastical view.

We may assume that the general clerical insistance is that there should be but one cause for complete divorce, involving the right to remarry; and that that should be what is known as the "statutory cause." This view is based on the Bible teaching.

But clearly, what is the Bible teaching —assuming it to be authoritative?

God gave out the law through Moses (Deuteronomy, 5: 31). One of these laws was (Deuteronomy, 24: 1–2):

"When a man hath taken a wife and married her, and it comes to pass that she find no favor in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness* in her; then let him write her a bill of divorcement and give it in her hand and send her out of his house.

"2. And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's wife."

But Christ taught (Matthew, 19: 8, 9, 10 and 11):

"8. Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so.

"9. And I say unto you, whosoever shall put away his wife except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery.

"10. His disciples say unto him, if the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry.

"11. But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given."

The law, then, as given by God through Moses is changed by Christ. An article like this does not afford space to go into the details of differences in various texts. That in Matthew is the most liberal so we choose that to rest our conclusions upon.

By the Mosaic law a man who finds "some unseemly thing" or "fault" in his wife writes out a "bill of divorcement," hands it to her and the thing is done. By this God-given law no legal proceeding was necessary. The man formed his own unhampered opinion, and in ten minutes he put into effect the ceremony. No cause was necessary except something in her which he construed as "unseemly."

It will be observed, too, that the right rested entirely with the man. The woman was entitled to no divorce. She had no right even to resist it under any circumstance.

It will be noticed further that by divine direction the woman was given the written evidence expressly to enable her to remarry.

Thus stood the ecclesiastical situation for many centuries, and until about two thousand years ago.

When Christ came to teach, he changed the rule. Let us see just to what extent. We find in one particular only.

*The word "uncleanness" (Hebrew "ervah" used in the text means only, a "blemish" or "fault," and does not mean unchastity, as is popularly understood

"Ervah: turpitudo, fœditas." Gesenius, Hebrew Lexicon. And referring especially to the text in question, Deut. 24: 1, he renders it: "Macula aliqua in muliere reperta"; (a blemish or fault found in the woman).

Luther, in his translation of the Bible, interprets this text thus: "Um etwas das ihm misfällt es sei an ihrem Leibe oder Gebarden oder Sitten, die sich aber sonst züchtig verhällt"; ("in regard to something which displeases him, either in her person or in her demeanor, or in her conduct, without imputation, however, on her chastity or modesty.")

Again, Ewald in his *Geschichte des Volks Israel* (Vol. II. of Anhang, p. 185), commenting on this law says: "Und sicher enthielte ein solcher Brief keinen weitern Tadel der Frau als wäre er ein Klagebrief gewesen; sondern diente der Frau eher als ein Zeugneiss dass ihrer Wiederheirath nichts im Wege stehe." ("And such a document certainly imputed no further blame to the wife than if it had been a mere letter of complaint; on the contrary, it rather served as a certificate in her hands, in proof that there was nothing in the way of a second marriage.")

In the revised version of the Bible, it is given, "because he hath found some unseemly thing in her."

We shall see presently that Christ himself did not put the construction of unchastity on the word, because when he *changed* the rule he *made* the cause unchastity.

That a man might "put away his wife" —that is, might give her a "bill of divorcement"—is expressly recognized in the text in Matthew.

No change was made, either, from the Mosaic rule that no cause other than a "fault" or "blemish" or "unseemly thing" in her was necessary to justify it.

No different provision was made, either, in the condition that the man's personal and incontestable conclusion justified the act.

The woman's status of negativity in the transaction also remained unchanged in those cases where the husband chose to act.

But one new element was introduced—that the man was forbidden to remarry, unless he exerted his prerogative of divorcement for one especial cause. It may be inferred that in that case he could remarry.

Whether the woman who has been divorced could remarry without sin is left to individual interpretation. She is not by this text included in the prohibition in terms. If she be prohibited, it is only by a reflex result from the situation in which her husband finds himself. Might it not be argued that having no voice in the matter, no right, and assuming no responsibility, she is absolved from any reciprocal accountability?

An exact and literal construction of the Christ-given law, then, is: First, a man may divorce his wife without any legal or other authoritative interference. Second, the cause must be any "blemish," "fault" or "unseemly thing" which, in his own bosom, he may conclude is sufficient justification. Third, that the woman has no reciprocal right to a divorce for any cause whatever. Fourth, that a man may remarry if the cause of divorcement is one specially, but not otherwise. This is the Bible mandate—no cleric could be found to promulgate it to-day.

These results cannot be attributed to carelessness of expression on the part of the law-giver. No rule was ever enjoined by Deity through Moses, or by Christ after, of more practical importance than this. Nor can it be claimed Christ's mandate is incomplete and that it is not intended to cover these various phases of the question, because it is expressly averred to be a change of the original law, and in any respect in which a change is not declared, the original must stand unaltered, as the command of Deity.

It may be assumed no one would urge to-day the literal execution of this ecclesiastical law as it stands. And therefore the question at once arises, in what way and to what extent should it be enforced.

Viewing the situation fairly in the face, treating it frankly, this law must be classed with some others that by a sort of common consent are not even attempted to be put into practical execution.

Christ said: "And him that taketh away thy cloak forbid not to take thy coat also" (Luke, 6:29). And "of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again" (Luke, 6:30). This, of course, means not to resist stealing.

Christ said: "Resist not evil. But whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also" (Matthew, 5:39). This means to permit oneself to be assailed without resistance.

Christ said: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth."

Yet we have laws against stealing. From the Pope of Rome to the modest trustee in the Baptist church there is not one, we may venture to say, that if a thief should attempt to steal his clothing but would seize him if he could and turn him over to the authorities. And every righteous Christian would applaud the act—thieves only would deprecate it. We have laws against assault and battery. From end to end the clergy, and the whole Christian world, would contest and return an assault, physical prowess permitting. And laying up treasures upon earth is the special care of the law, and is the rule from the superb and costly Vatican to the humblest Christian devotee.

Why, then, thrust forward for enforcement this particular text with a promi-

nence so far beyond those others? And in the vehement demand by the clergy for such enforcement, insist upon the part restrictive and abandon the parts permissive.

Even if we shall assume to partition the text and enforce one element, rejecting the rest (a presumption certainly), why not so enforce it only as far as the present practical conditions warrant, as in the case of those other laws that are permitted to sleep in abeyance, or are openly disobeyed.

If the rule once prescribed by God himself became wrong by a change in civilization—if being right once, later it became antiquated by an alteration in conditions—may it not be so with the still later teaching of Christ? *Is* it not so? Is it not to be conceded universally that to permit a man so unceremoniously to "put away his wife" is not now to be thought of?

If so, then let us not insist upon this text as the exclusive mentor by which to determine the most important sociological question in the world.

Pause, Christian teacher! Be sure you are making no mistake when, upon this text, you condemn thousands—hundreds of thousands—of innocent victims of marital outrages to a life-long torture, compared to which death would often be a sweet and blessed relief. Be sure you are right beyond question before you adopt as unquestionable a rule to control this subtile, this intricate relation of men and women—a relation that overshadows in importance every other element for the good or evil of humanity. Aye, pause before you press the iron into the hearts of countless mothers that will brand their children to which fold they shall belong—the criminal or the godly. You are making humanity—realize your trust!

Second: As to the sociological view.

A little American law has been made on the ecclesiastical theory much modified, allowing but the one cause for divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* (absolute), with the right to remarry; and a divorce *a mensa et thoro* (from bed and board)—a mere separation without the right to remarry—for some other causes. But, notwithstanding the text of the New Testament, almost all the states of the Union allow absolute divorce for a number of other causes, and permit remarriage. The law in the United States regards marriage as purely a "civil contract" or a "domestic relation" or a "civil institution," not recognizing it as a "divine institution."

In most of the states of the Union the law is based on sociological expediency rather than on ecclesiastical considerations. The general elevation and welfare of humanity, untrammelled by any authoritative text, is the usual basis of legislation. The one consideration, however, to which it would seem every other should yield the supreme place—the conditions under which the race should be procreated—seems to be the remotest to enter into the current contemplation of the subject. The results on children already born receive measurable attention. But that problem of infinite importance—under what conditions shall the race be born—seems little, if at all, to enter into ecclesiastical or legislative determination.

Yet it needs only to be stated that men and women reflect effectively upon their offspring their own harmonious or inharmonious reciprocities. A child whose prenatal development is couched in harmonious influences must be born better than the one whose formative period is spent in a bed of burrs. It does not require argument to establish that the reciprocal influences of a husband and wife must of necessity dominate and give direction to such development.

This consideration, then, should obviously be given the very first place in the problem of binding men and women together, or of separating them, by authority of law—there is none more important for the welfare and elevation of humanity. This consideration, too, can not be limited to the coarser and more truculent cases

of marital wrongs, but must be extended to those subtler and more intricate animosities that daily pour gall into the soul by drops.

Another consideration of the gravest sociological import is that involving the right of remarriage after divorce.

In those states where divorce *a mensa et thoro* (a separation without annulment) is allowed, these, of course, act as a continued bar to remarriage during the two lives. In some other states, it is apparently becoming regarded as good form to prohibit the remarriage of divorced persons for a given period. Sometimes this is confined to the one in fault.

It may be presumed that no one seriously thinks that temporary prohibition will materially check what has come to be called the "divorce evil." It is apparently more as a crude clod thrown in front the wheel, which obviously will not stop it, but only give it a jolt. While, here and there, and with a certain class of persons, a divorce might be thus averted, with the overwhelming mass of men and women seeking divorces, their purpose is one of such vital and profound importance that remarriage or not would be unnoticed even as an impeding clod.

Prohibition of remarriage involves two questions. First, its moral effect. Second, its fairness, and results to the innocent one of the two.

The moral effect is too obvious to require us, in a short article such as this, to enter into the detail of the authorities who have discussed this aspect of the problem. We have but to imagine a case of the average man and woman deeply and confessedly enamored of each other, constantly in each other's company, eagerly longing to be married but prohibited by a *statute*, to determine without much reflection whether such prohibition is calculated to foster general morality and to subserve the best sociological interests of the community. Ordinarily the law encourages marriage as being wholesome in all respects. It will not permit a man to devise his own property so as to restrain it, even in his children. Is it less wholesome for persons divorced? In fact, does not this particular phase of our crusade against divorcement make the devil grin? The question is a serious one.

But, second, upon what rule of propriety or necessity do we extend this prohibition to the one innocent of any fault? Suppose a case: A young woman believing in a man who seems fair—possibly urged by her parents or advisors—marries him. He afterwards becomes habitually drunken. He beats and pollutes her. If she remain his wife, she must subserviently rear children whose souls and bodies the infection of his alcoholism is apt to brand with some mark, perhaps demoniacal. Suppose her blameless—aye, a refined and high-minded girl degraded to the mire. Advise her, Minister of Christ! Advise her, Sociologist! Tell her first that having made a mistake—not by any fault of hers, with the advice possibly of her father and her mother—she must continue to her death living one long misery in shame and poverty; that she must submit to be beaten; that she must bear moral degenerates; because it is disgraceful to be divorced. Or, if not that, then tell her she may be divorced; but, with her children clinging to her, alone, broken in body and spirit, she must refuse the extended hand of an honorable man to make her and hers a home; and by this grind on to the end. She is not at fault. Not the weight of a feather falls upon her conscience. Nay, she has clung to all the good life left her. But she is the one to suffer—in the great agony of helpless love for her children, she must live on crucified.

It may be some law ecclesiastical or sociological makes this advice sound and wholesome. If so, it is inscrutable. This is not an extreme or exceptional case. Such are about us everywhere, in variety of detail, by the scores of thousands.

Apart from the two foregoing sociological considerations, there are many that should receive the most deliberate, ex-

haustive and profound consideration. Consideration, without the taint of bigotry or prejudice. And yet one can not but be astonished with what superficiality this whole most delicate and difficult problem is handled in pulpit and legislature. Sweeping generalization, platitudes and some choicely-worded stereotyped phrases about the "divorce evil" seem to fill the popular measure of its illumination.

Recently an article was published in a popular American magazine extolling without stint the Canadian law of divorce, on the principal ground that it is so very expensive to obtain a divorce there that so few are granted as to be almost none. Among other requirements, the applicant must appear in person at the Canadian capitol. The comparatively great number granted under the American laws were invidiously compared to this record. This means that if one has money for expenses in Canada, and can travel, he or she should have a chance at a divorce, but one too poor to pay, or unable to travel, must be tied for life to *anything*, no matter how beastly or outrageous. It would seem no further comment on the Canadian system is required.

In fact, the term "divorce evil" interpreted, seems to mean that too many are granted. Perhaps there are, but perhaps not, in the main. Who knows this? Has any society or individual investigated the subject? This is the very question. It should not be begged. More facts, more data, more scrutiny; and less phrases, less undigested superficiality are required as a basis for wise action.

For instance, there is but one state in the Union where no divorces are granted, South Carolina. What is the result there? It stands alone as the state where it has been found necessary to limit by law the amount of his estate a man may will away from his wife to his concubine. In one case reported in its Supreme Court, where a man brought a negress into the home whom he treated as his wife, he and she insultingly degrading the legitimate wife into a secondary position in the household, the wife was found remediless except to exact a support.

A book rather than a short paper would be required to treat the whole subject. The purpose of this article is simply to point the query whether doctrinaire and and popular outcry against the "divorce evil" is not crude, undiscriminating and careless. Whether the greater danger does not lie in the adoption of undigested rules, legal and social, calculated not only to inflict unmerited cruelty on thousands of victims, but of doing the community immeasurable harm.

Perhaps we may dam the stream. But may it not overflow into the creation of a pestilential swamp breeding social and physical disease? The highest skill in sociological engineering should be brought to bear upon the problem—it is receiving, at best, a crude and unscientific empiricism.

That divorce laws are abused in many cases may be assumed. That is only reason for greater perspicacity in their adoption, not cause for their abridgment. Ministers abuse their cloth, but they should not be expurgated. Doctors often kill where they should cure, but they should not be exterminated. The laws for the collection of just debts are often abused—are daily made the means of desperate oppression—but they should not be annulled. Marriage itself is often made a sensuous curse, and yet it is, in its essence, the very keystone to bind into the arch of safety the whole structure of society. Shall we abolish that because it is abused?

A hundredfold more important is the problem of marriage than that of divorce. Let reformers apply themselves to finding a remedy for the "evil" of inconsiderate and unintelligent marriages—let public opinion, advisers and parents cease precipitating ill-boding marriages—and the divorce question will take care of itself. "But that is another story."

ERNEST DALE OWEN.

Chicago, Ill.

IS GOD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES?

By Samuel Brazier.

IN THE Arena for May I read with amazement and indignation the Rev. Dr. Pentecost's shameful attempt to lay the blame for this nation's infamous crimes in the Philippines on Almighty God. "The providence of God and not our own desires placed us in these islands," we are told—a statement which surely no one believes. We entered into an unnecessary war with Spain, declaring to all the world that we did not seek any addition of territory. When in the prosecution of that war our fleet destroyed the Spanish fleet at Manila, our chief ruler proclaimed that "forcible annexation would be criminal aggression." At that time the Filipinos were our allies and coöperated with us against the Spaniards who still held Manila. At that time also, before our forces landed, the trade of the islands, the courts of justice, the schools, the churches and other institutions were in peaceful and prosperous operation under an organized government that was universally accepted and obeyed. The Spaniards were expelled and the Filipino government was in possession of every part of the islands except Manila. The providence of God then directed us to turn traitors to our allies, to tread down their established government in fire and blood, to slay one hundred thousand of the inhabitants and to establish a government of our own. In carrying out this work for God we adopted the water-cure and other modes of torture; our soldiers were directed on one occasion to kill every Filipino over ten years of age; women and girls were outraged and sometimes left exposed and unconscious on the public streets. The spirit that animated the authors of the war was well expressed by that military officer who declared that he would kill half the inhabitants and and then civilize the rest.

But these execrable crimes and cruelties are not chargeagle to us: they are part of the plan and providence of God. He sent us to the Philippines. "These islands were thrown into our hands," just as the silver belonging to the family that is invaded by burglars is thrown into their hands. We were the innocent agents of Divine providence. Dr. Pentecost "sees the hand of God" in it all. God was unable to carry out the designs of His gracious providence without the coöperation of traitors, torturers, thieves and murderers. Verily, Dr. Pentecost's God would make a fine devil. He incites nations to become international burglars and to perpetrate all the crimes inseperable from needless invasion of another's territory. Dr. Pentecost carries to its brutal, logical conclusion the theory that God governs the nations of earth just as a human governor directs the affairs of a country over which he rules.

In this great universe one power alone can reign eternally: that is the power of Righteousness. This assurance follows from the recognition of the great truth that law everywhere must ultimately prevail. The miseries and crimes of mankind are the natural and inevitable results of neglected or violated law. Every individual unit in society, as much as every material atom, is subject to unalterable and inexorable laws. Out of material chaos has sprung order and beauty. The blind, opposing forces of the material world find their equilibrium in law and order. Just as true and just as certain is it that the moral forces of the world will find their equilibrium in Right. No other issue is possible. The trend of this universe is toward final Good. Vastly more subtile and intricate are the forces that govern the conduct of men than those that govern the conduct of atoms. But

the natural social laws which determine the conditions of human society are not less certain and inexorable than are material laws. It is the duty of men—the noblest duty to which the human mind can devote its powers—to discern those natural social laws on which the prosperity and happiness of mankind depend.

SAMUEL BRAZIER.

Boston, Mass.

WHAT OF THE ITALIAN IMMIGRANT?

BY FOLGER BARKER,
Secretary of the American Land Improvement and Silk Culture Association.

AFTER the ever-present and vital question of the relationship between capital and labor, there is no other one question more momentous or of greater importance to our people than that of what we shall do with our foreign immigrant.

Until recently the immigration question has not assumed grave or disquieting proportions, for in a country of such vast proportions as the United States and peopled with a citizenship of such unparalleled progress, energy and ability, there was not only room for all, but an actual need for more people, because of the insufficiency of labor. The one cry of our early national life was for additional labor. The demand for workers greatly exceeded the supply furnshed by the natural growth of our population, and to meet this demand the overcrowded countries of the Old World were drawn upon.

No serious student of history or of natural conditions can doubt but what this influx to our shores of the foreign element has been of vast material and national advantage and has permitted America to assume its present position in the affairs of the world. And it were well to-day, now that conditions are changed and the cry of "Put up the bars and shut out the immigrants," is heard on all sides, for our people to consider the history of our past in the light of the labor and achievements of our foreign-born citizens; for any legislation aimed at general exclusion of foreign immigrants in the future would necessarily prove a terrible blow to our national life and to the prosperity and advancement of our people.

While the old-time necessity for immigration no longer exists, it is idle to claim that there is no room, work or opportunity for those who seek our shores in search of a new fatherland. Indeed, there are many occupations that the native American refuses to follow, but for which many foreigners show great aptitude. Wise and equitable immigration laws are assuredly required, for the time has come when certain restrictions are just and necessary. No one questions but what the criminal, the diseased, and the contract-labor classes should be prohibited from entering our country. It might also seem wise to enact laws against foreigners who come to our shores only temporarily, having no intention of remaining and becoming citizens, for those thus coming have no real interest in our country or love for our institutions and traditions, and America calls to-day more than ever before for citizens whose first and only allegiance and love are for our common country. There should also, I think, be a certain educational test and qualification; but beyond such amendments to our present immigration laws no barriers should be raised.

It is not enough, however, to welcome the right kind of immigrants to our shores. Wise and far-seeing statesmanship no

less than high humanitarian considerations call for the adoption of sane and practical measures which promise as rapidly as possible to transform these penniless immigrants into thrifty, wealth-producing and independent American citizens.

The congestion of the foreign element in our largest cities is perhaps the most serious feature of the immigration problem to-day. Having had personal knowledge of and relations in a business way with our large and growing Italian population, I feel that a discussion in which I shall be able to give the actual experience in relieving urban congestion, in so far as it relates to the Italians, may be valuable as indicating how the problem of the superfluous foreign population can be partially if not chiefly solved in a manner altogether advantageous and creditable to the republic.

The work of the American Land Improvement and Silk Culture Association of Philadelphia, among the Italians, was undertaken after careful thought and study of the conditions and status of the race by the gentlemen interested therein, who saw a favorable opportunity for the union of business interests and civic philanthropy. It was evident that the greatest danger to our entire citizenship, and the greatest curse to our Italian population, lay in the fearful crowding and congesting of the Italians in the cities of our country, where like flocks of sheep they had the poorest of homes and the smallest of chances to succeed in life and become law-respecting and intelligent citizens. Practically the entire Italian population of our country is crowded into our larger cities, such as New York, Philadelphia and Chicago. Centered around New York City alone are upwards of 800,000 Italians.

Anyone familiar with the tenement-house and slum districts of our great cities knows the terrible curse and danger of this over-crowding; knows that right here is the gravest question of our foreign population, and that when a way is discovered to solve it, then indeed one of the greatest victories of social ethics will have been achieved.

At the outset it is necessary to understand the people with whom we have to deal, and next it is important to assist them to openings that will call into action their best endeavors and tend to make them as rapidly as possible thrifty, industrious and independent American citizens. In my labors I have found the Italians to be a race inherently industrious, thrifty and tireless. They are without doubt the most frugal among the Europeans who come to our shores. They live on less and save more than any of the citizens with whom we have to deal. Above all else, they take kindly to agriculture; they love the soil, and like the true artists that they are, they throw their soul into whatever work appeals to them.

Now right here is the crux of the problem: What shall we do with the thousands of Italians living in crowded districts, who by reason of their cramped condition are a menace to the health and well-being of the community? Given a chance to work, the Italians have proved their willingness and desire to be industrious, peaceful and good citizens. But crowded in unhealthy city tenements, under the control of soulless corporations, or worse—that of the petty contractor and the infamous "padrone" system, they who have been forced through circumstances from family, friends and native land, and who are now compelled to go hither and thither at the beck and call of the "boss," while (to our shame be it admitted) they are looked down upon and held up to scorn and derision by our people, are environed by circumstances inimical to the development of a high order of citizenship. Nor is it surprising if under such circumstances the hot southern blood now and then breaks out in violence which reflects to the serious disadvantage of the entire Italian race.

My work among the Italians has shown

me that while they are as a race simple-minded and often grossly ignorant, still they are quick and eager to learn and are thankful to be permitted to take their place as free men with a common country. While over-suspicious, as is always the case with a people that has been crushed down and oppressed for generations and kept in ignorance and poverty, they are, when once their faith and confidence are gained, trustful and faithful to those whom they believe to be their friends. In business their record is a good one, for while they are close, sharp and careful to an extreme in business dealings, still, when once the bargain is agreed to they live up to its terms and conditions with a scrupulous regard and commendably honesty.

As I have said, the Italians are above all agriculturists and tillers of the soil. This fact and a knowledge and understanding of their racial proclivities and conditions, suggests the solution of the problem, which is to get the Italians away from the cities and out into the country and onto the land. Put them in a way to work for themselves as independent citizens, away from the crushing and demoralizing influence of "bossism" and all its attendant horrors and evils. How to do this is the serious question; yet my investigations and labors among the Italians have demonstrated that this work can be easily done when understood and properly handled.

I have found the Italians thrifty, frugal and industrious to a degree that is beyond the comprehension of the average American; therefore out of his daily wage the average Italian saves the larger part. This money is often wasted and lost or dissipated in various ways, because the poor fellows do not know what to do with it or how to invest it. Our effort to interest them in the land, to enable them to become land-owners, and thus independent and self-respecting, has met with the most surprisingly gratifying results. The Italians have displayed a passionate longing to avail themselves of the opportunities offered. Few Americans, I imagine, begin to understand the Italian's love for the soil —his longing and desire to possess his own little plot of land. The joy and thankfulness of many of them who have come under my direct knowledge, when they have become possessed of land and know that they are land-owners, is at once childlike and pathetic, beautiful and inspiring. The fact must not be lost sight of that in Italy such opportunity does not exist, save in a limited way, and poor returns for labor and heavy taxes and military service have crushed all real incentive to work and effort.

Those Italians who have gone upon the soil have within a very short time transformed their land into garden-spots and have availed themselves of all that nature offered in a remarkable degree. On small plots of ground I have seen large families not simply exist, as other peoples do, but grow rich and prosperous. It is a fact that the average Italian, with his little saving of five hundred or a thousand dollars, has frequently earned two or three times that sum annually after he has had access to the soil.

In a future paper I shall dwell somewhat at length on the results that have followed these efforts at practical colonization of the Italians on the plan which makes them independent land-owners, as I believe that the success which has attended these efforts will tend to quickly solve one of the most serious problems confronting our people, and solve it in a way that shall make for the glory and prosperity of the republic.

Folger Barker.

Philadelphia, Penna.

AN ACCIDENT OF BIRTH.

By May Irene Copinger.

VISITORS meant no good to the little household of Ivan Paulsen,—indeed it is seldom that the sound of peremptory knocking does not bring fear to the heart of the peasant of Glauston when it is heard upon the door of his hut. So when a sharp blow upon the entrance was heard, the mother who occupied the bundle of straw that formed the bed in the corner of the room instinctively drew closer to her the babe newly born, and the child of about four years who had been resting at her feet was not too young to cower into the darkest corner of the hut.

The knocker was impatient, however, and the door was thrown open admitting two men heavily cloaked. The tallow-dip gave little light, but even to the peasants it was evident that the visitors were of some degree of prosperity.

"This is the place," said the taller of the twain.

"And here is the child," answered his companion. Neither paid any more attention to the man who stood shrinkingly before them than if he had been an ox or a goat in a stable. The taller man walked to the bed and bending down threw back the rags that covered the man-child nestling warm against his peasant-mother.

"Is the boy healthy?"

"Yes," was the quivering reply.

The man lifted the naked babe in his arms and looked at him. The child began to whimper. "Here, Doctor, come and examine him."

The short man carefully noted every limb, every feature.

"He is a perfectly-formed infant," he said at last.

"These serfs! To them come the hearty children!" Then turning to the peasant at last: "We need this child and have come for him now. If you will give him up without any trouble, this is yours," throwing a purse on the floor; "if you make any trouble we shall find a way to quiet your tongues. And I warn you, there must be no gossip of it afterwards."

The woman drew herself off the cot and along the floor to the man's feet. "He is my child; oh, give me my child," she cried.

"Hush, Anna; my lord has given us gold. My lord will be kind to the child for whom he pays so much gold; we must not displease my lord."

"That is a sensible man," said the taller man. "And to prevent any of your neighbors gossiping, we will send to you to-night a dead child, which you must say is your own, and bury." Without more parley the babe was wrapped in a long cloak and was carried away from the place of its birth.

"Would it not be best to make sure of silence? There is danger as long as those people live," said the Doctor, when once again the pair were in the carriage that had been waiting for them a short distance from the hut.

The elder man smiled grimly. "That will not be forgotten, but we must move slowly. There are many who would be only too glad to hear the faintest whisper of to-night's work. The Princess listens to all the nurse tells her, and if Katrina thinks we mean her cousins ill she will play us false and we are lost. We must first remove Katrina, which is not now an easy matter, and then the dead child must be buried by these people."

But Ivan Paulsen was wise, and before the morning broke, dragging his wife along, he was making his way to the south. Even the powers brought to bear upon the task could not single him out from the peasantry with which he herded.

"Dost know who it was?" he asked his wife; "The Grand Duke Oyara, the great minister of the Prince of Glauston."

But she only moaned, "My babe, my babe!"

. . . . . .

About thirty-five years after Ivan Paulsen sold his child to the mysterious visitors, a kind-faced, brown-haired and brown-eyed man was pacing up and down a small room in the winter palace of the ruler of Glauston. He was in deep thought. The only other occupant of the room was an elderly man with white hair and beard, who, as the younger man strode backward and forward, watched him with furtive, crafty expression.

"Surely, your royal brother will understand," he said at length; "he will know that the people are crying for an heir; that every day your Royal Highness has no son the country is in grave peril; and he will surely see that in justice to your people and to the future of the nations of Europe,—of the world,—that you must form another alliance."

"It is not your custom to plead for justice to the people, my royal cousin," answered the younger man. "That is never mentioned when the taxes are to be increased. As for the remainder of your argument, it is hard to tell what is right. There is one thing you have forgotten, however; it is justice to myself and to the woman whom I love, and who I know before God will always be my wife. That an heir to the throne has been withheld has been a sorrow to me,—to us both. But I will not consider a divorce—at least not for some time. I do not wish the matter to be mentioned to me again; it is displeasing. Is there anything else you wish to tell me?"

"No, your Royal Highness; the slight disturbances continue, but they are merely the work of the unruly students. They will soon be suppressed, and they are not worth the serious attention of your Royal Highness. If there were an heir to the throne, your Highness, the people would be more settled and these outbreaks would not occur. But, now,——"

The mild expression left the eyes of the younger man.

"I think, my Lord Duke, I said that was a matter not to be broached again. As for the outbreak among the students, do all possible to placate the people. My poor people! I wish I could do something to mitigate the discontent that is continually showing itself. Be as gentle as possible, and we do not wish to have too much display of the military."

"I will see that everything is quiet in a day or two. Since the unfortunate death of your uncle, it is wise to show the people that we deal with a powerful hand." And the elder man bowed himself from the room.

When he had gone the younger man sighed wearily. He walked to a little table standing near a window and leaning heavily upon it, gazed out into the inner court of which the window commanded the view. It was only a few minutes, however, before, following a slight knock, a woman entered the room. She was very tall, with a face that resembled the lily, so colorless and wax-like it seemed, while her two eyes appeared like coals set below her pallid brow. She walked softly up to the dejected figure before the window and placed one hand lightly upon his shoulder.

"What has our cousin to say to-day; something to trouble you, I fear?" she asked.

"Oh, he goes over old matters," he answered.

A cloud passed over her brow. "Your ministers advise another alliance?" she said.

He clasped her hands in his and looked into the sorrowful face. "Let not that worry you," he said. "The advice comes from those who fear to see my brother in my place, and has no weight with me. What is troubling me greatly is the news he brought of another uprising among the people. My poor people! I sometimes feel I should do something more for them, but I cannot. I am not callous towards their sufferings and their wants, as are my ministers and those with whom I claim kinship; but there is that in me that prevents me asserting myself. I

am afraid, and cower before the men I should rule. I am almost afraid to voice my sympathy for the people. There is something, some influence that makes me a coward. I do not seem always to have ruled. I am even afraid to demand a full accounting and knowledge of affairs. But, what have you been doing this day?"

"It has been a busy day. I have been directing the women in their work of making bandages for the soldiers. There is an old woman, a cousin of your old nurse, Katrina, who came to the castle to-day with a huge bundle of lint, anxious to send it away for the sake of the 'Little Ruler,' she said. So you see, my husband, there are some of the people who love you. I told her she might remain and work with the other women. But, hark! what is that noise?"

From afar came a sound as of a great body of people approaching. There was at first only a suggestion of a sound; then was borne to the ears of the listeners a rumbling, then loud, incoherent cries, and then a mighty shouting, rising and falling as in tumultuous waves. Motionless, the man stood in the center of the little study. Upon his face was a puzzled expression,—fear, anger, curiosity. The woman swayed slightly and a great fear was in her eyes.

"What is it; what do they want?" he said.

As if in answer to his query, the door opened and the Grand Duke, who but a short while before had left the apartment, entered hurriedly.

"Your majesties must not leave this wing of the building," he cried. "The devil has broken loose, and you may be in great danger."

"What do they want here?" the Prince asked. The suddenness of the event had dazed him.

"They are calling for you; demanding to see the 'Little Ruler.' They are crazy. They think that a personal appeal to you will remedy their fancied wrongs. If you appear it will be sure death. There are Nihilists in that mob. I have sent for the military and they will be dispatched in a short while. You must not move from here; the castle is in a turmoil, and even the guards cannot be trusted."

"But if they call me I must go to them." The Prince made a few steps towards the door.

But the Princess caught his arm as he stepped from her side, and half-dragging him back, she implored him not to expose himself to the mob.

"They have no respect for your crown," she said, "and you have no heir."

The man turned to the little table,—the little table that had seen so many of his struggles,—and sinking into a chair he buried his head in his hands. The sounds continued, now louder, now softer as if hushed to listen to some speech and then breaking out with redoubled fury. At times the words could be distinguished, then all was turmoil and confusion of sound. The group in the study listened for the clatter of horses' feet that would announce the arrival of the regiments.

Suddenly the door leading into an inner apartment opened, and an old woman rushed into the study and stood disheveled and breathless before the little assembly.

"God of our fathers," she cried, "you are in danger. There is a man who wishes you no good; he is hunting for the 'Little Ruler.' I saw him pass the door where we women were working. I know him; he means no good. There are no guards; they have gone; they are afraid; oh, hide, save yourself; he is trying to find you!" Her warning was scarcely in time. At the moment the stranger entered. One hand was slightly raised; but with a bound wonderfully agile for one so infirm, the old woman seized his hand and held it in a vise-like grasp.

"You dare not; you dare not," she cried. "My son, oh, my son; you are aiming at the life of your brother. That man is as truly my son as are you. Oh, my God, would you murder your brother?"

A deadly silence fell upon the room for

a moment. The man's hand dropped nerveless to his side. The Prince stood as if turned to stone; only the Grand Duke moved, and he had turned a deadly pale.

"It is a lie," he said; "the woman raves. She and the man are both crazy."

"It is no lie," the old woman cried. "You know it is no lie. Thirty-five years ago you came to my cottage and bought my child. I searched for him after my husband died. I did not promise not to do so, and he is my own flesh and blood. Katrina told me where he was before you murdered her,—she served you too well, did Katrina. I have watched him many times, along the roads, in the streets, and I have prayed for him. Can you look at the faces of those two men and say they are not brothers? It is not a lie; it is my child, and God has heard my prayer for he has given to me to save this, my eldest son, from staining his hands with the blood of his brother. But, oh, a curse has been placed on me for selling my son. My babe, my babe!"

"Does this woman tell the truth?" The Prince turned to the Grand Duke, pale and trembling now, for he saw the story was believed, wild though it was. and he saw his ruin before him. The man who had placed the changeling on the throne of Grauston could hope for no mercy from those whom his act had deprived of rights.

"Yes, it is true; but, by God, we took the wrong child," he said, turning like a cornered rat, but with a grudging admiration for the tall Nihilist with fire and determination in his demeanor, fierce of eye and strong of jaw, who stood with affrighted expression gazing at his gentle-faced counterpart.

In that moment the King died and the man of the people was born.

"You did not take the wrong child. It has been by no volition of my own that I have been placed in this position. A Will greater than my own or yours has given into my hands responsibilities. I have not known why I felt these sympathies, why I was unlike those with whom I claimed kinship. Hitherto I have shirked my responsibilities, but from to-day I am King of the people. I have no heir, and when I die the throne will go to the house of which I have thought myself a member. But until then, my peasant-blood will rule over a peasant-people." For a moment his glance rested upon his wife, and as if in answer to a question, she advanced towards him and placed her hand in his,—the hand of the daughter of a line of kings.

"You have refused to desert me," she said, "and I love you."

"My brother," he said, looking at the man who but a few moments before had his hand turned against him, "we have one mother, and in our different places we can work for one people. The world will believe me the Ruler, you will know me the peasant. As for you," turning to the Grand Duke who, trembling, was watching the scene, "you will be safe enough as long as you maintain the silence you have kept for so long, and obey me. It will pay you nothing to tell of your deception. You have given to me the great responsibilities of a ruler; to forswear them now will ruin my already bleeding country. And, thank God, you have not taken from me a man's sympathy for my people!"

The sounds outside grew more tumultuous. In the distance could be heard the clatter of horses' hoofs. The soldiers were coming.

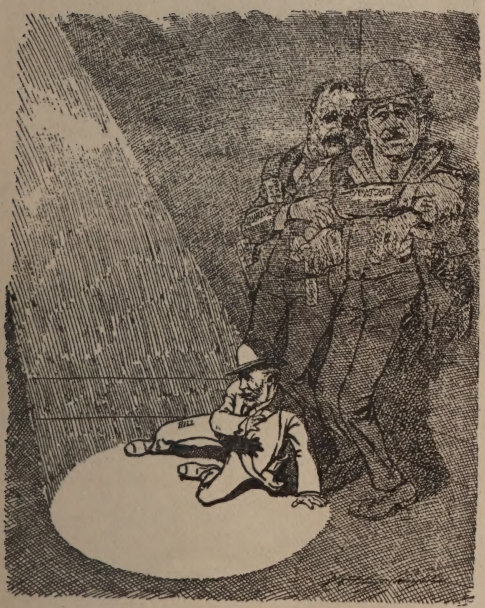
"Go stop the regiment, and tell the people the 'Little Ruler' is coming to them."

May Irene Copinger.
Baltimore, Md.

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.

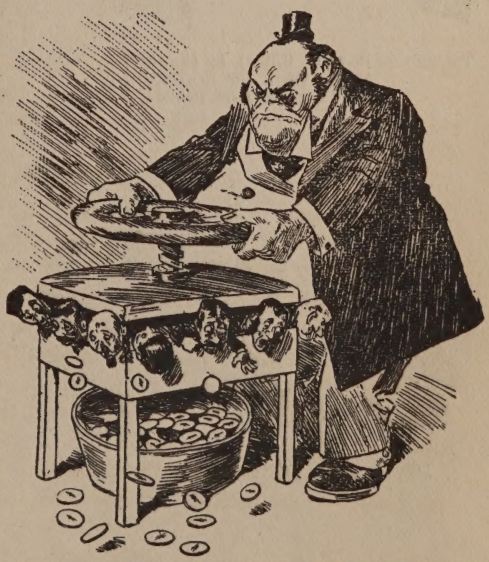
Opper, in New York *American*.. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

CHORUS:—"WAIT TILL THE CLOUDS ROLL BY!"



Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American*.

THE CREEPING LIGHT.



From the New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

GAS PROFITS ARE MERELY A MATTER OF PRESSURE.

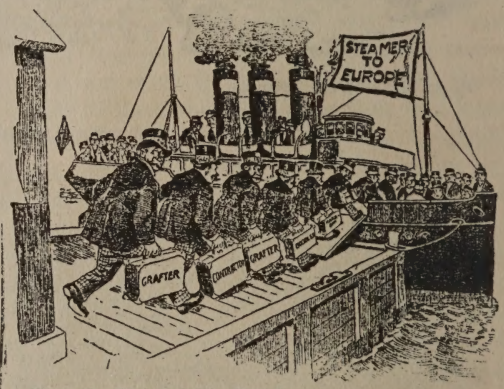
Opper, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

"WHO 'S NEXT?"

Torrient, in Havana (Cuba) *La Discusion*.

THE VOICE OF ROOSEVELT.

"Let there be Peace!"

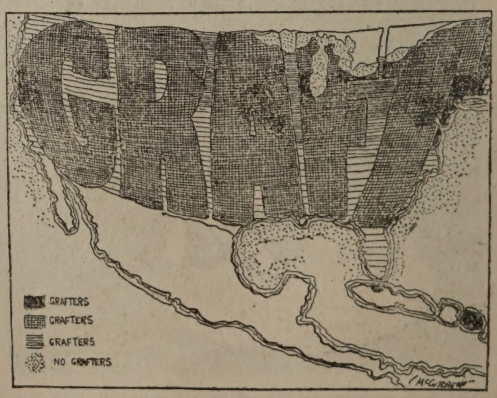


From the Philadelphia *Record*.

IN PHILADELPHIA—"WILL IT COME TO THIS?"

Gage, in Philadelphia *North American*.

SITTING FOR A NEW PORTRAIT.

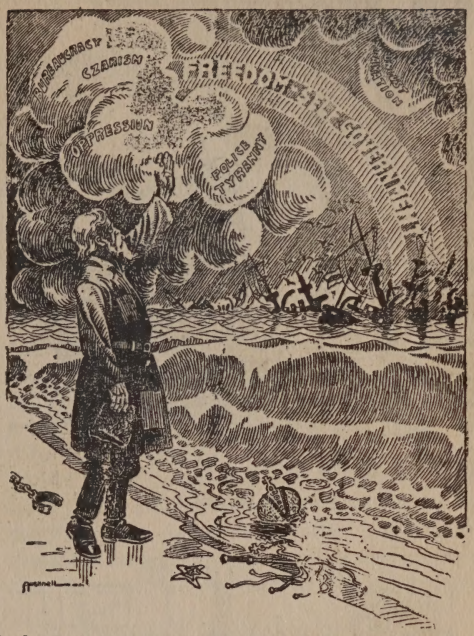


McCutcheon, in Chicago *Tribune*.

THE COUNTRY SEEMS TO BE FULL OF IT.

Bush, in New York *World*.

THE WOLF AND THE LAMBS.
(See "In the Mirror of the Present.")



Bushnell, in Lebanon (Pa.) *Evening Report*.

AFTER THE STORM.

The Russian Peasant's Vision of the Future.

Bengough, in *The Public*, Chicago.

"STRIPPED!"

Warren, in Boston *Herald*.

THE EAST THREATENS TO ABSORB MORE "WESTERN METHODS."

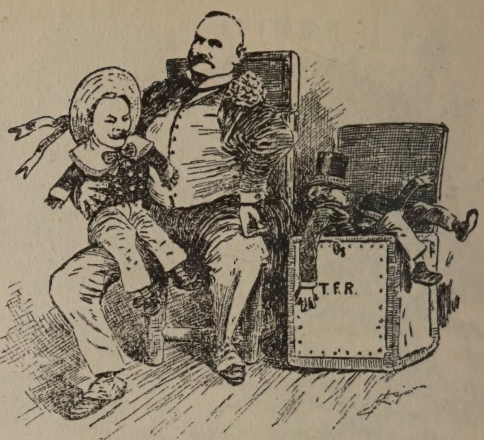
Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American*.

CHISELED DEEP.

Bush, in New York *World*.

"DE-LIGHT-ED!"

"MUTUALIZED!"



Bush, in New York *World*.

MR. RYAN, THE VENTRILOQUIST—"Now, Paul, speak up for the policy-holders!"

PAUL—"I accept this position on the understanding that I have an absolutely free hand."

Rogers, in New York *Herald*.

A MASTERLY RETREAT.

Cory, in New York *World*.

"HOLD ON TO HIM, GROVER; I'LL SOON BE READY FOR HIM!"

May, in Detroit *Journal*.

SHADE OF BOSS TWEED:—"I SALUTE MY SUPERIORS!"

McWhorter, in St. Paul *Dispatch*.

ENOUGH TO MAKE A QUAKER FIGHT.

EDITORIALS.

MARY A. LIVERMORE.

I. A MORAL LEADER OF THE OLD SCHOOL.

THE RECENT death of Mrs. Mary A. Livermore removes from earth one of the last members of that noble band of moral heroes who awakened the sleeping conscience to the enormity of the slave curse and who after the emancipation of the black man and the preservation of the Union became prominently identified with almost every important advance movement for the elevation of humanity, the development of the individual and the increase of the happiness of all the people.

In the stirring days of that moral renaissance that awakened the sleeping nation and which was led by Garrison, Phillips, John Brown, Whittier, Lowell, Theodore Parker and Charles Sumner, Mrs. Livermore became an important factor, throwing into the battle for human freedom all the ethical force of early womanhood—a womanhood whose intellectual strength was only surpassed by her exalted moral enthusiasm. She was the most intimate friend of the noble woman who became the wife of Wendell Phillips. When the war broke out she was quick to tender her aid and performed invaluable services to the Union cause. Neither praise nor blame ever influenced her, for with her conscience was something unspeakably sacred and the call of duty was ever divine. The following stanzas from the poem composed by the eminent Unitarian divine, Rev. Edward A. Horton, and read at her funeral, voice a just tribute to the noble leader whose lips are silent now:

"Praise now, once more, that fearless mind;
Crown, still again, that sense of right;
Bring tributes rare for words and deeds
That guided souls into the light.

Her voice was moved to tones of power
That challenged wrong in places high;
Her ear bent low in sympathy
To catch the humblest sob and sigh.

She loved her home; no place more dear;
Yet home-love gave her power to see
The world-wide woes in human lives,
That toil and groan and are not free.

. . . . . .

With tireless zeal, of dauntless days,
She trod heroic pathways long;
No task dismayed, no power availed
To quench her faith, or hush her song.

That song, that plea for justice pure,
That hope of freedom, progress, peace,
It grew and grew to nobler strains
Until the Father gave release."

There is nothing that the republic to-day needs so sorely as men and women of the moral fiber of Mrs. Livermore—apostles of duty who place the cause of humanity above all thought of material gain, individual advancement or personal comfort. She has passed from us, but the influence of her life, like that of Garrison, Phillips and John Brown, like that of Jefferson, Adams and Hancock in an earlier day, and like that of Eliot, Pym and Hampden in the day of England's sorest need, will prove a source of unfailing inspiration to the young men and women of America who to-day are awake to the sacred and august demand of the new moral renaissance now dawning in the republic—the oncoming battle against the despotism of privileged interests and corruption that threatens the very life of free institutions.

II. PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF MRS. LIVERMORE.

Mrs. Livermore was one of the earliest and most valued contributors to THE ARENA. From the inception of this magazine she and her loved husband were among its staunchest friends and we doubt if anything she ever wrote was stronger or more thought-compeling than some of her essays for this magazine, notably her masterly defence of woman's suffrage entitled "Centuries of Dishonor." Among the most delightful and highly valued hours of our editorial life are those spent in converse with men and women who have helped the world onward. Especially do we recall with pleasure the visits of Mrs. Livermore and Frances E. Willard. These two splendid women, one a Trinitarian, the other a Unitarian, were among the most exalted types of American womanhood that our land has produced. Both were broad-visioned and splendidly tolerant of the honest opinions of those who differed from them. Both were dominated by the moral enthusiasm that gives the upward impulse to all onward movements and without which civilizations and nations wither and die, smitten with death at the vital springs of life. Both, though idealists and dreamers, possessed that living faith which transforms dreams into actualities; that faith which manifests itself in noble works.

On one occasion we remember Mrs. Livermore coming into our office, her face illumined with that rare, sweet smile that one sees at

times only on the face of the moral enthusiast.

"I have come to tell you, Mr. Flower, how much Mr. Livermore and I enjoy THE ARENA. It makes me feel as though I were young again; it is so instinct with the spirit that made Boston a moral storm-center when Garrison was the most abused man in the city and Wendell Phillips had exiled himself from the social circle that had formerly hailed him as a leader, because he chose to side with God against wealth, convention, the church and the state."

"Tell me," we said, "something of those glorious days which were so vibrant with moral enthusiasm as to inspire Lowell's 'Crisis.'"

And then for almost an hour she recounted incident after incident of those days which tested the true worth of young and old. We remember that she dwelt particularly upon the life and character of Wendell Phillips and his wife, who, she explained, was her most intimate girl-friend.

"She was a tower of strength to Wendell," she exclaimed. "I remember that on the memorable night when Faneuil Hall was crowded to protest against the assassination of Lovejoy at Alton, Illinois, Mrs. Phillips was confined to her bed. Indeed, she was an invalid all her life. The attorney-general of the state, as you doubtless know, was strongly pro-slavery in his inclinations. He was a typical politician of that day and he had represented Lovejoy as dying as the fool dies. He had compared the mob that murdered him to such patriots as Adams and Hancock. Strange to say, such was the pro-slavery sentiment in Boston that this amazing speech was wildly applauded. Wendell Phillips had come to Faneuil Hall without intending to speak, but the slander of the dead by the attorney-general and the defence of the assassination of Lovejoy so stirred the young lawyer that he made his way to the platform amid storms of applause and hisses. In the course of his speech he uttered the following notable words:

"'Sir, when I heard the gentleman lay down principles which place the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips (pointing to the portraits in the Hall) would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American—the slanderer of the dead. The gentleman said that he should sink into insignificance if he dared to gainsay the principles of these resolutions. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers of the Puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up.'

"These remarks created a perfect pandemonium. For a time it seemed that he was in imminent peril of suffering the same fate that had been meted out to Garrison a short time before by a well-dressed Boston mob. Amid the tumult some representative of that class that is always eager to bear evil tidings set out post-haste for Phillips' home to inform the invalid of the imminent danger in which her husband had placed himself. Mrs. Phillips' eyes flashed with the light of the enthusiast. She called for pen and paper and hastily scribbled a note which she imperatively commanded the messenger to take as speedily as possible to her husband. The messenger supposed it was a plea to him not to endanger his life. Instead it contained this laconic message: 'Wendell, do not yield an inch!'"

On one occasion Mrs. Livermore was talking of the future life. "I not only firmly believe in another life, but I feel that we are compassed by guardian angels, and if we are receptive they are often able to helpfully impress us," she remarked, and then continued: "I have had some strange personal experiences that I do not often relate, because people are apt to misinterpret them. One of these occurred some time since. I was on the train traveling in the state of New York. It was at night. There were only a few passengers in the coach. I was the only person in the front part of the car. I remember that it was a bright, cool, crisp night. I was feasting on the beauty of nature as seen through the car-window, for the moon was full and the landscape very beautiful. The lights in the homes and the lights in the sky seemed to have challenged each other, one witnessing of human love, the other of the love of the Divine Mind. I was musing on these things when suddenly a voice, thrilling in intensity, spoke in my ear.

"'Move to the other side of the car, quick! *quick !!* QUICK!!!'

"I sprang up. No one was near. Most of the passengers were sleeping, but I rushed to the other side of the car and had barely fallen into my seat when with a terrible crash our car reeled almost off the track and the side of the end of the car where I was sitting a moment before was crushed and splintered. Sitting where I was, I was thrown down and somewhat bruised, but had I been seated where I was when the voice spoke to me I should have been crushed and killed."

THE NOMINATION IS JUST A MERE FORM TO FOOL THE PEOPLE!
HEADQUARTERS OF PARTY MACHINE BOSS.
HERE IS THE TICKET WE HAVE APPROVED
RAILWAY CORPORATIONS
MACHINE BOSS
FOR SERVICES
OUR TICKET TO BE NOMINATED AT CONVENTION
TRUST
WALL STREET BANKER
THIS TICKET HAS BEEN SELECTED TO GIVE YOU A SAFE AND SANE GOVERNMENT'
OUR CHOICE
MAKE-BELIEVE-CONVENTION
MACHINE BOSS
OUR TICKET
O.K. BY WALL STREET
OUR CHOICE!
WE ARE THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE'
THE MACHINE

OUR REAL RULERS: NOT KINGS, BUT CORRUPT CORPORATIONS.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM WOULD RESTORE THE GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE.

Drawn by Ryan Walker expressly for THE ARENA. (See Editorial.)

To Mrs. Livermore, God, religion and the future life were living realities, and though Unitarian in her views she did not hesitate to condemn the shortcomings of the ministers of that faith.

"When the Channings, Starr-King and Theodore Parker were great powers in the Unitarian pulpit, that church was a mighty moral force, an aggressive power for righteousness in state, home and individual life; but to-day I often feel," she observed, "that Unitarianism is dying of intellectual dry-rot."

No one could be with Mrs. Livermore without feeling that he was in the presence of one who believed in the aristocracy of the soul, the conscience-guided peerage whose members in all ages have led humanity up to the spiritual Alps and through whose leadership every great victory for right, justice, freedom and truth has been won over slothful convention and sordid self-concern.

THE GOVERNMENT OF PRIVILEGED INTERESTS THROUGH MACHINE-RULE.

(See Cartoon by Ryan Walker.)

IN HIS striking cartoon drawn expressly for this issue of THE ARENA Mr. Ryan Walker has given an impressive illustration of political conditions since the money-controlled machine has become dominant in American politics. The railroads and other public-service companies, the trusts and the Wall-street speculators and representatives of that reckless so-called "high finance" of which the recent Equitable Assurance scandal is a typical example, conspire with party bosses and machine manipulators, and as a result the boss becomes rich and the machine-leaders receive in the form of campaign contributions all the money desired for the most extensive manipulation of election returns and to satisfy the appetites of the rapacious "workers" as the henchmen of the machine are called. On the other hand the people are saddled with dishonest, incapable or dummy misrepresentatives, the creatures of privileged interests and the machine, bound only to fealty to their masters in a battle between civic weal and clean and good government on the one hand and the rapacity of soulless corporations and privileged interests on the other.

This cartoon should be studied by every voter, as it offers the true explanation of why the United States Senate is going to fight any effective measure to give the people relief from railway extortions. The Aldriches, the Spooners, the Platts, the Depews, the Knoxes, and numbers of others are the representatives and the henchmen of the railways and other privileged interests which are exploiting and plundering the people. In this cartoon we also see the real explanation of why we are to-day in the midst of a reign of graft and corruption.

DIRECT-LEGISLATION CAMPAIGN IN DELAWARE.

IN DELAWARE an important direct-legislation campaign is in active progress under the wise and able management of the Hon. Francis I. DuPont, president of the Direct-Legislation League of the state. According to the Constitution of Delaware it will be impossible for the people to enjoy the benefits of direct-legislation until the Constitution is amended,—something which requires six years to accomplish. There is, however, nothing to prevent an advisory Initiative and Referendum, and during a recent session of the Delaware legislature a number of the leading Single-Taxers and some other prominent citizens under the guidance of Mr. DuPont conducted a vigorous campaign for the securing of the passage of the bill and submitting to the people the question of accepting or rejecting the measure for the advisory Initiative and Referendum. The bill was introduced into the Senate by a leading Republican member, and passed that body with eleven yeas and four nays. In the house it was unanimously carried. The measure was then signed by the Governor, and will be voted upon this autumn.

Great credit is due to the Hon. J. Z. White of Chicago, Ill., a prominent Single-Tax lecturer, for his efficient service in explaining Direct-Legislation to the members of the two branches of the legislature.

It is a notable fact that wherever Direct-Legislation is clearly, ably, and tactfully presented, it appeals to all high-minded and thoughtful citizens who are not interested in measures that are detrimental to the public weal.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE PRESIDENT, MR. MORTON AND THE RAILROADS.

Rugged Moral Courage The Supreme Demand of The Present.

NO EVENT of recent months has occasioned us deeper regret than the action taken by President Roosevelt in the Santa Fé case and his amazing and almost incredible letter to Paul Morton. It is our profound conviction that in this affair the president has not only aided the law-defying railroad officials more efficiently than all their henchmen in the Senate, in the public press and elsewhere could have done, but he has also dealt the most severe blow to civic morality and the orderly operation of justice through the courts that has been dealt by a popular leader in many years, the evil effect of which will be so far-reaching and so paralyzing to the rising spirit of civic righteousness that it calls for more than passing notice; for the sincere friends of pure and free government have no greater difficulty to contend against than the confusion in the public mind regarding moral ideals, due to the compromising with sin, corruption and dishonesty by statesmen, editors and clergymen, where personal friendship, intimate business relations or the desire to reap pecuniary advantage obscure the fundamental moral verities and lead to condonation or defence of the conduct of certain persons who otherwise would be severely and justly condemned.

We are in the midst of a period of civic awakening. After a time of moral stagnation, during which corruption, graft and various forms of dishonesty have flourished in political and business life, the conscience of the people from the Atlantic to the Pacific is being awakened. A moral renaissance is presaged if statesmen who claim to be ethical leaders, and the clergy, will show anything like the moral courage and devotion to high ideals that have marked the real leaders in every great advance movement that has lifted civilizations and nations in the past.

While the true statesman will always place the interests of all the people and the demands of justice above all personal motives or sentiments of friendship, a time like the present makes it peculiarly important that the highest order of moral courage should be exercised by those to whom the people look for leadership and example. One of the gravest dangers that threatens free institutions to-day is the growing disregard for law, born of the increasing conviction or rather knowledge that though the poor and weak and those without strong social influence or large means, who commit crime, are pretty certain to receive the full penalty prescribed by law, the rich and powerful can usually evade punishment or at least escape with fines that to them are of trifling importance. There is absolutely no danger to-day of a rich man who is in favor with the great corporations being convicted of any crime or misdemeanor, if he is innocent. Indeed, the evidences of criminality must be of the most positive, conclusive and overwhelming character to make it impossible for the rich and powerful to defeat justice through technicalities, delays or the intervention of powerful officials. These are facts that should be borne in mind when considering President Roosevelt's action in the Santa Fé case.

An Outline of the Case and the Points Involved.

In order to have the salient facts of the case clearly before the mind of the reader, we give below a summarizing statement written by the Washington correspondent of the Boston *Transcript* and published June 22d in that journal. We make this quotation because the *Transcript* is probably the most influential administration paper in New England, and its Washington correspondent has ever been extremely favorable to the president. Hence there can be no charge of a bias against Mr. Roosevelt in the following account of the reception of his act, coming as it does from an able correspondent conspicuous for his friendly attitude toward the president.

"When Attorney-General Moody requested Judson Harmon and Frederick N. Judson to

examine carefully the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the matter of unlawful rates and practices in the transportation of coal and mine supplies by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railway Company and 'to recommend what character of proceedings the evidence justifies, and against whom the same should be taken to secure vindication of the law,' the action was universally acclaimed. Because of Secretary Paul Morton's previous connection with the Santa Fé it was felt that the Administration had done a courageous thing. Messrs. Harmon and Judson were recognized as men of eminent legal ability and possessed of characters and reputations for integrity that would give weight all over the country to their findings.

"It was assumed from the character of their instructions and the wide discretion allowed them, that whatever recommendations they made would be put into effect by the Department of Justice. Indeed, it was generally believed that the object in naming them was to have an impartial investigation and to relieve the Administration of any criticism in case their findings showed that proceedings need not be brought against Paul Morton for any acts believed to be violations of the Interstate Commerce law.

"When the news leaked out that the two special counsel had reached certain conclusions, which where not shared in by the attorney-general, the assumption became prevalent that the point of disagreement was whether or not proceedings should be brought against Mr. Morton, at that time Secretary of the Navy. This assumption, it now develops, was accurate. In the public mind, at least, the one vital fact in the whole question was whether or not it was to be judicially determined what share Paul Morton had in the law-breaking practices of the Santa Fé Railroad. The correspondence between Messrs. Judson and Harmon and Attorney-General Moody, and the promised statement regarding the retirement of the two lawyers from further employment in the case has been awaited with the keenest interest. It was known that the hitch concerned Paul Morton and much curiosity was felt to see how the Administration would devise a plan for further proceedings which would give assurance to the critical public that a 'square deal' was as much in favor when it struck at friends as when it proved to their advantage.

. . . . . .

"Keen disappointment is professed by some of the Administration's friends that Messrs. Judson and Harmon were not allowed to carry out their plan of action. It is felt that Mr. Moody and the president have made a tactical error of the first importance in vetoing the desire of the special counsel to bring proceedings individually against Paul Morton, President Ripley and the other managing officers of the Santa Fé road. For men against whom there is not 'one scintilla of evidence,' or, 'a shred of testimony,' it is pointed out, require a lot of defending from the highest sources in the land. This question was asked on every hand to-day: If Mr. Morton and the other officers of the Santa Fé were not guilty of any law-breaking, why do they permit such strenuous efforts to be made to prevent the courts from establishing the fact beyond a doubt? Rightly or wrongly, it was argued, Mr. Morton and the others have been convicted by public opinion, and for their own satisfaction, if they have done no wrong, should eagerly seek a clean bill of health from the courts.

. . . . . .

"Mr. Moody consented that proceedings be brought against the corporation, but would not allow any action to be taken against Mr. Morton and the other officers, alleging that no legal evidence had been taken before any court showing that they knew of the illegal practices of the corporation and declaring that no 'accusations' should be brought against the officers until such evidence was at hand.

"The special counsel rejoined that they did not purpose making accusations, but to allow Mr. Morton and the other officers who might be involved, an opportunity for 'explanations.' They pointed out that this secret arrangement of the Santa Fé Railroad with the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company involved the carriage of hundreds of cars per month, and that the concessions from the established rates must have amounted to about a million dollars for the two and one-half years during which they were granted. They said it was incredible that this scheme was devised and carried out by any authority but that of the chief officers of the railroad company, who were in control of its traffic department; and that it was a duty of each and all of these officers to see that the injunction was obeyed.

"Paul Morton as vice-president of the Santa Fé had direct charge of the traffic of the corporation. In his letter to President Roosevelt he says: 'My own connection with the case was to see that the traffic was secured to

the Atchison rails, and after that details were left to subordinates.'

. . . . . .

"Advising against Mr. Moody's suggestion that action be brought only against the railroad company, they [Messrs. Harmon and Judson] declared: 'The corporation might plead guilty to what it would claim to have been a mere technical violation of law, and escape with a fine, thus in effect barring us against further steps against the individuals really guilty of violation of the Court's order, as the door to further investigation would thus be closed. The real violation of the Court's order is by the individuals acting in their corporate relation, as has been uniformly recognized by the courts, and it is for that reason that injunction orders against corporations always run, as in this case, against their officers and agents also. (See Thompson on Corporations, section 6,450.) It necessarily follows, therefore, that when there is proof of the violation of the Court's order by a corporation defendant, some individuals are chargeable with the wrong, and they are presumably the officers in charge of the corporate business involved. We deem it of importance to the interests of the Government, and as a judicial precedent, that this principle of individual responsibility for corporate action should be insisted on as essential for the enforcement of the judicial power in this the first important case, wherein the remedy of injunction is enforced by the Government against a railroad company, under the Interstate Commerce act.'"

The editor of the *Transcript*, though one of the staunchest supporters of Mr. Roosevelt, could not indorse a position so inimical to public morality and the interests of justice as that taken by the president in his special plea for Mr. Morton. He therefore supplemented the correspondent's article with an admirable editorial from which we make the following brief extracts:

"It does not require legal training to see the great force of the contention of the special counsel: 'The violation by a corporation of an injunction directed against it and its officers always calls for a rule against such of them as had control of its conduct to show cause why they should not be held personally responsible. They are *prima facie* guilty of disobedience. It was their duty to see that the acts forbidden were not done, as well as not to do them.' To us the spirit of the law, the law within the law appears to be so completely defined here as to render the position of the special counsel impregnable.

. . . . . .

"The President's effusive friendship for Mr. Morton is not calculated to serve the latter with the public, however much it may aid him in his new position. Mr. Morton certainly stands in need of friendship, for the disposition of the Atchison rebate matter leaves him not even in the position of one against whom the Scotch verdict of 'Not proven' has been returned, but in that of a man who has escaped trial by the charges against him being *nolle prossed*."

TWO APPOINTMENTS THAT COMMANDED THE APPROVAL OF THE NATION.

When the president appointed Messrs. Harmon and Judson to investigate the charges against the Santa Fé Railroad in the case of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, general satisfaction was expressed by the mass of our people, Republicans and Democrats alike, who had so long been fed upon fair promises that came to naught or cunningly devised statutes that were not destined to be upheld by the Supreme Court. At last it was felt the people were to have a "square deal" and the rich railroad officials who had insolently defied the injunctions of the court and the statutes of the United States would share the results of such law-breaking equally with poor men who similarly violated the law.

We confess that though less confident than many of our friends, we felt a degree of hope not hitherto experienced, that at last we might be going to see the end of the long continued jugglery with justice through which powerful law-breakers had for years been enabled to engage in a systematic spoliation of the people. We cherished the hope that at last something more than a mere profusion of fair-sounding words and empty promises was to meet the growing and indignant demand of America's millions that even-handed justice should be meted out to the powerful law-breakers as well as to the small offenders, to the end that law might again become the handmaid of justice and thus universally respected, and that the people might experience the relief that was impossible while the offending public-service corporations acted as though they were above the law.

The appointment of Messrs. Harmon and Judson and the instructions to "recommend

the character of proceedings the evidence justifies, and against whom the same should be taken to secure the vindication of law," gave us a greater degree of confidence, or at least of hope that President Roosevelt would evince the moral power to rise above personal friendship and the baleful influence of certain corporation attorneys on whom he had seemed to lean in the past; and this conviction was shared in a far greater degree by many of our friends. Numbers of persons who have felt the charm of the president's many excellent qualities pointed to this act as indicating the beginning of a new and independent course by Mr. Roosevelt in which the old-time reformer, the Roosevelt of the police-commission days, would be seen placing the cause of justice and the welfare of the people above all other considerations. Before this, they argued, Mr. Roosevelt had felt it incumbent in a large way to carry out the programme of his predecessor and to defer to his friends and counsellors. Now, however, he was a free man and, they argued, we should see that he would give the people what he had so often promised them—a "square deal." Clearly the appointment of Messrs. Harmon and Judson indicated that he was going to put his promises into practice and emphasize his famous maxim that "words are good when they are backed up by deeds, and only so." We replied that we sincerely hoped and trusted that time might prove them to be true prophets, and that the action of the president in the appointment of his special agents certainly gave ground for hope, but that our conclusions in regard to his character, based on a study of his life and public acts since the reformer's zeal had been exchanged for the politician's opportunism, made us less confident than we could wish, especially as there was danger of the president's friend, Paul Morton, being implicated in the violation of the government's injunction.

GRANT AND THE WHISKEY-RING SCANDAL RECALLED.

In this connection we recalled another notable case, which, if our estimate of President Roosevelt was correct, we greatly feared would find a striking parallel in the acts of the president.

Among the characteristics of President Grant was loyalty to his friends,—an admirable trait in itself but one which may prove a great vice in a public official; nay, more, which will prove an evil of grave proportions if it leads the official to subordinate the interests or weal of the people, the cause of justice and sound morality to the desire to shield offenders against the law, corrupters of the electors' representatives or oppressors of the people. Now it will be remembered that when the celebrated whiskey-ring scandal was first exposed, President Grant authorized Secretary Benjamin Bristow to prosecute the offenders, charging him to "let no guilty man escape." On that occasion President Grant displayed much the same commendable zeal and moral courage as did President Roosevelt when he appointed his special agents to investigate the Santa Fé case; and Secretary Bristow, a prototype of Governor Folk and one of the most honorable and incorruptible statesmen of the period, understood the president to mean what he said, and no doubt at the time when the order was given President Grant did express his earnest desire. Like Messrs. Harmon and Judson after President Roosevelt commanded them to examine the Atchison's alleged criminal acts, Mr. Bristow made a thorough and exhaustive investigation. Some amazing revelations came to light showing that men very high up were implicated. At length the trail of iniquity extended to the door of certain of the president's personal friends. Then Mr. Grant, forgetful of his noble stand and his solemn injunction to his secretary, called a halt. He determined to shield his friends and save them from the shame and disgrace that would follow a conviction. Secretary Bristow felt compelled to resign, and President Grant not only necessarily fell greatly in the estimation of the people on account of his recreancy to the cause of civic morality and justice, but his action placed one of the few indelible blots on his public record.

Now we knew from the records of the Interstate Commerce Commission that Paul Morton had confessed under oath to being a systematic breaker of the statute against secret rates and rebates, the violation of which at the time was a criminal offence, notably in the beef-trust and grain cases. We knew that the traffic management was under his special direction and that subordinate officials would never have dared to make important arrangements or to defy a government injunction without the knowledge of their superiors, and also that it would be practically impossible for a systematic violation of the law to be carried on for two years without the traffic manager knowing of such violation, even though he

should be a man conspicuously incompetent and unfit for his position. We felt sure that if Messrs. Harmon and Judson did their duty and if the government was sincere in its protestation, the guilty would be brought to justice and the people would be given relief from continued spoliation, while Mr. Morton, as head of the traffic department of the road, would be given an opportunity to explain his relation to and responsibility for the two years' violation of the court injunctions which occurred under his department. Thus, though we sincerely hoped that President Roosevelt would rise to the measure of the nation's confident expectation, we could not entertain the same degree of confidence as our friends who placed more faith in his essential greatness of character and who believed he possessed the rectitude of purpose and noble statesmanship that would make him put civic duty, public morality, justice and the well-being of the nation above personal considerations or sentiments of friendship for a confessed law-breaker.

THE FARCICAL ENDING OF THE CASE.

The painstaking examination of the government's special agents resulted in indubitable evidence of continued contempt for the court's injunction for something like a period of two years, during which almost a million dollars had been unlawfully paid in rebates to the coal trust of Colorado; and as a result competition had been practically destroyed and the people placed at the mercy of a grasping monopoly—something which Mr. Morton holds is good for them, judging from his defence.

Mr. Roosevelt's special agents reported their findings and in pursuance with the directions suggested that the regular proceedings in similar cases of contempt be carried out and that the responsible officials be summoned to appear, in order that the guilty parties could be punished and the innocent ones exonerated. This was precisely what every criminal railroad official in the United States dreaded and it was also what, if the statutes were faithfully enforced, would quickly break up the law-defying acts. But this was precisely what President Roosevelt refused to allow. He was willing that the over-rich lawbreaking corporations should be haled into court and fined, as that was precisely what the corporations desired in the event of any official cognizance being taken of their illegal acts. An Italian brigand would care little if he feared no other punishment than a fine for his robbery of the travelers, as he could soon grow rich on the booty acquired over and above what he paid in fines; and it is precisely the same with the railroad corporations. They and their favored friends can through freight discriminations and rebates realize millions of dollars from the producing and consuming public and destroy all competition, while their fines will at most be a mere bagatelle to them. So the position of the president was all that the criminal corporations could desire while it dashed the high hopes of the people for relief in the way of justice and the way which was pointed out by Mr. Roosevelt's special agents.

So pregnant with vital truth, so worthy of a permanent place in the history of this case, and so complete a refutation of the untenable stand of the president in his desperate attempt to save Paul Morton from being compelled to explain in court his relation to the crime committed is the letter of resignation which Messrs. Harmon and Judson sent to the attorney-general that we give it in full:

"We have received and carefully considered your letter of the 19th ultimo and regret that you do not approve our recommendation of Feb. 28th last, which we repeated with further reason in our letter of April 11th. We appreciate the very great weight to be given your conclusion, but we are deeply impressed with the gravity of the matter and its importance as a precedent. We feel, therefore, that we may, without impropriety, refer to some things in your letter.

"It is true that the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission merely stated the facts which show that the law has been violated, without attempting to fix the responsibility on any particular officers of the railroad company. The reason for this was that the Commission limited its inquiry to the mere fact of such violation, and so stated. (See testimony, p. 1341.)

GUILTY OF DISOBEDIENCE.

"The violation by a corporation of an injunction directed against it and its officers always calls for a rule against such of them as had control of its conduct to show cause why they should not be held personally responsible. They are *prima facie* guilty of disobedience. It was their duty to see that the acts forbidden were not done as well as not to do them.

"The necessity of this rule is apparent, as well as its justice. The facts are peculiarly within the knowledge of such officers and of

subordinates under their control, and except in cases so rare that they may be called accidental, there are no means of discovering the facts except by such proceeding as we have advised.

"This well-established rule, which is sufficient to justify the action proposed in any case, seemed and still seems to us peculiarly to fit the case in hand. A rule against the controlling officers of the railroad company to show cause is simply the recognition by the court of the responsibility incident to their official relation. It is a demand for an explanation, and not, properly speaking, an 'accusation.' The action of the corporation is necessarily presumptive evidence against its principal officers who had charge of the department in question.

FACTS NOTICED ARE EVIDENCE.

"We fully concur that no proceedings should be commenced without evidence, but facts presumed or judicially noticed are evidence. The proceeding we recommend is not unusual or exceptional, but, on the contrary, is the natural and ordinary one in such cases.

"What we have said is peculiarly true of the great corporations of our day. They cannot be imprisoned, and punishment by fine is not only inadequate, but reaches the real culprits only lightly, if at all. The evils with which we are now confronted are corporate in name, but individual in fact. Guilt is always personal. So long as officials can hide behind their corporations no remedy can be effective. When the government searches out the guilty men, and makes corporate wrongdoing mean personal punishment and dishonor, the laws will be obeyed.

"Your opinion always commands great respect, which is by no means due to your office alone, and we appreciate the deep sense of official responsibility which you express. But the nature and circumstances of our appointment impose a certain independent responsibility upon us which we feel would not be met by a proceeding against the corporation alone.

"We, therefore, consider that we have now discharged the duty which you did us the honor to entrust to us, and thanking you most sincerely for your constant courtesy and consideration, we remain,

"Very respectfully,

"JUDSON HARMON,

"FREDERICK N. JUDSON."

Instead of permitting the cause of justice to take its regular course, the president asked the accused if he was guilty, and when he denied the charge gave him complete absolution in one of the most fulsome and, when all the points in the case are taken into consideration, one of the most discreditable letters which we think has ever emanated from the White House. Moreover, he refused to allow the department of justice to proceed in such a way as to render it possible for the government to ascertain who the guilty parties were. This is doubtless most fortunate for Mr. Morton, although had he been innocent it would clearly have been most unfortunate for him as it is fatal for the cause of popular relief. If Mr. Morton had been innocent of wrong-doing in this case he would not only have welcomed going into court and explaining the fact, but he would have demanded the privilege of exonerating himself, if the government's agents had not suggested this course; while on the other hand to suppose for a moment that a great railroad corporation would permit rebates to be given in direct violation of a government injunction, to the extent of a million dollars or thereabouts and extending over a period of about two years, without the responsible official knowing anything of the proceeding, is far too much for the credulity of ordinary persons.

Next it will be noticed that Mr. Morton's fear of going into court to establish his innocence was so great that he was willing to have the whole campaign that had been inaugurated by his chief with such a flourish of trumpets come practically to naught and the president himself placed in the most equivocal and humiliating position, in order that he might escape. Is such conduct the action of a man against whom there is "not a scintilla of evidence"?

THE COURSE DEMANDED BY THE EVIDENCE.

Mr. Roosevelt found himself confronted by a clear case of guilt. A crime had been committed. There could be only one way of finding out who the guilty parties were, only one just course, only one way to give the people the relief demanded and to meet justly one of the gravest evils of the age; but that would place Paul Morton in jeopardy. On the other hand there was another course,—shall we call it a Rooseveltian way? That was to do as the criminal officials of all the railways desired the government to act: to

ask Mr. Morton if he was guilty rather than compel him to take the stand and submit to an examination as is the custom in such cases, and then take the word of the accused and put it against the presumptive evidence which Mr. Roosevelt's special agents held to be sufficient to warrant the government in calling the officials into court to establish where the responsibility lay. This last course, which strikes a blow at established practice and also a blow at the cause of justice, cannot fail to work great evil in lowering public respect for law and order. Yet this is precisely what Mr. Roosevelt did in his attempt to shield his friend Paul Morton. Nay, more, he went farther. Though he did not dare to allow the courts to investigate Mr. Morton; though he knew that he had confessed before the Interstate Commerce Commission to deliberate and continued breaking of the law of the land in the matter of secret rebates, justifying his criminal acts by the plea that others did the same, so in Rome he felt that he must do as the Romans did; yet in the face of this the president gave him a clear bill of health in a fulsome letter of praise that cannot be considered as other than a double blow to the cause of law and justice.

THE ACCUSED BURGLAR AND THE FRIENDLY JUDGE.

Let us suppose a case. A house has been burglarized; the alarm is given; a man is found on the premises under very suspicious circumstances; he is arrested and taken into court. Here it is ascertained that he has a record; that, indeed, according to his own confession, he has on previous occasions burglarized a number of houses, but as an excuse in other days had pleaded that certain of his companions had proved very successful burglars and he felt that in Rome he should do as the Romans did. Now let us suppose that just as the case is going to proceed in the regular way the judge, who happens to be a strong personal friend of the accused, interrupts by asking the suspect if he committed this last burglary for which he has been arrested, and that on the prisoner's denying that he is guilty the judge refuses to permit the case to proceed, declaring that there is not a shred of evidence against his friend. The prosecuting attorney rightfully points out the fact, however, that the crime has been committed. Of that there is no doubt. Some one is responsible for the same. The accused has been taken under most suspicious circumstances. He has a bad record, and the probability is that on his person, if he is examined, will be found the gold and jewelry that has been taken from the burglarized residence. At any rate, the trial may serve to enable the department of justice to establish the guilt or innocence of the accused. But the judge is obdurate. He refuses to have the pockets of the accused searched or to have him investigated under oath, and forthwith directs his honorable discharge, giving him at the same time a fulsome letter of recommendation.

In the event of such a travesty on law and justice, would not the press from the Atlantic to the Pacific ring with denunciations of the action? And yet the course of President Roosevelt in all essential points is precisely analogous. True, the judiciary has not in this case been disgraced; but what shall we say of the President of the United States setting this kind of an example before the American people, quite as unfortunate as that set by President Grant which constituted the greatest blot on his administration?

That the president is physically strenuous all will admit; that his vocal strenuosity has not been equalled by any of our presidents is also true. It is unfortunate, however, for the nation that these minor qualities are not complemented by that noble moral courage or strenuosity that lifts a public character to the peerage of the truly great statesmen and makes a man live in the love and esteem of the ages.

ATTEMPTED COMPARISON OF CASES THAT ARE NOT ANALOGOUS.

The deplorable action of the president is rendered doubly offensive by the untenable and palpably sophistical species of special-pleading in which he indulges, wherein he cites as analogous cases that are dissimilar and thus tends to confuse the public mind in regard to the facts. The editor of the Boston *Herald* insists that it is clear that the president does not know the difference between criminal procedure and proceeding for criminal contempt. Further, the editor observes:

"In his communication Mr. Roosevelt assumed that there is no shred of evidence against the officers of the company individually. It was a great misfortune to Debs that such a president as this was not in office when he was proceeded against for contempt. It was assumed in that case, as it is always as-

sumed by courts of law in like cases, that the officers of a corporation are charged with knowledge of its illegal acts. Mr. Roosevelt's argument, however, is confused when he discusses legal propositions. It proceeds on the theory that a proceeding against one charged with contempt must be governed in all respects by the laws which guard the liberty of the individual in criminal cases. The president likens the refusal of the administration to proceed against the Santa Fé officers for contempt to its failure to proceed against the Northern Securities and the beef-trust people on criminal charges, for he is aware that before criminal charges are pressed against an individual that individual must be actually connected with the commission of the offence charged. There is no similarity, of course, between the two.

It is no pleasant task to criticise the nation's chief magistrate, yet it is only by honest and frank criticism of that which he believes to be contrary to civic morality and the cause of justice that the conscientious editor can perform the sacred duty imposed upon him; and though it is with profound sadness that we have felt compelled to make these strictures, we have been convinced that to remain silent would be to commit a sin.

PHILADELPHIA'S CIVIC AWAKENING.

THREE NOTABLE MUNICIPAL UPRISINGS AGAINST POLITICAL AND PUBLIC-SERVICE THIEVES.

WE CALL to mind two previous occasions only when there has been such a municipal awakening as that witnessed in Philadelphia the last week in May. In some respects the demonstration in the Quaker City eclipsed all others. It was certainly the most dramatic spectacle that has been witnessed in an American municipality, culminating as it did in the running of the would-be thieves to cover and the compelling of the arch-moral-criminals, Boss Durham of Philadelphia and the responsible officials of the gas-company, to surrender. If any citizen in America deserves to be serving a life-sentence in the penitentiary, it is Boss Israel Durham of Philadelphia, and the spectacle of his exerting an almost autocratic power in the city that witnessed the signing of the Declaration of Independence is one of the most humiliating spectacles that has been seen in America since the birth of the nation. In the days when Tweed and his associates were plotting further theft, and just after Moses Taylor and other of the first citizens of New York had given the infamous ring a clean bill of health; at the time when the most influential papers of New York, with the honorable exceptions of the New York *Times* and *Harper's Weekly*, were defending or apologizing for the Tweed Ring, the New York *Times* published the passages from the city's records proving the colossal thefts on the part of Tweed and his associates. Then came the public explosion, followed by the destruction and downfall of the ring, the flight of Tweed, his capture in Spain, and his return to die in prison.

A few years ago Chicago was the storm-center of another moral explosion. Yerkes and his associates had well-nigh compassed as infamous a bargain as that almost pushed to completion by Boss Durham and the would-be gas plunderers of Philadelphia. All the leading papers but one, which was controlled by the gas magnate, opposed the steal, as did the mayor. The citizens were overwhelmingly opposed to it, but the council and board of aldermen had been "fixed." They proposed to turn the city over, hand and foot, to the corrupt corporation and thus rob Chicago and her citizens of untold millions of dollars. The citizens' misrepresentatives suddenly assumed the attitude of the hired confederates and tools of Yerkes and his band of would-be robbers. They knew the city was overwhelmingly opposed to the granting of the franchise. The councilmen and aldermen knew full well that they had sworn faithfully to serve and represent the people; yet because they thought they had the power to betray their constituents and enslave the city for almost two generations to the street-car company, they determined to commit this crime. Then suddenly the city rang with the cry of "Hang the councilmen!" It is said that ropes were found dangling ominously from lamp-posts. Hundreds of citizens wore little nooses

on the lapels of their coats—grim and sinister suggestions of the determination of the people to summarily deal with the traitors to the municipality; and when the night set for the vote arrived the temper of the people indicated that some if not all of the would-be criminals would be summarily dealt with. So ominous was the attitude of the aroused electors that the terrified council refused to risk their lives in consummating the proposed iniquitous deal. This episode led to the movement for the initiative and referendum, which eventuated in the present legislation that has proved so extremely valuable as it enables the people to clearly indicate their wishes in regard to all crucial questions. It also gave a sudden impetus to the movement in favor of municipal ownership which culminated in the magnificent victory at the recent municipal election.

In Philadelphia the present attempt at high-handed robbery was only a little more flagrant than that perpetrated by Mayor Ashbridge of Philadelphia; and indeed the recent exhibition of the depths of criminality and infamy to which corrupt public-service, machine and boss-rule can sink a city was but the culmination of years of systematic plunder of the people, years of political debauchery and moral degradation, years of padding of election returns and stuffing of ballot-boxes, years of infamous criminality that should have placed in the penitentiary numbers of machine leaders, their tools and the officers of the predatory corporations that have corrupted the people's representatives only in order that they might rob the community of untold millions. The moral obloquy of the machine and the "leading citizens" who are directors in the great public-service corporations of Philadelphia would bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of a large proportion of the less hardened moral criminals in our state penitentiaries; and in this latest attempt the American people were furnished as startling an exhibition of the legitimate results of the union of public-service companies and political machines as has been given in the history of our great cities.

PHILADELPHIA'S NEW DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

In the hour when all seemed lost; when the highly respectable directors of the gas-company that had arranged with the unspeakable Boss Durham for the robbery of the city; when the Dolans, the Morrises, the Shipleys and the other directors were gleeful over the prospect of the early consummation of a steal that would have excited the wonder, admiration and envy of Boss Tweed; at the time when Durham was insolently confident and his tools were declaring that they would stand pat in spite of the unparalleled manifestations of indignation on the part of the citizens; at the moment when it seemed that the infamous machine and the public-service companies were invincible, great mass-meetings were called—such meetings as have seldom been seen in recent decades since the degradation of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania caused by the Quay machine acting in concert with the Pennsylvania Railroad and other public-service companies. At the greatest of these mass meetings the following ringing declaration of independence was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That we, citizens of Philadelphia, without regard to party or politics, do hereby before God and man, pledge our life, liberty and sacred honor to the complete overthrow of despotic methods in municipal affairs and the restoration of the American principles for which our fathers fought, and which shall ever be our glory while we remain worthy to be called their children."

Nor was this all. Ward-meetings were held all over the city; committees were appointed in every district to bring influence to bear upon every councilman; rope brigades were in evidence; but the greatest and most telling of all blows was dealt when the citizens of Philadelphia resolved to boycott, both socially and in a business way, all members of the council who persisted in betraying the city at the dictation of Boss Durham. These men who were determined to render possible the robbery of the city were to be treated as moral pariahs or lepers, too unclean for decent men to be associated with. Even their families were to share their shame, as do the unfortunates belonging to other criminals, while their business interests were to lack the support of self-respecting and honest men and women. One councilman was a florist. He was suddenly notified by numbers of his constituents that no more flowers would be purchased from him unless he voted against the gas-steal. Another was a feed-merchant. His trade suffered paralysis. Even the saloon-keeper found an amazing diminution in his traffic. But even more terrible than the ap-

palling loss of trade was the social ostracism. Neighbors and friends of long standing passed the would-be moral criminals by unnoticed. Children were forbidden to play with the children of the councilmen. Neighbors ceased to call upon the wives of the people's misrepresentatives. One councilman's wife was prostrated when she found her neighbors would no longer associate with her. The wives and children of the machine henchmen turned to their husbands and fathers and demanded that they give up their infamous purpose and vote as the city wished.

RUNNING DOWN THE WOULD-BE BETRAYERS OF THE PEOPLE.

While all this was striking something almost akin to terror to the hearts of the evil-doers, committees of citizens were running them to cover, insisting that they live up to their oath of office; that they represent instead of betray their constituents; and that they pledge themselves to vote to sustain the mayor's veto. They were given to understand that if they joined the would-be thieves in their conspiracy to rob the city, their social and business as well as their political careers would be at an end. This powerful club of the boycott and the effect of the organized opposition was more potent than the hitherto invincible machine. The councilmen deserted Boss Durham and the gas-conspirators so that the evil-doers, beholding nothing but defeat before them, surrendered.

Another thing that operated so as to cool the ardor and criminal rapacity of the directors of the gas-corporation was the arraignment of the moral criminals by Mr. John C. Winston, the chairman of the Committee of Seventy. The directors of the malodorous gas company were denounced by name in a scathing interview published in the New York *World*. Mr. Thomas Dolan, the head of the company, was less sensitive than some others, as he had been the target for the aroused citizens for some days; but men like President Shipley of the Provident Life and Trust Company, Effingham B. Morris and the other directors were held up by Mr. Winston as little better than receivers of stolen goods. His plain speech and fearless unmasking of the iniquitous plot of the pillars of the business and social world of Philadelphia was far from the liking of the men who were working to shamefully defraud the city. And in this connection it is well to observe that the plain-speaking on the part of the Philadelphia press and of leading citizens in their denunciation of the multimillionaire conspirators, exerted a most wholesome effect on these men who have posed as leading citizens. For several years, or since the public-service companies have largely dominated the public press, the criticisms launched against the millionaire criminals and law-breakers have been usually couched in very deferential terms. The poor man who stole a loaf of bread to appease his appetite or that of his hungry family was denounced as a thief, but the man who defied the law, broke criminal statutes or corrupted legislators, and through that corruption was enabled to acquire millions of the people's money, was but mildly criticized. During the present conflict, however, both the press and the people have held up the would-be evil-doers to the world in their true light, and this has proved most salutary in its effect upon more than one of those who hoped to become enriched by the sacrifice of the people's interests to their rapacity.

THE REDEMPTIVE WORK ONLY BEGUN.

The surrender of the machine and the gas corporation marked one of the most notable municipal victories of recent years. But it is all-important that the battle should not cease here. Time and again have we had exhibitions of moral spasms which have seemed to accomplish something, and indeed which have prevented the consummation of certain peculiarly obnoxious acts; but the public enthusiasm waned before the overthrow of the corrupt machine had been accomplished or the people had been sufficiently enlightened to clearly realize that so long as public-service companies are acquiring millions of dollars by exploiting the community they will remain the financial backbone of corrupt bosses and machines and will continue to debauch government and rob the people. The evil, though temporarily checked, worked on, permeating the body politic and gradually blunting the moral sensibilities of almost all elements in the social organism.

The present exhibition of the extent to which criminality will go when the moral delinquents or political bosses and public-service companies feel that they are powerful enough

to defy the public, should so arouse the people of Philadelphia that the victory won in the gas fight should be but the prelude to a campaign that should utterly rout and destroy the machine and banish forever from the Quaker City the ballot-box stuffers and render henceforth impossible the buying and selling of sacred things by conscienceless bosses and moral degenerates who pose as pillars of society. It is well to treat the councilmen that sought to further the most shameless steal of modern times as moral pariahs and social outcasts; but it is far more important to socially ostracize the principals in the proposed crime. Israel Durham should be shunned and ignored by every citizen of Philadelphia who possesses a particle of self-respect and moral rectitude. He should be treated as the lepers of old were treated, for his moral leprosy is infinitely worse than the loathsome physical leprosy. So Thomas Dolan, President Shipley and other directors of the gas company, that concocted the infamous plan to rob the city, should be shunned and ostracized by all right-minded citizens. The New York *World*, in commenting editorially on the effective results of the ostracism practiced against the council, rightly observes:

"And why should not a bribe-taker or bribe-giver be shunned? A murderer is shunned, and he has killed only one man, while corruption kills free government. A burglar is shunned, and he has stolen from only a few men, while the gas-magnates would steal from the whole community. A pickpocket is shunned, and there is no comparison between the numbers of pockets he enters and the thousands from which corrupt public-service corporations filch. The wife and the child of a burglar or pickpocket suffer with him. This is hard, but it is the way of the world, and cruel as it may be to the innocent it does act as a powerful deterrent of wrong.

"Ostracism to be consistent should not stop with the councilmen. If his clubs were to expel Thomas Dolan, if the society in which he moves should avoid the contamination of Clement A. Griscom's presence, if the people should refuse insurance in the company of which Samuel R. Shipley is president, if there were no social gathering which would tolerate his presence, it would not be long before these directors and others of their kind would come to a dawning sense of decency and honesty."

THE CAMPAIGN FOR REDEMPTION OF THE CITY AND WHAT IT SHOULD AIM TO ACCOMPLISH.

We rejoice to see that the moral element of Philadelphia is already seeking to inaugurate a general reform movement that shall redeem the city and destroy the infamous political machine that has made Philadelphia the synonym for corrupt government the nation over. The Committee of Seventy declares that the battle is only just begun and they propose to wage an unceasing conflict until they have redeemed the municipality from misrule. They are seeking to raise a large campaign-fund for the legitimate work necessary in order to accomplish this result. To accomplish the work outlined will require a strong organization dominated by men of moral enthusiasm and rectitude who know how to stay in a fight —men of wisdom and discernment who will place the cause above all else. A definite programme has been outlined, and though it falls far short of what one could wish, it is very well for the first step. If, however, the reform-movement stops with the present programme it will not be long before the city will lapse into the hands of the old elements that have betrayed the public. No effective municipal programme can be carried forward that does not comprehend securing for the people the right of the initiative, the referendum, the right of recall and the acquisition on the part of society as a whole of the public-service corporations. Still we are not certain but what the programme as outlined by the reformers in Philadelphia is the wisest plan that could be adopted at this stage in the reform-movement. The most immediate demand to-day is an honest ballot for the city. There are tens of thousands of fictitious voters in Philadelphia. Ballot-box stuffing has become a fine art, and until this great crime is checked there can be no such thing as a free government or pure administration of the city's affairs; and to unite the self-respecting citizens of all classes for the accomplishment of this work is the major aim of the reformers for the immediate future.

Mayor Weaver deserves great credit for the brave stand he has taken, and his sincerity was evinced in his selecting Mr. Rudolph Blankenburg and a number of other earnest and high-minded citizens as an advisory council or cabinet.

THE EQUITABLE SCANDAL: ITS LESSONS AND WARNINGS.

EXPOSE OF THE EQUITABLE CORRUPTION.

THE ASTOUNDING revelations brought out by the recent investigation of the Equitable Assurance Company illustrates most strikingly the wholly disreputable and conscienceless methods of what is known as present-day "high finance." Indeed, nothing has transpired of late, not even the ship-trust scandal or the recent attempt of Philadelphia's corrupt boss and the gas-magnates to plunder the Quaker City, that so clearly shows the peril to the nation and to the public from the Wall-street and privileged oligarchy, or that is so rich in lessons and warnings for the American people, as the Equitable scandal and its ominous aftermath.

When *Everybody's* and the *Era* magazines published alleged *exposés* relating to the "Big Three" New York insurance companies, the corporation-controlled or the black press, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, either vigorously denied, ridiculed, sneered at or ignored the alleged revelations.

The charges of Mr. Lawson were followed by a series of broadsides in the New York *World*. Then came the falling out between Mr. Alexander and Mr. Hyde, each charging the other with all kinds of irregularities and both in their charges representing the conditions in the Equitable Assurance Company to be so grave as to merit a vigorous state investigation—an investigation which under fearless, honest and unhampered state officials would unquestionably have been forthcoming. The *World* from day to day renewed its attacks and pressed its charges with such persistence and vigor that the company felt that it must have an investigation conducted by its own directors. Mr. J. J. Hill was appointed on the committee. He insisted on taking his own expert accountants to examine the company's financial affairs. This was peremptorily refused by those in actual management, whereupon Mr. Hill refused to serve on a committee where the affairs of a company were to be investigated that were in such a condition that those in power dared not allow a disinterested expert to see their books.

Mr. Frick headed the friendly committee and it was expected that a whitewashing report would result. But the charges and countercharges made by the Alexander and Hyde factions had proved so damaging and explicit, and certain facts had leaked out of such a scandalous character that, as the *World* declared, no whitewashing report would be accepted by the public. At any rate, the report of the Frick committee was of so amazing a character, considering the source from which it came, that the State Insurance Commissioner, whose duty it is to protect the people from such transactions as have been permitted but who, like too many officials, seemed to have imagined that his only duty was to serve the officers of the insurance corporations, was forced to make an investigation. It soon became evident that the charges of Mr. Lawson and others, and even the amazing report of the Frick committee, would dwarf into insignificance before anything like a full revelation of the actual conditions of the company.

DUMMY DIRECTORS USED AS DECOYS.

A significant and very important revelation made was that the great majority of the directors and officers of the company, whose names and apparent respectability had been the tower of strength of the Equitable, doubtless leading tens of thousands of men and women to insure to the amount of millions upon millions in this company, were merely dummy directors, men who knew absolutely nothing of the condition of the company's financial affairs but who for financial considerations or for the benefits which would directly or indirectly accrue to them permitted their names to be used as decoys to help draw in the millions of the people's money. It would be difficult to find words too strong to censure such despicable action. Here are thousands of heads of American families, desirous of providing for their widows and orphans when they are gone. They invest in an insurance policy in the Equitable, because they find the board of directors to be composed of men in whose integrity and probity they have confidence,—men like Robert T. Lincoln, D. O. Mills, T. Jefferson Coolidge, and others who pose as pillars of respectability. Yet it turns out now that these men are dummies, decoys as it were, used to catch the confiding.

A SINISTER PERSONAGE IN CONTROL.

When it became evident that Alexander, Hyde and Tarbell would have to leave the company, one of the most sinister influences in the public-service corporation interests in America loomed large. Mr. Ryan succeeded in buying up the Hyde stock. This gave him the right to select the chairman or over-lord for the board, a new office created with almost supreme power. And whom did he select for this important position? Mr. Paul Morton. With a great flourish of trumpets the nation was assured that now the whole condition would be replaced by careful, faithful management, for Mr. Morton would be in control. If by faithful management is meant management faithful to the band of exploiters of the republic, of whom Mr. Ryan is the head and to whom Mr. Morton owes his position, we doubt not that the claim will prove true. But if by faithful service is meant faithfulness to the interests of the policy-holders, Mr. Morton's past record does not give us grounds for confidence.

To the ordinary person it will seem strange that a company should be reeking with corruption and professing to desire a managing head who shall challenge the confidence of the people as a man who will make it his personal concern to guard sacredly the interests of widows and orphans, should choose a person who deliberately and persistently committed criminal acts, knowing them to be criminal when he committed them,—acts which he also knew to be against the interests of the people and for the benefit of powerful corporations that were oppressing and exploiting both consumers and producers. Yet these are precisely the things that Mr. Paul Morton was guilty of. We should not repeat such grave charges if they were the allegations of his critics. We make the charges because Paul Morton has himself confessed to them, and in order that our readers may have clearly before their minds the kind of man the new chairman of the Equitable is we reproduce the following facts brought out by the Interstate Commerce Commission's investigation.

PAUL MORTON'S UNSAVORY RECORD.

Mr. Paul Morton, when Vice-president of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad, was summoned before the Interstate Commerce Commission and under oath testified to having broken the statute by giving secret rebates—a statute the violation of which at that time was a criminal offence. Yet he not only confessed that he violated it but also declared that he knew it to be illegal when he did so, and his only excuse was that "we (that is, the Santa Fé) tried to be honest, but we found it did not pay, and so we did as the Romans did." At the hearings of the Interstate Commerce Commission the following questions were put to Mr. Morton by Commissioner Clements and answered by him. The Commission at that time was investigating secret rebates given by Mr. Morton to certain members of the beef-trust:

"Commissioner Clements—'You made that contract for a year from what time?'

"Mr. Morton—'I think the contract was made about April 1st. I do not know that we commenced getting the business until June 1st. I think the contract was made on the 30th of June, 1901.'

"Commissioner Clements—'*That will go until the middle of this year?*'

"Mr. Morton—'*Yes, sir; it is an illegal contract. It was illegal when we made it, and we knew that.*'"

The following were the questions put by Mr. Clements and answered by Mr. Morton relative to the amount paid by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé and how the rebates were paid:

"Commissioner Clements—'Have you an idea whether it is $50,000 or $100,000 or $10,000—anything definite? Of course, if it is a mere guess and you do not know——'

"Mr. Morton—'Well, I think there was a great deal more than any sum you mention paid out.'

"Commissioner Clements—'By your company?'

"Mr. Morton—'By all the companies. I think we paid out $50,000 a year or more.'

"Commissioner Clements—'You say it is paid in cash by your company?'

"Mr. Morton—'Cash settlements.'

"Commissioner Clements—'Who is it paid by? What officer of your company hands over the money?'

"Mr. Morton—'It may be one and it may be another.'

"Commissioner Clements—'Under what department would it be?'

"Mr. Morton—'The traffic department, the freight department.'

"Commissioner Clements—'Who would

have the direction of that? Who would see that it was paid? Who would direct it to be done?'

"Mr. Morton—'*I would.*'"

Here we have a startling confession of a railroad man—a confession to the effect that he knowingly and deliberately violated a criminal statute for the benefit of his masters, cheerfully excusing his lawlessness by saying that he was doing as others did.

But this was not all. The New York *American* in an extended editorial called the attention of the public to the facts which we briefly summarize below. When later the Interstate Commerce Commission uncovered the sink of appalling iniquity relative to the secret conspiracy between the Colorado Coal and Iron Company and the Santa Fé, additional facts touching Mr. Morton came to light. President Ripley of the Santa Fé was asked this question:

"Who was in supreme command of all freight matters on the Santa Fé at the time of the issuance of this order?"

Mr. Ripley answered: "Mr. Paul Morton was cognizant of it, and although his name may not be affixed to the order, he was the man from whom Mr. Biddle (the railroad manager) got his authority."

On the eighteenth of January last the New York *American*, in appealing to Congress to give the people relief from the secret rebates, thus called the attention of congressmen to Paul Morton's record as shown by the sworn evidence before the Interstate Commerce Commission and other official bodies.

"Morton, as a railroad officer, let no setting sun fall on the day he did not cut a rate. He got business by rate-cutting and rebating. The law never bothered him a minute.

"They can read from the court records in the Los Angeles fruit cases that Morton, as Vice-president of the Santa Fé, admitted making secret rates and granting rebates.

"Coming to Kansas, they will find Paul's road and other roads giving rebates to the Kansas Salt-Trust in the shape of a proportional on a side-track owned by the trust.

"Paul's brothers were officers in this trust. The rates were against the independent salt-producers of Kansas, and all but put them out of business. This whole story is in the records of the Commission. They can read the testimony of Paul Morton in the Kansas grain-rates, where the Santa Fé had one firm to handle grain on its road, paid that firm one fourth of a cent for every bushel purchased, and cut the rate to this firm.

"Could competition be better killed? Could the small shipper be better knocked senseless and then robbed?

"The published rate was cut.

"Paul Morton made settlement quarterly.

"Here are his statements from the records:

"'Commissioner Prouty—"In what way and at what time is the departure from the rate paid back to Richardson & Co.?"

"'Mr. Morton—"In cash settlements about quarterly."

"'Commissioner Prouty—"He makes a statement to you?"

"'Mr. Morton—"Yes, sir."

"'Commissioner Prouty—"And charges the quarter of a cent a bushel commission, and in addition to that the difference between the published rate——"

"'Mr. Morton—"The actual rate and the published rate."

"'Commissioner Prouty—"And upon that statement you pay?"

"'Mr. Morton—"We settle with him."'

"Paul Morton's sworn testimony will show that the railroads break the law every day in the year.

"It will show even that the big shippers stand in with the roads against the producers, small shippers and consumers.

"He said in one case the millers want the published freight-rates high, because they can 'buy wheat cheaper, and the cheaper they can buy, the more money in milling.'

"This means a conspiracy between the railroads and the favored millers to rob the people, and then the millers make the road give up half the robbery in a rebate. (See Morton's evidence in the Kansas grain cases.)

"And here is what Morton said under oath on the effect of all this on the public:

"'Commissioner Prouty—"Who do you think gets the benefit of this reduction?" (In regard to a secret rate.)

"'Mr. Morton—"If it is a secret rate, the shipper; if it is an open rate, the public."'

"And in Morton's answer is why the public is demanding open rates and denouncing secret rates. The shipper in the case he was discussing was the robbing beef-trust.

"Again, in the grain case, Paul Morton swore this as to the effect of rebating:

"'I think the consumer gets the benefit of a reduction in the long run if it is made openly and is general. I think if it is made secretly,

generally the shipper gets the benefit of it; perhaps the producer gets a portion of it.' The poor producer's benefit is only a case of 'perhaps,' and that to a portion.

"Paul Morton himself shows that the curse of secret rates and rebates is on the producer, and the consumer, and the small shipper. The benefit is only to the favored shipper who conspires with the railroad."

Now this is the record as shown by the testimony of Mr. Morton and his associates, of the man who has been placed by Mr. Ryan in the most important position in the reorganized Equitable. His record in the past developed certain facts, among which are the following:

1. He defied the law and violated criminal statutes in the interests of his employers or those with whom he was financially interested, even though in so doing he knew, as he testified, that his acts tended to work great injury to the people.

2. He became a partner in an infamous conspiracy to publish a very high rate while giving certain favored interests a very low rate, because that enabled the favored ones to deceive the farming population or the producers as they only could be deceived by the active participation of the railways in the fraud practiced against the unsuspecting farmers.

3. His easy morals were such that he found ample justification for criminal acts on the grounds that others committed crime, leading us to the natural inference that in Rome he will do as the Romans do.

Such a man is doubtless an ideal person for Mr. Ryan and the representatives of "high finance" for such a position as that to which he has been chosen. But how about the entrusting of the future provisions for widows and orphans to the guardianship of a man with the record which Mr. Morton has confessed to before the Interstate Commerce Commission?

So much for Mr. Ryan's puppet. Now let us consider for a moment the master-spirit in this new deal and the menace to the policyholders and the nation at large in permitting the vast resources of the great insurance companies to pass into the hands of unscrupulous "high financiers" engaged in acquiring millions upon millions of dollars that rightfully belong to the people, through obtaining possession of public franchises and exploiting them.

Mr. Ryan is a typical "high financier." During recent years he has acquired a fortune of fifty million dollars. In writing of him the eminent Richmond (Virginia) banker and railroad man, John Skelton Williams, who is universally regarded as one of the most honorable of the prominent men of the day, says in describing his unpleasant and costly business experience with Mr. Ryan:

"I had been so fortunate in my business connections that it was difficult for me to understand that a man could be capable of violating pledges and promises, deliberately and solemnly given, and afterward of looking me calmly in the face expressing friendship and apparently not at all ashamed or embarrassed —not even angered when bluntly told my opinion of his conduct.

"Mr. Ryan has the tendencies which, if his lines had been cast in a humble and contracted sphere, probably would have made him a kleptomaniac. His strongest impulse is to acquire money, and his one robust passion is to keep it. He views ethics and morals cynically. He knows what they are, respects them in a general way, realizes their occasional value, but never allows them to hamper, impede or embarrass him.

"As I have said, it was long before I came to realize all this clearly. Mr. Ryan is very smooth and plausible. He has no scruples that I can discover, but his methods are never violent."

In referring to Mr. Ryan editorially the New York *World* says:

"Thomas F. Ryan has bought James H. Hyde's stock in the Equitable Life Assurance Society. Mr. Ryan is one of the choice spirits in the Consolidated Gas Company and the Metropolitan Securities Company, two corporations notorious for their corrupt alliances with corrupt politicians. . . . Mr. Ryan, Mr. Morton and their associates are promoting a vast scheme of underground railway construction in New York. The prospective investment is estimated at $150,000,000. The assets of the Equitable Life Assurance Society are $400,000,000. It is obvious that a great life-insurance society might be a very valuable annex to a rapid-transit company.

. . . . . .

"No one man should be allowed to have the power which Thomas F. Ryan has taken to himself. No free government can continue in reality, whatever it may call itself in name,

if one man is to possess and to control public utilities and to use the savings of the people to forge more heavily upon them the fetters imposed by corrupt monopolies, by purchased franchises, by office-holders and political leaders who are in the employ not of the people who nominally elect them but of the public-service corporations."

Mr. Ryan, alarmed at the storm of criticism which followed his acquisition of the Equitable stock, complained of being criticised before he had been given a chance to show what he would do. In replying to this the *World* discusses Mr. Ryan's unsavory record, showing that he has had on several occasions chances which have proved very unfortunate for persons other than Thomas F. Ryan. On this point it says:

"He has had many 'chances.' He took a chance in the old Houston-street road, and swallowed up every surface railroad in New York; another chance in the Mount Morris Light Company, and annexed the Edison Company and then the Consolidated Gas; another chance in his cigarette company, and expanded that into the Tobacco Trust; another chance in a Virginia railroad, and took the Seaboard Air Line away from the Richmond and Baltimore bankers who owned it and who then went bankrupt; another chance and took the National Bank of Commerce, and its old president died broken-hearted; another chance when his office-boy borrowed $2,000,000 from the State Trust Company; another chance with Lou Payn.

"To wait until Mr. Ryan has used the Equitable assets to bring about a combined corporate monopoly of all the city's public utilities is the very thing the *World* raises its voice against.

"*A chance is precisely what Mr. Ryan should not have. Such an opportunity in his hands is a public menace.*"

THE REMEDY.

One of the most important of the *World's* editorials discussed the remedy demanded for the insurance evil. In this the editor thus pointed out how imperatively legislation was demanded to safeguard the interests of widows and orphans by forever preventing the enormous wealth paid in by policy-holders to the great insurance companies from being made the plaything of Wall-street gamblers in their infamous exploitation of the people.

"Why not demand the Remedy?

"That Remedy is to take the insurance companies out of politics and 'high finance,' and to take politics and 'high finance' out of the insurance companies.

"Take the savings-banks as an example. In this state alone they handle more than a billion dollars with exceeding safety and without arming financial freebooters for plunder. Their investments on mortgage aid men to build homes. Their purchases of city bonds pay for needed public improvements and pay the wages of toil.

"The money of policy-holders is not less precious than savings-bank deposits. The great companies which hold it should not be permitted to invest in the stock of any bank or trust company, or to deposit in any one such bank or trust company more than a small percentage of their surplus. They should not be permitted to buy railroad stock, or so-called 'bonds' which are merely stock rechristened with unholy 'water.' They should be limited in the amount of their investments in any security other than public bonds. The whole system of deferred-dividend policies should be overhauled, abolished or severely pruned."

SUPERINTENDENT HENDRICKS' TARDY REPORT.

Superintendent of Insurance Hendricks, instead of promptly investigating the condition of the insurance company when the charges and counter-charges were being made by Alexander and Hyde which indicated the grossest irregularity in the management of the company's affairs, strove to have the matter compromised and smoothed over. But matters had gone too far. The Frick report, though made by friends and thoroughly superficial in character, revealed a degree of corruption that startled and amazed the easy-going public. The *World's* editorials again forced action. At length the superintendent investigated the company's affairs; but after his report was written did he give it to the public? No. First it was submitted to the political boss of New York, Benjamin Odell, a man who though a private citizen is more powerful in the government of the Empire State than the most powerful feudal barons of England in the Middle Ages were in their own bailiwicks. Whether the report was emasculated and changed, or to what degree, of course the public knew not; but the fact that one of the people's officers did not dare to give his report to the public until it had been

submitted to a man not an officer and not entitled to meddle with it, is in itself a scandal, and whether it was tampered with or not, there are evidences that it was far from revealing fully the true inwardness or the full measure of the corruption. Yet what it did reveal came as a shock to the public, which through politicians and the press has long been schooled to respect the commercial pirates of Wall street who represent "high finance."

Amazing and shameful, however, as are the revelations of Mr. Hendricks, they are even less shameful than the revelations of the gross derelictions from duty on the part of Mr. Hendricks and his predecessors. To the honest American it would seem incredible that through successive administrations the officers of the people, appointed to be the guardians of trust-funds for widows and orphans, should be named or their names approved by the great insurance companies that they were appointed to investigate. Yet according to the New York *World*, "in order to utilize this power for their own advantage the insurance companies secured from the State Committees and the political leaders the privilege of appointing the Superintendents of Insurance and their subordinates. . . . The companies [the "Big Three"] took turns in selecting the superintendents, and each company was entitled to one deputy to represent it."

On June 26th the *World* published one of the most remarkable editorial broadsides which has ever appeared in a daily-paper, entitled "Insurance Corruption the Shame of New York," and gave a graphic unmasking of the amazing and almost incredible plundering of the people by the insurance companies through the connivance of the political leaders of both great parties in New York state, and especially through the aid of the various state administrations. This editorial, which is prefaced by the following ringing utterances, gives a detailed account of one of the most amazing records of craft and graft, of wholesale and systematic plunder of the policy-holders of America and the debauchery of the people's servants, that has appeared in years:

"Widows and orphans have before this been robbed, trust funds have been stolen, the savings of the people have been looted, high officials have been corrupted; but never before Life-Insurance Corruption did the State of New York stand sponsor for crime and set its official seal of approval upon theft.

"Never before have its United States Senators, its political leaders, its officials, its prominent, distinguished men, appeared as the recipients of the pittances of the hundreds of thousands of policy-holders, whose forethought for those near and dear to them was perverted to work iniquity.

"From the time when in 1867 Chauncey M. Depew represented for the first time the insurance lobby in Albany until the lid of Equitable Corruption was lifted by its officials' wrangling over the spoils, the Life-Insurance System has been a perverter of public morals and a corrupter of public men, all the more dangerous because of its apparent respectability.

"It has gone on so long not because its iniquity was not known, but because those who knew most profited most. The officials of the State whose duty it was to prevent theft and to protect the policy-holders were themselves the appointees and employees of the system, not only their salaries but their perquisites and pickings being paid by the insurance companies.

"The men whom the Life-Insurance System robbed had to die before the full amount of the robbery was completed, and the real victims, their widows and orphans, lost in the mazes of compound interest and deferred dividends, had to be content that they received a part of what they should have received."

The revelations that have been made in connection with the Equitable Company make it imperative that the whole insurance system shall immediately be taken from the hands of the "high financiers," the gamblers of Wall street and the perverters of civic honesty and morality, and that the interests of the policy-holders shall be sacredly guarded in the future so that the money paid into the companies shall not be diverted for the enrichment of the few and the oppression of the people. Furthermore, these revelations make it imperative that the American people shall rise and throw off the tyranny of the Assyrian. Predatory wealth acting through corrupt political machines is not only destroying free institutions and making republican government a by-word, but it is also gradually but surely robbing and oppressing the millions of the country while building up an oligarchy of wealth as essentially oppressive in spirit as was the old *régime* of France.

GARLAND IN GHOSTLAND.*

A Book-Study.

I. AN EVENING IN A BOSTON HOSTELRY.

ONE EVENING early in the nineties two young men were seated at a table in a well-known Boston hostelry earnestly engaged in a serious conversation which had made the meal drag out interminably. Fortunately the hour was late. There was ample room for all guests in the dining-hall and the benign smile on the face of the ebony waiter indicated that he felt certain of a tip that would more than square accounts in so far as he was concerned.

One of these young men was Hamlin Garland whose powerful short stories which afterwards constituted *Main-Traveled Roads* were then appearing in The Arena and had attracted general attention, marking the author as one of the strongest and most compelling romancers of the veritist or realist school in the New World.

The novelist's companion had been recounting the results of a series of personal investigations with certain psychics, and especially some experiences which he and certain well-known clergymen and members of the *literati* of Boston had had with a remarkable slate-writing psychic. Garland had listened to the recital, at first with interest highly spiced with enjoyment. Here were some Baron Münchausen tales being related for his delectation, and of course when his friend came to the *finis* there would be the *exposé* or plausible explanation, for the narrator was far too sane to be deceived by the frauds that the various tyros among the penny-a-line newspaper reporters had time and again exposed or explained. But no; there was no exposure, no explanation in the line of jugglery, legerdemain or fraud vouchsafed, and the novelist looked at his friend in amazement. Finally he said:

"Do you mean to tell me these cock-and-bull stories as honest facts?"

"I certainly do," was the quiet reply.

"Well, my friend, it is all right for you to tell me these things, for I know you and I know if you say you saw and heard them, you believe you did so; but for heaven's sake do n't tell other people."

"No man has a right to pass judgment on a matter of this character from reading amusing articles by sensation mongers, or, for that matter, from taking any man's word on the subject. It is not scientific; it is not fair; it is diametrically opposed to the modern critical method of work which has made our present scientific progress the most wonderful chapter in the history of human advance," replied his friend. "Now before you express an opinion you should investigate for yourself. Would you like to make a personal study of some of these things?"

"Certainly," replied the novelist. "I believe it is all fraud or trickery, or at most due to some hypnotic influence exerted by the psychic or medium."

II. THE NOVELIST BECOMES A PSYCHICAL RESEARCHER.

"Well," replied his friend, "join the American Psychical Society. It is a new organization formed to scientifically investigate these phenomena without fear or favor. Among its members are such men as the Rev. Minot J. Savage, Rabbi Solomon Schindler, Professor A. E. Dolbear, Rev. R. Heber Newton and others equally prominent among the critical and conscientious thinkers of our country."

The novelist joined the society and shortly afterwards went to California on a visit. When in Los Angeles he was introduced to a lady of refinement and high character. She said to him:

"I hear, Mr. Garland, that you are investigating psychical phenomena."

"Slightly," he replied. "I am not a believer in spooks, but I am a member of a body that is looking into the alleged phenomena."

"Well, I wish you would investigate me," she replied. "I at times go into profound trances when, after losing all consciousness, voices speak through a cone that purport to be the voices of the dead; and though my own hands may be securely tied, writing occurs when paper and pencil are laid on the table in front of me. These are only two of many phenomena that occur at such times and of which I am in no way cognizant."

* *The Tyranny of the Dark.* A Psychical Romance by Hamlin Garland. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 440. Price $1.50. New York: Harper Brothers.

"That is most extraordinary," replied the novelist. "When do these things take place?"

"In the dark."

"Oh!" replied Mr. Garland, with an almost imperceptible shrug of the shoulders. "There is little scientific value to be attached to anything that takes place in the dark."

"Yet nature's germinating processes are all in the dark. Is the flower valueless because the great mother insists on germinating the seed in the dark? How long do you suppose you could live if you refused to eat everything that germinated in the dark? More than this: if you are master of the other conditions; if, for example, you make your own conditions in so far as binding, tying or confining me are concerned, why would not phenomena occurring be scientifically valuable?"

Mr. Garland replied that if he could be left free to do the tying and binding and also free to see that no confederates were present to aid in any alleged phenomena, then what took place might have value for him. The lady readily consented to his terms. Some *séances* were given which completely upset the previous assumptions so dogmatically entertained by the novelist, that all such manifestations were due to fraud or to legerdemain.

"I wish you were in Boston where the American Psychical Society could investigate you," declared Mr. Garland after one of these *séances*.

"I am going East shortly and shall be pleased to place myself wholly at the service of your society without charge," replied the psychic.

As a result a series of sittings were held in Boston, Mr. Garland serving as chairman of the committee of investigation. Among the members of the committee were Rev. Dr. Savage, Professor A. E. Dolbear and other prominent investigators. The sittings were remarkably successful and the full reports were published in the *Psychical Review* at that time.

From that time on, as occasion offered, Mr. Garland investigated psychical phenomena and his interest in this subject led him to carefully study the vast literature written by prominent scientists, psychologists and investigators, dealing with spiritism and psychic phenomena and embracing the various explanations. Among these works may be mentioned the researches of Sir William Crookes, F.R.S., recognized as one of the world's greatest living scientists, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the co-discoverer with Darwin of the evolutionary theory, Professor Zöllner, and other investigators who ranked second to none among the careful and critical scientists of the nineteenth century, together with the great scholars of the English Society for Psychical Research—men like Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor Sedgewick, and F. W. H. Myers.

Mr. Garland started out as materialistic scientist of the Spencer and Haeckel school and from the first refused to entertain the spiritistic hypothesis as a possibility. Like other investigators of this school, he first held that all psychical phenomena in which physical manifestations occurred were due to fraud, trickery or legerdemain, while other phenomena, if they actually took place, could be explained on the grounds of telepathy or suggestion. This view, it will be noted, is the popular theory of those who have never investigated psychical phenomena in a profound or scientific manner, but have been ready to echo the shallow twaddle of sensation-mongering and irresponsible newspaper reporters. Nor is this view particularly surprising, owing to the fact that great numbers of unscrupulous and conscienceless people have for gain sought to coin money out of the grief and anxiety of the public, and in this manner have brought discredit upon psychical science and even upon the really great men of science who have investigated the subject until they have found what appeared to them new and wonderful truths amid much superstition, fraud and charlatanism. In no department of scientific research has the painstaking and profound labor of some of earth's greatest scientific scholars been received with such general discredit and contempt as in the realm of the new psychology. Men like Sir William Crookes, Professor Zöllner, Camille Flammarion, Alfred Russel Wallace, F. W. H. Myers, and Sir Oliver Lodge have been treated by their *confrères* in the most unscientific and discreditable manner. Victor Hugo spoke as a true child of science when he thus protested against scholarship abandoning the psychic realm to credulity:

"To replace inquiry by mockery is convenient, but not very scientific. For our part, we think that the strict duty of science is to test all phenomena. Science is ignorant, and has no right to laugh: a *savant* who laughs at the possible is very near being an idiot. The unexpected ought always to be expected by Science. Her duty is to stop it in its course

and search it, rejecting the chimerical, establishing the real. Science has but the right to put a *visa* on facts; she should verify and distinguish. All human knowledge is but picking and culling. The circumstance that the false is mingled with the true furnishes no excuse for rejecting the whole mass. When was the tare an excuse for refusing the corn? Hoe out the weed error, but reap the fact, and place it beside others. Science is the sheaf of facts.

"The mission of science is to study and sound everything. All of us, according to our degree, are the creditors of investigation; we are its debtors also. It is due to us, and we owe it to others. To evade a phenomenon, to refuse to pay it that attention to which it has a right, to bow it out, to show it the door, to turn our back on it laughing, is to make truth a bankrupt and to leave the signature of Science to be protested. The phenomenon . . . of the table . . . is entitled, like anything else, to investigation. Psychic science will gain by it, without a doubt. Let us add, that *to abandon phenomena to credulity is to commit treason against human reason.*"

III. "THE TYRANNY OF THE DARK" AS A ROMANCE.

Before noticing this novel in the light of a scientific study, which is its chief excellence and which lifts it above a flood of excellent romances of the year, we will in passing notice it as a work of fiction. The story deals with the fate of a mountain girl of extraordinary beauty and an excellent education, who at the opening of the tale unconsciously throws the subtile spell of fascination over a rising young scientist who has fled from the bacteriological laboratory of the Corlear Medical College of New York City to Colorado for his vacation. Professor Serviss is one of the army of patient investigators who are tirelessly searching for the germs of disease and the remedies that will conquer them. He is a positivist of the Herbert Spencer school or rather he inclines more to the dogmatic and materialistic assumptions of Haeckel. He is young and has all the assurance, all the intolerant dogmatism that materialistic scientists so denounce in the clergy while seeming to be blissfully ignorant of the same shortcomings in themselves.

The chance meeting of the girl and the young scientist leads to a closer acquaintance, when to the disgust of Professor Serviss he finds the girl's mother to be a spiritualist and the girl a medium. Moreover, a young clergyman has become an ardent convert to spiritualism, has left the Presbyterian church and is writing a book on the new religion. He seems to exercise a certain power over the heroine, Viola Lambert by name, which the scientist assumes to be responsible for the uncanny happenings that he has witnessed. The girl goes with him to her father's mines far up in the mountain, and during this ride to and from the mines she again exerts a strong and almost compelling influence over Serviss, who, however, after a conversation with the young clergyman, Clarke, leaves Colorado in disgust without bidding the young lady adieu.

Later the heroine appears in New York. Clarke's book is in the hands of the printer and Viola is a guest of honor at a multi-millionaire's spiritualist home in the metropolis, where she is giving a series of *séances* to invited guests, and the manifestations are creating a general sensation. Serviss' sister Kate visits her and is amazed at what she sees. She prevails upon her brother to call on Viola. He reaches the house, however, while a *séance* is in progress and is ushered into the room where he witnesses many marvelous phenomena. But this only fills him with further disgust, as he refuses to admit the possibility of anything happening outside of the field of legerdemain. Later Viola visits Serviss' sister, and after dinner, when the psychic, her mother, Clarke, Serviss, his sister and Professor Weissmann, a great German scientist who, though a materialist, is more open to the possibility of truth beyond the narrow compass of his vision than is Serviss, are in the library, a test *séance* takes place which is well calculated to upset the cherished materialistic philosophy along certain lines.

The girl, however, loathes and detests her bondage to what she believes to be the spirits of the dead and the sway which Clarke with them is exerting over her mind, and appeals to Serviss and his sister to save her from a public *séance* that has been arranged for her.

The succeeding chapters deal largely with philosophical discussions of the whole range of psychic and hypnotic phenomena and the various explanations advanced by different scientists, but these discussions are not permitted to interfere with the romantic or human interest of the tale, as from the night of the test *séance* at Professor Serviss' home the action is swift and often highly dramatic, bordering

dangerously on the realm of romantic fiction, which disciples of realism, of which Mr. Garland is a conspicuous representative, hold in such unfeigned contempt. The hopeless situation of the girl, due to the overweening influence of Clarke upon her, and her liability to become entranced at any time, together with the insistence of the mother on following the dictates of the influences which purport to be departed friends, render the outlook for escape very doubtful until the opportune arrival of the stepfather followed by a dramatic rescue, the tragic death of Clarke, the hasty journey of the Lamberts, accompanied by Professor Serviss, to Montreal, and the love-making in the parlor-car. All these things savor far more of the Hugo-Dumas school than of that of Ibsen, Tolstoi and Zola. Yet for the most part our author has adhered closely to the canons of veritism, especially in detailed description and that air of naturalness which invests the most extraordinary narration with convincing power and compels the reader in spite of himself to feel that the novelist is in reality a historian telling in simple language what he was personally cognizant of.

IV. THE ROMANCE AS A PSYCHICAL STUDY.

Pleasing and interesting as is the romance considered merely as a novel, its supreme excellence lies in its detailed presentation of certain psychical phenomena. In this respect it is one of the clearest, most fearless, exhaustive and all-round presentations, both in regard to detailed description of obscure phenomena that claim to be of psychic origin, and also the full, frank statement of various theories advanced in explanation of the same, that has appeared in popular form. Without pretending to be a scientific treatise, it presents the subject in a manner at once popular and yet with due regard to the requirements of modern critical methods. It is necessarily brief and concise in many respects and cannot, of course, compare with such works as F. W. H. Myers' monumental volume, *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace's *Miracles and Modern Spiritualism*, *The Proceedings of the English Society for Psychical Research*, or Professor Hyslop's new work, *Science and the Future Life*. Indeed, it does not claim to be a scientific treatment, yet its excellence in many respects entitles it to be regarded much more seriously than as a simple romance of present-day life. Moreover, Mr. Garland in a personal note on the cover makes a confession that gives the work a peculiar interest for his friends who are also interested in psychic phenomena or the new psychology—a confession that makes the book for those who know the frank sincerity and open-minded honesty of the author, far more than a fascinating love-story.

V. A CONFESSION THAT WILL AROUSE A STORM OF PROTEST AND INVITE SPIRITED CONTROVERSY.

Here is what our author avers in regard to the psychical phenomena described:

"*It seems fitting to say that the unusual and astonishing events here recorded are within the personal experience of the author.*"

To appreciate the full significance of this confession it will only be necessary to give a part of Mr. Garland's description of a test *séance* in the home of the hero, the materialistic Professor Morton Serviss. We give an extended account of this *séance* because it is typical of other happenings described in the work and for the verity of which the author vouches; also because it is one of the most graphic descriptions of a class of phenomena that has been investigated and described more or less fully by such eminent scientists as Sir William Crookes, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the late Rev. Stainton Moses of London, and various members of the English Society for Psychical Research. Furthermore, it affords an excellent example of Mr. Garland's direct style which is a marked characteristic of the book.

Before quoting from this description a word is necessary in regard to those who made up the *séance*. Viola Lambert is a psychic and the heroine of the romance. Mrs. Lambert is her mother. Clarke is an ex-Presbyterian preacher who has become a convert to spiritualism and expects to marry the psychic. Weissmann is an elderly German professor, a materialist and a celebrated bacteriologist. Morton Serviss is the hero of the romance, a materialistic scientist, who works under Weissmann at the Corlear Medical College. Kate is Serviss' sister.

VI. "SEEING THINGS" IN THE DARK.

"Viola assisted Morton and Kate in clearing the big mahogany table, while Weissmann conferred with Clarke. To judge from the girl's gayety and eager interest the prepara-

tions were for a game of cards rather than for a test *séance* in which her love and honor were at stake. Mrs. Lambert was quite serene; Clarke alone seemed anxious and ill at ease.

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"Viola, with a note of disappointment in her voice, asked, 'Are n't you going to tie me?'

"'Oh no,' replied Morton, 'the conditions are yours to-night. You are our guest. Our tests will be made at some other time.'

"'Please make them to-night,' she pleaded. 'Please make them as hard as you can.'

"Weismann's glasses glistened upon her with joyful acclaim. 'Very good, your wishes shall be met. Let us see—we shall tie you. Have you something suitable?' he asked of his assistant.

"Morton took from his desk a roll of white tape. 'How will this do?'

"'Just the thing,' Weismann replied; 'but we must have no knots, no tying. Kate, get your needle, we must fasten Miss Lambert in such wise that no one can say, "Oh, she untied the knots!"'

"Under his supervision Kate looped the tape about Viola's wrists and sewed it fast to her close-fitting satin cuffs. She then encircled her ankles with the tape, and Morton drew the long ends under and far back of the chair and nailed them to the floor. Thereupon Weissmann said, 'I wish to nail these wristbands to the chair-arm.—Do we sacrifice the cuffs?' he asked of Viola.

"'Yes, yes,—anything. Nail as hard as you please.'

"'And the chair?' pursued the old man, glancing at Morton.

"'Oh, certainly,' replied he. 'Science goes before furniture in this house,' and a couple of long brass tacks were driven firmly down through both tape and sleeve.

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"Weissmann then fastened a silk thread to her wrist and gave one end to Morton. 'We will keep this taut,' he said; 'every motion will be felt.'

"As they worked the enthusiasm of investigation filled their eyes. They lost sight of the fact that all this precaution implied a doubt of the girl, and Viola on her part remained as blithe as if it were all a game of hide-and-seek.

"Clarke, too, became exultant. 'McLeod, now is your opportunity,' he called to the invisible guide. 'Bring your band and put the monist bigots to rout.'

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"At last Weissmann stood clear of her. 'Now we are ready,' he said, beaming with satisfaction. 'You see I lock this door and here is the key.'

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"'Oh, we have no cone!' exclaimed Mrs. Lambert.

"'Cone? What cone?' asked Weissmann.

"'We need some sort of megaphone to enlarge the spirit-voices.'

"'Make one of card-board,' suggested Viola. 'Any sort of horn will do.'

"Morton rose and took down a horn from the top of a bookcase. 'Here is the megaphone of my phonograph; will it do?'

"Clarke examined it. 'It 's rather heavy, but I think they will use it. Place it on the table. Put a pad and pencil there also,' he added. 'We may get some writing.'

"'Anything else?'

"'No—now we are quite ready,' replied Clarke, in his exhibition voice. 'It is well to touch hands for a time—until the psychic sinks into her trance.'

"'With your permission,' said Morton to Viola.

"A faint flush came into her face. 'Certainly, professor,' and a touch of emphasis on his title had the effect of a slight, a very slight rebuff.

"Clarke turned the light down to a mere point of yellow fire, and in the sudden gloom all were plunged into silence. 'Now, whatever you do, gentlemen, do n't startle the psychic after she goes into sleep.'

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"Weissmann spoke. 'Shall we not sing something—"We Shall Meet Beyond the River," or some ditty like that?'

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"'Viola?' he [Clarke] called, softly.

"'Yes,' she answered, faintly.

"'Would you like us to sing?'

"'No—I 'd rather you 'd all talk. Perhaps they will let me take part in the demonstration to-night. They promised to do so, you remember.'

"Weissmann recounted some of the experiences Zöllner had enjoyed in Germany shortly after the Fox sisters became so celebrated in America. 'Crookes and Wallace and several others went into the whole question at that time—the world rang with the controversy. But the clamor passed, the phenomena passed. It is like an epidemic, it comes

and it goes, and in the end is humanity the wiser? No.'

"'Yes, it is,' broke in Clarke. 'We are just that much more certain of the indestructible life of the soul—every wave of this spirit-sea leaves a deposit of fact on the beach of time, makes death that much less dreadful. We make gains each decade. Sir Oliver Lodge, Alfred Russel Wallace, Lombroso have all been convinced of the reality of these phenomena. Surely such men must influence the thought of their time. Experimental psychology is on the right road.'

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"Weismann was replying to Mrs. Lambert. 'I do not care for a return of my dead, madam; what I wish your daughter to do is quite simple. I would like her to move a particle of matter from A to B, without a known push or pull—that is to say, by a power not known to science—as Zöllner claimed Slade was able to do for him.'

"'She can do it,' cried Clarke. 'She can move a chair from A to B without bringing to bear any of the known forces. She can suspend the law of gravity. She can make a closed piano play, and she can read sealed letters in an ebony box tightly closed and locked.'

"'You claim too much, my friend,' replied Weissmann, ironically. 'We shall be satisfied with much less.'

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"Viola's hand began to leap as if struggling to be free. She moaned and sighed and writhed so powerfully that her chair creaked. 'Oh, dear! Oh, dear!' she cried gaspingly.

"'Is she trying to free her hands?' Morton asked himself, with roused suspicion. 'Is this a ruse to cover some trick?'

"Mrs. Lambert spoke quietly. 'She is going! Sing something, Anthony.'

"Clarke began to hum a monotonous tune, while Morton, bending towards the girl, listened to her gurgling moans with growing heartache. 'She seems in great pain, Mrs. Lambert. Don't you think we 'd better release her? I do not care to purchase sensation so clearly at her expense.'

"'Do n't be alarmed, she always seems to suffer that way when some great manifestation is about to take place.'

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"The girl drew a long, deep, peaceful sigh, and became silent, so silent that Morton, leaning far over, with suspended breath, his ear almost to her lips, could detect no sound, no slightest movement, and listening thus he had for an instant a singular vision of her. He seemed to see her laughing silently at him from a distant upper corner of the room, and for the moment secured a glimpse into a new and amazing world—the world of darkness and silence wherein matter was fluid, imponderable, an insubstantial world peopled, nevertheless, with rustling, busy souls.

"A sharp rapping began on the cone, a measured beat, which ended in a clang which startled Kate into a shriek. 'Who is doing that?' she asked, nervously.

"'They are here,' Clarke solemnly announced.

"'Is that you, Waltie?' asked Mrs. Lambert sweetly.

"Three raps, loud and clear, answered 'yes.' A drumming on the cone followed, and Mrs. Lambert, her voice full of maternal pride, remarked: 'Waltie is the life of our sittings—he 's *such* a rogue! You must be a nice boy to-night—on account of these very distinguished men.'

"'Rap, rap!' went the cone.

"'Does that mean "all right"?'

"'Rap, rap, rap!' Yes.

"'Is grandfather there?'

"'Yes.'

"'Does he wish to speak to the gentlemen?'

"'Yes.'

"A fumbling sound began in the middle of the table, and the pencil was twice lifted and dropped. Following this the leaves of the writing-pad rustled as though being thumbed by boyish hands.

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"'Do you feel any motion in your thread?' asked Weissmann, in a quiet voice.

"'None whatever,' Morton replied.

"'Then the psychic is not moving.'

"Again they sat in silence, and after some minutes the fumbling began again and the horn was heard scraping slowly about, as if being lifted with effort only to fall back with a clang.

"'Is it too heavy?' asked Clarke.

"Three sharp raps replied—an angry 'yes'—and then, with a petulant swing, the instrument apparently left the table and floated upon the air. In deep amazement Morton listened for some movement, some sound from Viola, but there was none, not a breath, not a rustle of motion where she sat, and the silk thread

was tight and calm. 'She has nothing to do with *that*,' he said, beneath his breath.

"Kate called excitedly. 'Oh! It touched me.'

"'What touched you?' asked Weissmann.

"'The horn.'

"'Did it bump you?'

"'No, it seemed to float against me.'

"Morton spoke out sharply: 'Where is Mr. Clarke?'

"'Right here on my right,' replied Kate.

"'What idiotic business!' he exclaimed, mystified, nevertheless.

"The horn dropped to the middle of the table, but was immediately swept into the air again as if by a new and more vigorous hand, and a voice heavily mixed with air, but a man's voice unmistakably, spoke directly to Morton, sternly, contemptuously.

"'We meet you now on your own level. You asked for material tests, and now conditions being as you have made them—proceed. What would you have us do?'

"'Who are you?'

"'I am Donald McLeod—grandfather to the psychic.'

"At this moment Morton became seized of the most vivid realization of the physical characteristics of the man back of the voice. In some mysterious way, through some hitherto unknown sense, he was aware of a long, rugged face, with bleak and knobby brow. The lips were thin, the mouth wide, the dark-gray eyes contemptuous. 'It is all an inner delusion caused by some resemblance of this voice to that of some one I have known,' he said to himself; but a shiver ran over him as he questioned the old man. 'If you are the grandfather of the psychic,' he said, 'I would like to ask you if you think it fair to a young girl to use her against her will for such foolery as this?'

"'The purposes are grand, the work she is doing important—therefore I answer you. She is yet but a child, and the things she does of her own motion trivial and vain. We make of her an instrument that will enable man to triumph over the grave. You will observe that we do not harm her, we take but little of her time, after all. You are unnecessarily alarmed. Our regard for her welfare far exceeds yours. Her troubles arise from her resistance. If she would yield herself entirely, she would be happy.'

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"Weissman interjected: 'I must ask you, Mrs. Rice, have you tight hold of Mr. Clarke's hand?'

"'Yes,' answered Kate.

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"As they listened the horn moved feebly, uneasily rising a few inches, only to fall as though some weak hand were struggling with it; but at last it turned towards Weissmann, and from it issued the voice of a little girl, thrillingly sweet and so clear that Serviss could hear every word. She addressed Weissmann in German, calling him father, asking him to tell mother not to grieve, that they would soon all be together in a bright land.

"To this Weissman replied in harsh accent: 'You assert you are my daughter?'

"The voice sweetly answered: 'Yes, I am Mina——'

"'But Mina could not understand a word of English—how is that?'

"The little voice hesitated. 'It is hard to explain,' she replied, still in German. 'I can *understand* you in any language—but I can only speak as you taught me.'

"Thereupon he addressed her in French, to which she replied easily, but in her native tongue.

"As this curious dialogue went on Serviss was searching vainly for an explanation. 'Mr. Clarke, will you kindly speak at the same time that this voice appears?'

"Clarke began a discourse, and the two voices went on at the same time. The young scientist then said: 'Mrs. Lambert, will you permit Kate to lay her hand over your lips? You understand, it is for the sake of science ——'

"'Certainly,' said Mrs. Lambert.

"Here the test failed of completeness, it was so difficult to get the three voices precisely together; but at last it seemed that the child's voice was produced at the same time that Clarke spoke and while Kate's hand covered the mother's mouth.

"Thereupon the little voice said farewell, and all was silent for a few moments. The cone rose again into the air and a soft, sibilant voice addressed Mrs. Lambert.

"'Oh!' she cried, joyfully. 'It is Robert! —Yes, dear, I 'm listening. I 'm so glad you 've come. Can 't you talk to Professor Serviss?—He says he will try,' she said to the company.

"As Morton waited the cone gently touched him on the shoulder, and a moment later a man's voice, utterly different from the first

one and of most refined accent, half spoke, half whispered: 'We are glad to meet you, professor. I am deeply gratified by your interest in our dear girl.'

"'Who are you?' he asked, moved, in spite of himself, by a liking for this new personality, so distinct from the others.

"'I am R. M. Waldron—Viola's father.'

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"The horn again seemed to rest, and for a long time no sound or stir broke the silence, till at last Viola began to writhe in her chair in greater agony than before.

"'I think she is waking,' said Morton.

"Mrs. Lambert answered quickly: 'No. Some great event is preparing—when this paroxysm passes some very beautiful test will come.'

"While Morton and Weissmann were considering this the girl again became silent as a stone, and a moment later a clear, sweet sound pulsed through the air as if an exquisite crystal bell had been struck.

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"Almost instantly the horn seemed grasped by a firm and masterful hand, and the rollicking voice of a man broke startlingly from the darkness in words so clear, so resonant, that all could hear them.

"'Hello, folks. Is this a Quaker meeting?'

"'Who are you?' asked Morton.

"'Can 't you guess?'

"Kate gasped. 'Why, it 's Uncle Ben. Roberts!'

"The voice chuckled. 'Right the first time. It 's old "Loggy"—true bill. How are you all?'

"Kate could hardly speak, so great was her fear and joy. 'Morton Serviss, what do you think now? Ask him——'

"The voice from the trumpet interposed. 'Do n't ask me a word about conditions over here—it 's no use. I can 't tell you a thing.'

"'Why not?' asked Morton.

"'Well, how would you describe a Connecticut winter to a Hottentot? Not that you 're a Hottentot'—the voice broke into an oily chuckle—'or that I 'm in a cold climate.' The chuckle was renewed. 'I 'm very comfortable, thank you.' Here the invisible one grew tender. 'My boy, your mother is here and wants to speak to you but can 't do so. She asked me to manifest for her. She says to trust this girl and to carry a message of love to Henry. I brought one of her colonial wine-glasses with me—as a sign of her presence and as a test of the power we have of passing through matter.'

"For nearly an hour this voice kept up a perfectly normal conversation with a running fire of quips and cranks—recalling incidents in the lives of both Kate and Morton, arguing basic principles with Weissmann, yet never quite replying to the most searching questions, and finally ended by saying: 'Your conception of matter is childish. There is no such thing as you understand it, and yet the universe is not as Kant conceived it. As liberated spirits we move in an essence subtler than any matter known to you—ether is a gross thing compared to spirit. Your knowledge is merely rudimentary—but keep on. Take up this work and my band will meet you halfway. My boy, the question of the persistence of the individual after death is the most vital of all questions. Apply your keen mind to it and depend on old "Loggy." Good-by!'

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"Morton's voice was eager and penetrating as he said: 'Mrs. Lambert, I would like to place my hand on your daughter's arm again. I must be permitted to demonstrate conclusively that she has nothing to do with the handling of the horn.'

"'I will ask the "guides." Father, can Professor Serviss——'

"Three feeble raps anticipated her question.

"'They say "yes"—but they are very doubtful—so please be very gentle.'

"Serviss rose, his blood astir. At last he was about to remove his doubt—or prove Viola's guilt. 'Doctor,' he said, and his voice was incisive, 'take the other side and place a hand on her wrist. That will be permitted?' he asked.

"Three raps, very slow and soft, assented.

"Clarke interposed. 'I am impressed, gentlemen, to say: Let each of you put one hand on the psychic's head, the other on her arm.'

"'We will do so,' replied Weissmann, cheerfully.

"With a full realization of the value of this supreme test of Viola's honor, Morton laid his right hand lightly on her wrist. At the first contact she started as though his fingers had been hot iron, and he was unpleasantly aware that her flesh had grown cold and inert. He spoke of this to Weissmann, who replied: 'Is that so! The hand which I clasp is hot and dry, which is a singular symptom.' Then to

the others: 'I am now holding both her hands. One is very hot, the other cold and damp and I feel no pulse.'

"'She is always so,' Mrs. Lambert explained. 'She seems to die for the time being.'

"'That is very strange,' muttered Weissmann. 'May I listen for her heart-beat?' Three raps assented, and a moment later he said, with increased excitement: 'I cannot detect her heart-beat.'

"Clarke reassured him. 'Do not be alarmed. She is not dead. Proceed with your experiment.' There was a distinct note of contempt in his voice.

"As Morton laid his hand upon the soft coils of her hair Viola again moved slightly, as a sleeper stirs beneath a caress, disturbed yet not distressed—to settle instantly into deeper dream.

"'We are ready,' called Weissmann. 'Whatever happens now Miss Lambert is not the cause. Take Mr. Clarke's hands in yours, ——'

"'Mrs. Lambert's also,' added Morton.

"'Our hands are all touching,' answered Kate.

"'Now, let us see!' cried Weissmann, and his voice rang triumphantly. 'Now, spirits, to your work!'

"Clarke laughed contemptuously. 'You scientists are very amusing. Your unbelief is heroic.'

"As they stood thus a powerful revulsion took place in Morton's mind, and with a painful constriction in his throat he bowed to the silent girl, and with an inconsistency which he would not have published to the world, he prayed that something might happen—not to demonstrate the return of the dead, but to prove her innocence.

"As he waited the pencil began to tap on the table, and with its stir his nerves took fire. A leaf of paper flew by, brushing his face like the wing of a bird. A hand clutched his shoulder; then, as if to make every explanation of no avail, the room filled with fairy unseen folks. Books began to hurtle through the air and fall upon the table. A banjo on the wall was strummed. The entire library seemed crowded with tricksy pucks, a bustling, irresponsible, elfish crew, each on some inconsequential action bent; until, as if at a signal, the megaphone tumbled to the floor with a clang, and all was still—a silence deathly deep, as if a bevy of sprites, frightened from their play, had whirled upward and away, leaving the scene of their revels empty, desolate and forlorn.

"'That is all,' said Clarke.

"'How can you tell?' asked Kate, her voice faint and shrill with awe.

"'The fall of the horn to the floor is a sure sign of the end. You may turn up the gas, but very slowly.'

"Stunned by the significance, the far-reaching implications of his experiment, Morton remained standing while Weissmann turned on the light.

"Pale, in deep, placid sleep, Viola sat precisely as they had left her, bound, helpless, and exonerated. She recalled to Morton's mind a picture (in his school-days) of a martyr-maiden, who was depicted chained to the altar of some hideous, heathen deity, a monster who devoured the flesh of virgins and demanded with pitiless lust the fairest of the race.

"Of her innocence he was at that moment profoundly convinced.

"While he still stood looking down upon her Viola began to moan and toss her head from side to side.

"'She is waking,' cried Mrs. Lambert. 'Let me go to her.'

"'No!' commanded Weissmann, 'disturb nothing till we have examined all things.'

"'Make your studies quickly,' said Morton, his heart tender to the girl's sufferings. 'We must release her as soon as possible.'

"Weissmann was not to be hastened. 'If we do not now go slowly we lose much of what we are trying to attain. We must take her pulse and temperature, and observe the position of every object.'

"'Quite right,' agreed Clarke. 'Do not be troubled—the psychic is being cared for.'

"Thus reassured the two investigators scrutinized, measured, made notes, while Kate and Mrs. Lambert stood waiting, watching with anxious eyes the changes which came to Viola's face. Weissmann talked on in a disjointed mutter. 'You see? She has no pulse. The threads are unbroken. The table is thirty inches from her finger-tips. Observe this pad, forty-eight inches from her hand—and which contains a message.'

"'Read it!' demanded Kate.

"He complied. '"*You ask for a particle of matter to be moved from A to B without the use of any force known to science. Here in this wineglass is the test. Oh, men of science, how long will you close your eyes to the grander truths.*"'

"'That is from father,' remarked Mrs. Lambert.

"'It is signed "McLeod," and under it are two words, "Loggy" and "Mother," each in a different handwriting.'

"'Give it to me!' cried Kate, deeply moved.

"'And here is the wineglass,' replied Weissmann, extracting from among the books a beautiful piece of antique crystal.

"Kate took it reverentially, as if receiving it from the hand of her dead mother. 'How came that here?'

"'You recognize it? It was not left here by mistake?'

"'Oh, no. There are only four of them left and I keep them locked away. I have not had them out in months.'

"Clarke smiled in benign triumph. 'That is why they have brought it—to show you that matter is an illusion and to prove that dematerialization and transubstantiation are facts. That was the bell we heard.'"

VII. THE FALLACIOUS AND UNSCIENTIFIC POSITION TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR'S HERO.

Seldom has an author given so vivid, so fair and so minute a description of psychic phenomena as has Mr. Garland in this work. Seldom has a writer not himself a believer in the spiritistic explanation of supernormal phenomena given the claims of the believers in spirit-return so frankly and fully as has our author in this romance. True, they are given for the most part by the ex-minister, who is presented as an unattractive character, and by Mr. Platt, the rich spiritualist, who is drawn as an extremely unlovely personage; and the medium or psychic is represented as hating the strange powers that control her, and therefore is represented as being held in a cruel bondage as a victim of the tyrants of the dark. This is not, we think, typical of the feelings of psychics in general. Yet despite these things the general presentation, coming from a materialist of the Spencer-Haeckel school, as is Mr. Garland, well challenges the admiration of lovers of fair-play and stamps the author as one who, though dogmatic and perhaps narrow within speculative lines, is nevertheless broad, generous and truth-demanding when it comes to the statement of facts that have come under his personal observation.

We think we may say, knowing Mr. Garland as well as we do, that Professor Serviss is largely a representative of Mr. Garland in regard to his position and views as he is also typical of a school of twentieth-century scientists who dare to investigate any obscure problem and who accept facts however contrary to pre-conceived opinions, although they are often as singularly intolerant and narrow when it comes to giving up cherished thoughts as were the scientists and religionists of the Ptolemaic school intolerant of Galileo, Copernicus and Kepler. Serviss represents, as does the novelist himself, the present-day materialistic scientist, who first dismissed every alleged psychic phenomenon as resulting from fraud or legerdemain and the unlimited credulity of the observers, who next claimed that all such phenomena could be explained by hypnotism or telepathy, two things that were both ridiculed as non-existent a short time before by the same school; who later, when neither hypnotism nor telepathy were adequate to explain certain acknowledged phenomena, seized upon the hypothesis of the subliminal self as the only escape from the spiritistic theory; and now this school, of which Lombroso is the most eminent exponent, admits the once-denied facts, but explains the phenomena as "the inexplicable action of a certain psychic force generated within the sitters and acting on objects at a distance."

Admirable indeed is the old German Professor Weissmann's characterization of the modern mind-specialist who refuses to accept the possibility of a life after death and who has to invent some explanation to account for psychic phenomena. "You cannot head them off," exclaims the old scientist. "They plunge into the subconscious like prairie-dogs into the sod, only to come up at a new point."

Professor Serviss' position deserves notice because, as we have observed, it represents, we think, the attitude of Mr. Garland. This young scientist starts out with the dogmatic assumption that all belief in a future life is as baseless as the insubstantial fabric of a dream. There is no place in his philosophy for the future life. On one occasion he declares: "My school of thought is very exact and very dogmatic. It prides itself on not looking beyond its nose."

In his philosophy "there could be no room for any hypothesis which even so much as squinted towards dualism, or that permitted a conception so childish as the persistence of the individuality after death."

This attitude is of course extremely unscientific and as irrational and dogmatic as the position of the most fanatical theologian,

which the materialistic scientists so severely condemn. To start with the declaration that one's philosophy has no place for a potential new truth is to assume a position the reverse of scientific. Progress has been compelled to combat at every step the arrogant assumptions of those who held certain points to be measurably true, or manifestly impossible, and who, beginning with an untenable premise, have proceeded to fit facts into their theories instead of seeking an enlarged horizon gained by new truths; and in this respect many evolutionary scientists have not been a whit behind the most dogmatic theologians, especially in regard to discoveries in the dark continent of psychology. Their attitude has been as absurd as was the position of the late colored divine who, because he found the Bible speaking of the sun rising and setting, and because to his vision the sun seemed to rise and set, denounced as irreverent ignoramuses all men who claimed that the earth moved on its axis.

Now in Mr. Garland's romance, when the scientists are driven to cover by inexplicable facts, they refuse to admit the possibility of a life after death, holding that the phenomena are produced by some inexplicable psychic force present in the sitters, or, to quote from Professor Weissmann:

"I was about to say that all, or nearly all, of the phenomena of last night took place within a limited radius of the psychic. The books all came from behind her. The horn hovered near her—all of which would support the arguments of the 'psychic force' advocates. Lombroso and Tamburini both suggest that it is not absurd to say that possibly the subconscious mind may be able not merely to transmit energy, but to produce phantasmal forms, and I wondered last night whether there might not be some supernormal elongation of the psychic's arms which might enable her to seize and manipulate the horn at a distance beyond her normal reach."

If one accepts the truth of the phenomena described by Mr. Garland as having been witnessed by himself, and which have been described and vouched for by such eminent scientists as Sir William Crookes, Sir Oliver Lodge, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, F. W. H. Myers, and many other famous scientists, it is difficult to see how it is possible to escape the conclusions to which Crookes, Lodge, Myers, Wallace, Rev. M. J. Savage, Professor Hyslop and others have been driven, in many instances against their will.

Now with our author's hero, the possibility of a life after death being excluded at the outset, his explanation would compel the psychic to elongate psychic arms and with them go into an adjoining room, extend the psychic arms through the doors of the locked china-closet, secure a wineglass, bring it through the locked-doors of the dining-room into the library and place it on the table, while all the time, it must be remembered, according to his own statement, the two investigators were holding to the silken cord that bound the physical arms of the psychic. Even if such a thing were possible, that would not account for the voice that spoke through the cone being able to know that Professor Weissmann had lost a little daughter in Germany, that that daughter's name was Mina, and enable her to speak to her father in her native tongue and to understand him in English or French. Yet these are only instances of the happenings which Mr. Garland himself alleges to have witnessed under test conditions. To us the conclusions of the young scientist, assuming the verity of the alleged phenomena, are puerile, unscientific and unthinkable.

Such is this remarkable romance, a volume to our mind incomparably more interesting and worth the while than Bulwer's *A Strange Story*, which was suggested to the novelist after the famous psychic, Charles Foster, had spent some time with him, during which Bulwer had made a critical study of the phenomena.

As a romance *The Tyranny of the Dark* is intensely interesting; as a study in the field of experimental psychic science it is one of the most thought-stimulating works that has appeared in America in years.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

The Master Mummer. By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Cloth. Pp. 309. Price, $1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

WE DEEPLY regret to see a man of such ability as Mr. Oppenheim turning out a number of novels that all bear the evidences of that haste in composition which marks the great majority of present-day works of fiction and that renders them ephemeral; because he is a writer exceptionally gifted in certain directions—a writer who, should he devote the same painstaking care and time to the writing of a romance that the author of *The Breath of the Gods* has given to his admirable work, would, we believe, give us a really great novel of the romantic school—a book that would live as literature and give to the writer an honored place among the novelists whose writings are worth the while. *A Prince of Sinners* is incomparably Mr. Oppenheim's best work. In it he displayed a knowledge of the subtile laws of psychology that has rarely been evinced in modern fiction, and the work as a whole, though by no means free from defects, was one that seemed to herald the advent of a novelist who would make a permanent place in our literature. And yet, with this knowledge of the subtile workings of the human mind and its susceptibility to environment, and with a power of invention fully equal to that of Sir Conan Doyle, together with the rich imagination that frequently suggests Bulwer-Lytton, we find him sacrificing the splendid success that might be his and turning out hasty compositions not materially superior to scores of other works which are appealing to the uncritical taste of the present. In all of his three recent novels the reader is constantly offended by the introduction of improbable if not impossible situations and happenings, which with time and pains could have been so presented as to have impressed the mind as being perfectly natural. Then again, there are on almost every page evidences—painful evidences—of haste in composition. There are slips and the introduction of phrases and expressions that are out of keeping with the dignity of a serious romance and which give to the work an uneven quality that is most regrettable.

Were the novelist's exceptional ability less obvious, we should not take the trouble to thus criticise his work. It is the feeling that he is capable of so much better writing that leads us, in justice to himself and to the reading public, to make these strictures.

The Master Mummer is concerned chiefly with the fate of a beautiful maiden whose mysterious identity forms one of the elements of interest throughout the tale. In the early chapters she has been taken from a convent in France by a dissipated English nobleman who claims to be her guardian. The maiden, Isobel by name, is greatly terrified when first introduced in the story by the narrator of the tale, one Arnold Greatson, who is also the hero of the romance. Greatson has gone to Charing Cross station to study life at first hand. The pretended guardian of Isobel is murdered by a mysterious stranger and the girl falls under the protection of Mr. Greatson and his two companions. These three young men are chivalric and the girl becomes a wonderfully refining influence in their studio. Meanwhile powerful personages are vainly striving to get her from her refuge without recourse to the law, among them the royal family of one of the small German states. Many exciting episodes are introduced in these attempts, some of which are highly dramatic. Later the identity of the mysterious murderer of the girl's pretended guardian is discovered to the child and her protector. He is a great actor who had married Isobel's mother. The child is a princess and heir to the throne.

The description of the master mummer's loyalty to the memory of his wife, who he believes visits him daily, and the closing passages in the romance, in which Isobel comes to her lover when he is absorbed in loving contemplation of her but has given up all thought of ever meeting her again, are particularly attractive and indicate the possession of a poetic or idealistic element by Mr.

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

Oppenheim that has not been heretofore strongly evidenced. The book has the exciting and dramatic elements that will render it popular with a large class of readers who are less critical about the form, presentation and probability of a tale than they are about its absorbing interest.

SOME RECENT VOLUMES OF VERSE.

The Dancers. By Edith M. Thomas. Price, ten cents net. Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press.

The Voice of Equality. By Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. Cloth. Price, $1.25. Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press.

Pipes and Timbrels. By W. J. Henderson. Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press.

THERE is a man in Boston who is publishing poetry. He is a genius or a fool who does the deeds that other men dare not do. Mr. Richard G. Badger, proprietor of the Gorham Press and publisher of poetry and *belles lettres*, does not look like a fool, and his new list recently issued is well-printed, attractive and contains a goodly array of books. All other publishers eschew poetry—they say it will not sell and that there is no money in it. Let us hope that Mr. Badger is the genius who walks the untrodden way and reaps the reward of success because he has seen what the unobservant average business-man has not seen. Mr. Badger cares not for the booksellers, but seeks his market direct from lovers of poetry, and he says his sales are increasing, that the lovers of poetry are finding him out. His catalogue embraces between one hundred and two hundred titles of volumes of poetry, and those who have a fondness for verse should send for his list.

One of Mr. Badger's experiments in poetry is a series of daintily-bound, well-printed, copyrighted volumes of poetry to sell at ten cents, plus the postage. This is done in order to arouse an interest in verse, as the publisher believes that one out of every two persons who buy these dime books will want more poetry and thus will become a permanent customer.

One of the best of these volumes is *The Dancers*, by Edith M. Thomas. Miss Thomas is neither strong nor great. Her verses have not the sonorous ring, nor do they deal with the loftiest themes; but in her special field she is of the best. Her ear is always true and her poems have the poetic lilt and rhythm that carry one along easily from verse to verse, adding a pleasing sense-impression to the dainty beauty of the thought. The expression is always clear and often surprisingly lovely in its imagery and felicitous phrasing. The thought is sweet, true and poetic. Her verse is like the faint perfume of the wild flowers she loves so well, or like the wind in the sun-lit pine-trees of some lonely country spot. It is dainty, sweet, lovely, intellectual. Here is a specimen stanza from the poem entitled "The Soul of the Violet":

> "Again and again that thrilling breath,
> Fresh as the life that is snatched out of death,
> Keen as the blow that love might deal
> Lest a spirit in trance should outward steal—
> So thrilling that breath, so vital that blow—
> The soul of the violet haunts me so!"

But even this dainty, wild-wood breath is touched by the spirit of the time, and many of the poems express the note of human longing, of pity for the oppressed, almost of rage at injustice. Here are two stanzas from "The Wolves of the Wind":

> "The fire on my hearth is blazing bright.
> Within is cheer, without is night,
> Blenching with fear from earth to sky—
> Hark, how the wolves of the wind rush by!
>
> The sound, too plain it rises again,
> The myriad wailing of outcast men.
> In the path of the pack they stricken lie—
> Hark, how the wolves of the wind rush by!"

Mr. John Spargo, formerly editor of *The Comrade*, writes Mr. Badger as follows in regard to Mr. Brenholtz and his recent volume of verse:

"Of the kin of Whitman and the Engilsh poet, Edward Carpenter, Mr. Brenholtz has won for himself an abiding place in the ranks of the prophets and singers of democracy. More than any living writer he has expressed the spiritual meaning and splendor of the great world-movement of labor, in language as remarkable for its clearness and beauty as for its ringing honesty and frankness. Wherever there is a heart in unison with the ideal of that great movement, wherever brotherhood is believed in and longed for, *The Voice of Equality* must, it seems to me, find a loving welcome."

I am glad to quote Mr. Spargo's judgment,

inasmuch as my own, while I am in closest sympathy with true democracy and the world-movement for brotherhood, is diametrically opposed to his. To me Mr. Brenholtz's book is not poetry, either as regards the subjects of which it treats or the manner in which it treats them. The subjects are all philosophical and metaphysical,—"The Joy of Equality" is probably the most poetic subject in the volume. On brotherhood a great modern lyric might be built. There is passion, devotion, grandeur in the idea; but equality is metaphysical,—the idea of brotherhood with the poetry extracted.

The form is that of Whitman, without rhyme rhythm or lilt. Some lines contain two words, some fifty; some lines read smoothly, some stumble. It is mainly rhapsody, but untrained. Poetry supposes the right word in the right place. Mr. Brenholtz uses any word that comes to hand. The poems look as if they were written in a fine frenzy and never revised.

Let the skeptic read Mr. Henderson's little volume of less than a hundred pages, entitled *Pipes and Timbrels*, and forswear his skepticism. This hurrying, nervous twentieth century has produced a poet in Mr. Henderson. In a more favorable age his song might swell to a larger volume and a stronger tone. It might be triumphant instead of tuned to a minor key, as it is at times in this volume.

There are two requisites to real poetry: In the first place it must possess poetic expression, rhythm, lilt, song and often rhyme. The lack of these qualities prevents the bulk of Whitman's writing from being considered poetry. "Poetry," says Edgar A. Poe, "is the rhythmical creation of beauty." Poetry must be rhythmical. In the second place the thought must be poetic. It is hard to draw the line of demarcation between poetic and non-poetic thought, but such a line does exist. Often a beautiful and strong poetic expression will bring a non-poetic thought into the realm of poetry. Wordsworth was often able to do this. But history, metaphysics, business, seem hardly fit subjects for poetry.

Mr. Henderson possesses both these qualifications of a poet in an exceptional degree. Rarely is a meter false, a quality wrong, and in this volume he has experimented with many meters. "A Christmas Hymn" is in the meter of "Locksley Hall" and approaches Tennyson's great poem not only in the ringing music of its lilt, but also in the nobility of its thought. "A Sea-Song of Old Time" reminds us of Browning's "How We Carried the Good News From Aix to Ghent." There are poems in blank verse, sonnets, songs, and in all the meter is good, in some excellent.

There is thought in all the poems, and it is poetic thought. The opening one, "Tantalus," in noble blank verse, ends with a lofty moral lesson.

Pipes and Timbrels is a volume that promises much for the future.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

Our Heredity from God. By E. P. Powell. Cloth. Pp. 423. Price, $1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

IN MR. E. P. POWELL'S *Our Heredity from God* we have a volume which discusses evolution and ethics in a clear and forcible manner. It is an admirable companion to Professor Metcalf's *Organic Evolution*, and is of special value because of its extended consideration of ethics. We have many works devoted to the elucidation of the evolutionary theory, but far too few which consider morals in the light of this theory, and we know of no work better adapted to the general reader who dares to think for himself and look the truth squarely in the face than *Our Heredity from God.*

Mr. E. P. Powell is, as our readers know, a versatile scholar, a thinker who writes in a graphic and pleasing manner on many widely different themes, always paying first consideration to the mastery of his subject and to the verification of the truths in hand and upon which his arguments are based. But he is not only a safe counselor; he possesses the happy faculty of presenting a subject so as to appeal to the general reader, giving special value to his work. Mr. Powell's work on *Nullification and Secession in the United States* and his excellent series of papers now appearing in THE ARENA on the four great struggles between autocracy and democracy in the republic, are admirable examples of his historical writings; while his new work just issued by McClure, Phillips & Company, entitled *The Country Home*, which was reviewed in the April ARENA, is one of the most attractive and practical volumes on country life that has appeared in America.

In *Our Heredity from God* we see Mr. Powell in an entirely different sphere of thought. Here the philosophy and reasonableness of

evolution and the great moral verities that underlie human progress are discussed in so clear and simple a way that they cannot fail to favorably impress the rationalistic mind, though they may prove disquieting to those who have chosen to walk by faith rather than by the light of reason. The volume is divided into three parts. The first division is devoted to the leading arguments in favor of evolution and consists of eight chapters, which appear under the following headings: "The Problem Stated," "The Unity of Nature," "The Argument from Geography," "The Argument from Geology," "The Argument from Anatomy," "Development and Reversion," "The Power of Mimicry," and "Degeneration."

The second part considers "the commonalty of life between all creatures, and how definitely the links in a consecutive development of life have been established, from the jelly-fishes of the primeval seas to man." The four chapters which are concerned in this discussion appear under the headings of "Common Life-Material, Apparatus and Functions," "Some Links Not Missing," "Wanted Adam," and "Animals on the Road."

The last division is devoted to evolution after man has been reached in the ascending scale. In it the author aims to show "that there is not only one evolution of all life, including man and animals, interlinked in origin and in their progressive changes, but that human history, its religions, morals, arts, culminating in universal ethical laws, is also a subject of evolution." There are eight chapters in this division, which bear the titles of "Coöperation in Evolution," "Driving the Golden Spikes," "Jesus the Christ of Evolution," "Is the Golden Rule Workable?" "The Eyes of Evolution in its Forehead," "Ethics the Aim in Evolution," "The Self that is Higher than Ourselves," and "That Last Enemy, Death."

The concluding chapter is one of the strongest in the book—an argument that to our mind is richly worth the price of the volume. It considers death and the probability of a future life in the light of evolution and the revelations of modern science. In it our author clearly presents and examines in a masterly manner the subject from the view-point of a logical thinker who is absolutely fearless and whose one overmastering passion is to know the truth. There is no attempt to bolster up faith by advancing arguments or claims based on any of the world's sacred books. There is no appeal to emotionalism or to sentiment. And yet the author, by purely logical methods and deductions from the known facts of science and by legitimate conclusions from the evolutionary theory, holds that there is more in favor of the contention that man survives the crisis of death than there is opposed to that theory.

At the present time, when there is so much interest in the broader religious concepts—an interest which Dr. Abbott's recent discussion at Harvard has greatly stimulated—this work is especially timely, as it is, in our judgment, next to Professor Drummond's *Ascent of Man*, the best volume for popular reading which treats of evolution and ethics, that has appeared.

Makers of the American Republic. By David Gregg, D.D., Hon. W. W. Goodrich and Dr. Sidney H. Carney, Jr. Cloth. Pp. 528. Price, $2.00. New York: E. B. Treat & Company.

This volume consists of a series of lectures, most of which were delivered by the Rev. David Gregg, president of the Western Theological Seminary of Allegheny, Pennsylvania. The author is a Presbyterian clergyman and the subjects are treated, of course, from the view-point of an orthodox clergyman, but they are characterized for the most part by a degree of intellectual hospitality and breadth of thought rarely found in similar discussions by trinitarian clergymen. The principal lectures deal with "The Old Dominion; or, The Virginia Colonists," "The Pilgrim Forefathers," "The Puritan Founders," "The Hollanders in the New Netherlands," "The Scotch," "The Huguenots," "The Quakers; or, Ideal Civilization," "The American Foremothers," "The Old-Time Minister," "Columbus: The Results of His Life," "George Washington: A Factor in American History," and "The Black Forefathers."

Dr. Gregg draws a distinction that is seldom noticed by writers in general, between the Puritans and the Pilgrims, and shows the marked difference between these two bodies of religionists. The Pilgrims were broad, tolerant, democratic; the Puritans narrow, bigoted and persecuting in their spirit.

The chapter of all chapters in the work, however, that appeals to us as being one of the noblest discussions from the pen of an orthodox clergyman, is Dr. Gregg's lecture

on "The Quakers; or, Ideal Civilization." This address alone is worth the price of the book and should be carefully read by every youth in America. We are rather surprised to note that a man of such scholarship as Dr. Gregg should fall into the error of stating that the witches were burned in this country. The witches were frequently burned in the Old World, but in New England they were hanged, not burned.

Volumes of this character are of great value at the present time, as they tend to elevate the ideals of the young and restore in a measure the old-time patriotism and enthusiasm which made the republic the great moral leader of the world.

Psyche. By Walter S. Cramp. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 322. Price, $1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THE SUCCESS which attended Eckstein's romances of ancient Rome and the *Quo Vadis* of Henry Sienkiewicz has led to the production of a multitude of stories dealing with the decadent empire. Few of them, however, have risen above the level of the ordinary, especially in dramatic power and that fidelity in delineation of character that gives reality to the scenes depicted and makes the characters that move before us exercise a compelling influence over the imagination—that power, in a word, which is the hall-mark of genius. Mr. Cramp's story is the result of considerable study and painstaking care, but it lacks the one thing that is essential in a novel whose excuse for being is merely that it is a romance —that strong imaginative quality that makes its characters convincing. Readers who have enjoyed *Quintus Claudius* and *Quo Vadis* will not, we imagine, be particularly attracted to this story, though it is fully up to the average present-day so-called historical romances.

The tale deals largely with the fate of a Greek family in Rome under the reign of Tiberius, when Sejanus was plotting for the imperial throne, and much of the work is devoted to portraying the vicious and criminal life of the Roman court of the period. The age was a tragic epoch, and the dominant note of the story is rightly pitched in a minor key. There is much, very much, that is sad and gloomy, and though for Psyche, her husband and her parents the tale ends well, the general effect on the mind of the reader, if the author had possessed the power of a great novelist, would be depressing rather than otherwise.

The author, Mr. Walter Cramp, is a son of one of the great ship-builders of that name. He studied ship-building in the yards of his fathers and uncles, but when the works passed out of their hands into those of a stock-company, he journeyed to Italy, spending much time studying the scenes for the present romance.

The Prize to the Hardy. By Alice Winter. Illustrated by R. M. Crosby. Cloth. Pp. 348. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

The Prize to the Hardy is a romantic love-story of the great northwest, told in a spirited manner, and while as fiction or literature it cannot be said to rise conspicuously above scores of present-day popular romances, it is a story that will appeal to the general reader in search of a pleasing and somewhat exciting love-tale.

The romance deals with Nicholas Windsor, a self-made man of great wealth who is one of the most powerful figures in one of the great northwestern cities. His beautiful daughter Vera; his private-secretary, Cyril Kemyss; his nephew, Frank Lenox, who has recently arrived from New England; Mrs. Lyell, a typical characterization of a class of women whose study of transcendental philosophy and the higher thought has served to destroy their appreciation for home-life; and Sven Svenson, an admirably depicted and typical Scandinavian farmer. Around these and some minor characters the author has woven her story; and by the introduction of a fearful forest-fire that licks up an entire town and which is described with much dramatic and realistic power; a serious accident on the frozen lake, in which the hero becomes the victim of his rival's hate and is rescued in a truly melodramatic manner by the heroine; an illustration of prevailing methods among stock-gamblers, by which through false dispatches a stock is depreciated and hundreds of investors swindled; and by other more or less exciting and dramatic scenes and situations the interest of the reader is sustained to the pleasing close of the story.

Poems. By Walter Malone. Cloth. Pp. 368. Memphis, Tenn.: Paul & Douglass Company.

THIS volume is very superior to most of the books of verse appearing in America at the present time. The poems are musical and for the most part constructed with due regard to the the laws of versification,—an excellence not possessed by many recent volumes. The poetic imagination is somewhat limited, which places the author among the popular singers rather than the great creative artists. His verses are of a quality calculated to strike the heart-chord of the people and haunt the memory of the reader. This is particularly true of the verses dealing with nature, the birds and flowers. The author is a brave thinker, and one is surprised as well as gratified to find such lines as the following on Zola in a book published in Memphis, Tennessee, as the South is, we think, far more conservative than the North and East:

"He comes in triumph to his native land,
A Conqueror by the power of the pen,
Whose voice was stronger than the steel-gloved hand,
Winning a battle with the minds of men.

Like Jacob, he was called upon by God
To throw aside the errors of his past,
To purge his weakness, struggle from the sod,
And fight through faults, triumphant at the last.

And though fanatics still revile his name,
Though not one palm is strewn upon his way,
Though bigot lips dispute his hard-won fame,
He is a monarch on this glorious day.

To make him great, no souls were sacrificed,
No widow wept, no orphan's cheek grew pale,
For he has suffered in the cause of Christ,
And he has sought and found the Holy Grail."

Here is a tribute to Lincoln in four succinct lines which is admirable in its characterization. It, of course, is far inferior to the stately masterpiece of Edwin Markham; yet we have seldom read so excellent a characterization of a life in so small a compass:

"A blend of mirth and sadness, smiles and tears;
A quaint knight-errant of the pioneers;
A homely hero, born of star and sod;
A Peasant-Prince; a Masterpiece of God."

And here are some characteristic stanzas from a little poem suggested by reading Renan's *Life of Jesus:*

"Wonderful story of sad, sad years,
Wonderful story of toils and tears,
Annals of anguish, of grief and gloom,
Breaking at last into brilliant bloom.

Over and over again I tread
Vistas where Jesus has begged his bread,
Soothing and healing with words of love
Whiter than wings of snow-white dove.
. . . . . .
Sweeter than breath of the springtime flowers,
Softer than swirls of the autumn showers,
Splendor of song and splendor of story,
Decking his brows with garlands of glory!

Lighter than touch of an angel's fingers,
Clearer than notes of the stateliest singers,
Pathos of winds in the pine-trees sighing,
Sobs of a harp in the distance dying!
. . . . . .
When the daylight dies in the twilight cold,
And the watchers come my hands to fold,
When my poor, dim eyes no pathway see,
O, prince of heaven, will you think of me?"

Many of the poems are pitched in a minor key. They are over two hundred in number, and the work is one that will be enjoyed by those who delight in simple, homelike lays that rest the mind with musical cadence and rhythmic phrasings, and which do not take hold in any powerful way upon the emotions as do great works of imagination.

J. M. Peebles, M.D., A.M.: A Biography. By Edward Whipple. Cloth. Pp. 592. Published by author at Battle Creek, Mich.

IN THIS work by Mr. Edward Whipple we have an admirably written biography of more than ordinary interest to progressive thinkers, and especially to spiritualists. For more than half a century Dr. Peebles has stood before the world as one of the leading and most scholarly representatives among the spiritualists and liberal thinkers. He was educated for the Christian ministry and for many years ably officiated as a clergyman. He was graduated in medicine, while his general scholastic education has been immensely broadened by four journeys around the globe in the capacity of teacher and student. During these journeys he spent much time in India, Ceylon and China, studying profoundly the religious thought of the great teachers and thinkers of the Far East and also the various psychical phenomena and the metaphysical speculations of the Orient. For more than half a century he has labored unceasingly for the good of his fellowmen. He has lectured and taught extensively, not only in America and Europe, but in Australia, New Zealand, Asia and elsewhere. He has enjoyed the acquaintance and in some instances the intimate friendship of some of the greatest *savants* of the past century. Hence his life holds a peculiar charm and interest quite apart from the helpfulness arising from the fact that he has ever placed conscience, duty and conviction of right above all personal considerations.

The volume is written in an admirable manner, and is a worthy tribute to the life of a noble thinker.

Folly for the Wise. By Carolyn Wells. Cloth. Pp. 170. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS little work, dedicated to "Those Who are Wise Enough to Know Folly When They See Her," abounds in bright sayings and a plentiful amount of sheer nonsense. Some of the verses and "sayings" are very apt, as, for example, the following on "Wall Street Bulls and Bears":

"A Wall Street Bull or Bear 's a clever beast;
Usually smooth-skinned, though they 're sometimes fleeced.
They live on copper, cotton, oil or wheat,
Or anything they find upon the Street.
They watch the time for watering the stock,
Although they 'd rather drink champagne or hock."

Stage-folks will be specially interested in these "Whispers":

"Deadheads tell no tales.
"Stars are stubborn things.
"All 's not bold that titters.
"Contracts make cowards of us all.
"One good turn deserves an encore.
"A little actress is a dangerous thing.
"It 's a long skirt that has no turning.
"Stars rush in where angels fear to tread.
"Managers never hear any good of themselves.
"A manager is known by the company he keeps.
"A plot is not without honor save in comic opera.
"Take care of the dance and the songs will take care of themselves."

Among the limericks we find the following:

"'Tis said, woman loves not her lover
So much as she loves his love of her;
Then loves she her lover
For love of her lover,
Or love of her love of her lover?"

"'I am willing to give you a show,
But are these all the *rôles* that you know?'
The manager cried.
And the actor replied,
'Sirrah! No, sir; I know *Cyrano!*'"

These examples will give the reader some idea of the variety and character of the book, which, though it will doubtless appeal to many persons, will hardly, we think, be appreciated by most of our readers.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE PARCELS-POST OF EUROPE: This month our paper in the series of contributions on progressive democratic measures, by leading economists, statesmen and educators of foreign lands, deals with "The Parcels-Post of Europe." It is a paper of special interest to America's thoughtful millions at the present time, when the people are awakening to a sensible realization of the manner in which they are being robbed and oppressed by public-service corporations that practically own the United States Senate and are exerting an increasing influence in various departments of municipal, state and national government. But for the great express companies and the power they exert in government, as Mr. WANAMAKER has well observed, the American people would long ere this have been enjoying the benefits of the parcels-post. The paper which we present this month is from the pen of Hon. J. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P., who is one of the most eminent postal authorities in the Parliament of Great Britain. It will be noted that nowhere do the people enjoy such benefits as under the parcels-post of Germany, where the government, after a careful and thorough testing of governmental ownership side by side with private ownership of the railways, finally took over the great private-owned lines, finding that the government could own and operate the roads more advantageously and economically for the people than was possible under private ownership.

The Economic Struggle in Colorado: As we have stated before, we believe the series of papers by the Hon. J. WARNER MILLS, of Denver, on "The Economic Struggle in Colorado," to be the most fundamental and vital contribution to the economic and social literature of the present time. No American can afford to miss an installment of this discussion upon which one of the ablest legal authorities of the country has spent months of painstaking labor, for they strike at the root of the great evils that are more and more commanding the serious consideration of patriotic citizens everywhere. In this issue Mr. MILLS gives some thrilling and tragic recitals of the battles between the cattle and sheep-owners of Colorado. This discussion closes the first chapter dealing with "The View-Point," and it will be noticed that the author emphasizes the important point that in proportion as there is a diminution of equality of opportunities, whether through unjust taxation, special privileges to certain classes or the granting of franchises to corporations, the many suffer and social equilibrium is dangerously disturbed.

Mr. Blankenburg's Trumpet-Call to Men and Women of Conscience: The papers by Mr. Blankenburg already published have greatly aided in quickening the public conscience, not in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania alone, but throughout the land. In this issue the great civic leader speaks of "Law and Order."

John D. Rockefeller: A Study of Character, Motive and Duty: Mr. W. G. JOERNS in a keenly discriminating paper most admirably presents some of the most vital facts for Americans to consider in the ROCKEFELLER controversy. A correspondent wishes to know why Mr. ROCKEFELLER is singled out for wholesale criticism. The answer is that he more than any other American incarnates the dominant "system" whose sordid materialism and moral criminality in business life have resulted in colossal fortunes at the expense of the millions, and largely through influence, special privileges, or by methods which have destroyed competition, not for the benefit of the multitude, but for the dangerous enrichment of the few, and which have furthermore debauched government and created secret and indirect methods of procedure by which the public-service companies and great aggregations of wealth have united to cruelly plunder the producers and consumers. He is preëminently the typical character in the "system" against which the conscience of America is girding itself for mortal combat. Furthermore, Mr. ROCKEFELLER'S efforts to silence church and school with hush-money are among the most dangerous attempts of recent years against sound morality. The evil fruits of this attempted seduction of the church are already in evidence on every hand. Nowhere have we had a more striking illustration of this fact than in the amazing and reckless defence of Mr. ROCKEFELLER by the Rev. Dr. MCARTHUR, of New York.

A Vast Educational Scheme: This paper by ELTWEED POMEROY, President of the National Direct-Legislation League, is without question one of the clearest and best brief expositions of Direct-Legislation that has appeared in print. It deals with the subject that is bound to be the supreme question under public discussion from the Atlantic to the Pacific during the next few years, as it offers the only thoroughly practical plan for peacefully restoring to the people the government which has been wrested from them by political bosses and party machines acting under the domination and control of corporations and other privileged interests.

The Decline of the Senate: We call special attention to the exceptionally strong and timely paper by Mr. ROBERT N. REEVES showing how the Senate for fifty years was the noblest legislative body in the world and how it has degenerated since the rise of the money-controlled machine in modern politics. The suggested remedy, in so far as it goes, is admirable.

A Lawyer on the Divorce Question: In this issue Mr. ERNEST DALE OWEN, a well-known Chicago lawyer, a son of the eminent philosopher ROBERT DALE OWEN and the grandson of the great coöperator and social reformer, ROBERT OWEN, discusses the divorce problem in an eminently judicial and thought-compelling manner.

Yellow Journalism: Recently the special-pleaders for the great predatory corporations and those representatives of "high finance" who have acquired untold millions of unearned dollars and who dread the exposures of the so-called "yellow journals" above everything else, have made strenuous and systematic attempts to discredit those papers, which, with all their faults and shortcomings, are more effectively fighting the battle of the people against the lawless greed and conscienceless rapacity of the strong than any other public opinion-forming agencies. In this issue the well-known journalist, LYDIA KINGSMILL COMMANDER, presents an admirable paper on "Yellow Journalism" which is probably the most critically just estimate that has yet appeared.

A Poet of the Common Life who is also a Preacher of Social Righteousness: The Rev. ROBERT E. BISBEE, A.M., one of the old and valued contributors to THE ARENA, this month presents a charming and discriminating appreciation of SAM. WALTER FOSS and his writings. Mr. Foss is, as Mr. BISBEE well observes, a teacher of the noblest philosophy no less than a popular singer. His verses have proved immensely popular and through this medium he has been enabled to impress helpful lessons upon tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of minds.

The Railroad Question: We invite the special attention of our readers to Mr. SATTERTHWAIT'S thoughtful discussion of the railway question in this issue of THE ARENA. Mr. SATTERTHWAIT is a high-minded lawyer of ability and moral rectitude —a man who places ethical ideals above sordid or personal considerations and it is the views of such competent thinkers that are most needed at the present time.

What of the Italian Immigrant? FOLGER BARKER, Secretary of the American Land Improvement and Silk Culture Association, gives an interesting paper on the Italian immigrant. Mr. BARKER believes in strict immigration laws in regard to undesirable immigrants, but like all broad-minded Americans believes in giving the educated and thrifty immigrant access to our lands for the enlargement of the country and themselves. Mr. BARKER is in favor of getting our immigrants away from the large cities and the "bossism" which controls the elections in our large cities.

Our Story: Last month we announced the publication of "The Ebony Hand," an occult story, for this issue. We have, however, been compelled to carry this story over owing to its length, and in its place we have substituted a highly suggestive little romance entitled "An Accident of Birth."

The Portrait of Andrew D. White: The excellent portrait of ANDREW D. WHITE which appeared in our July ARENA, in which number also appeared the review of *The Autobiography of Mr. Andrew D. White*, was taken by permission of The Century Company from the frontispiece of one of the volumes of Mr. WHITE'S autobiography. We regret to say that through inadvertence the proper credit was not given to The Century Company in our last issue.

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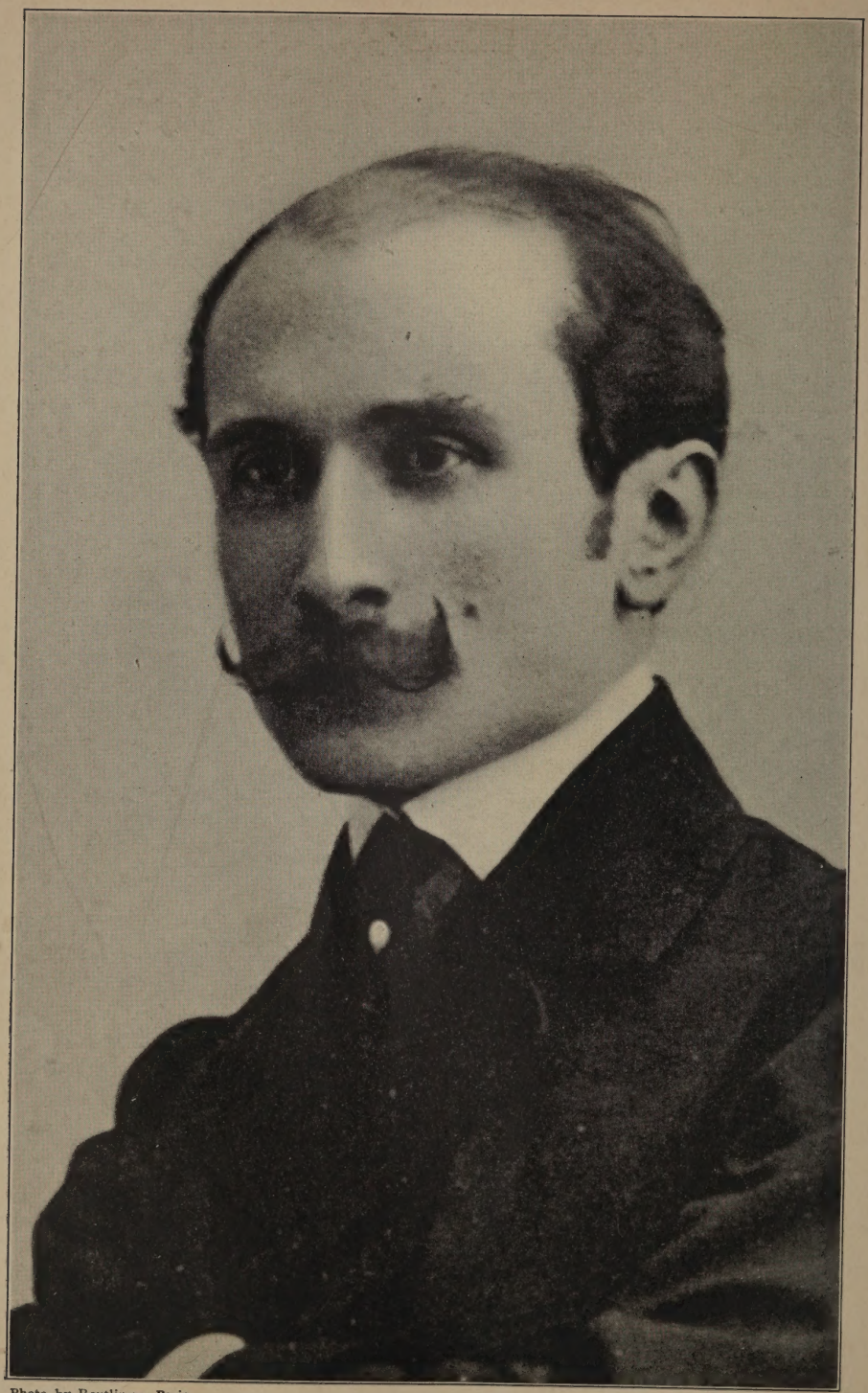

Photo. by Reutlinger, Paris

EDMOND ROSTAND

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"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

The Arena

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THE THEATER OF EDMOND ROSTAND.

BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D.
Of the University of North Carolina.

"I hope I shall always keep to the purpose that has so far guided me, of setting forth the fine and worthy in life, rather than the despicable; the clean and beautiful rather than the ugly; the noble and inspiring rather than the perverted."—*Interview with Edmond Rostand.*

IT WAS not many years ago that Henry James, in a review of the literary status of contemporary France, wrote these significant words: "The great historians are dead—the last of them went with Renan; the great critics are dead—the last of them went with Taine; the great dramatists are dead—the last of them went with Dumas. Daudet, so individual and beautiful, died but yesterday. Maupassant passed away the day before." When James wrote these words, Edmond Rostand had not yet traced his name, in delicate yet unfading chirography, in the roll of the century's great. His "Les Romanesques" had already ushered him forth upon the stage of publicity; his "Cyrano de Bergerac" had not yet advanced him to the footlights of fame. Although he has been declared an impostor and a shameless plagiarist, although his mind has been declared unbalanced, his poetry verbal trickery and his drama mere melodrama, yet the distinguished honor of election as an Immortal or one of the Forty, is vindication ample and complete enough for a young man who has barely reached the age of thirty-seven.

I.

Edmond Rostand was born on April 1, 1868, at Marseilles, France, and it was there that his education was first begun. The College Stanislas in Paris claims the honor of having had him within its walls: he first wrote and published verses while a student there. His favorite authors, he tells us himself, were always Shakspere, Dickens and Victor Hugo. The patron of his early efforts was Jules Clarétie, who urged him from the first to submit plays for presentation at the Comédie Française. Rostand suffered disappointment in his first attempt, a one-act play—probably "Le Gant Rouge"—which was refused. The disappointment, however, stirred him to more sustained effort, and he next wrote a three-act comedy, "Les Romanesques," which was accepted with special honor at the Comédie Française, crowned by the French Academy, and awarded the Toirac Prize of four thousand francs for the best play given during the year at the

Comédie Française. "The first thing I knew," writes Rostand, "Sarcey was proclaiming me the 'modern Regnard,' and I was booked to write comedy all my life. But I had no intention of accepting any such narrow mission. What I wanted to depict and study was life. So I wrote a play forthwith, "La Princesse Lointaine," that was delicate, sad and tender, and I let the critics reprove me as they pleased. Yes, I knew what I was doing. And then I wrote "Cyrano," which, I suppose, has a little of everything in it, like the world about us."

Coquelin accepted Sarah Bernhardt's invitation to attend Rostand's first reading of "La Princesse Lointaine." From the very first line his attention was riveted, his senses charmed. After the reading was over he walked home with M. Rostand and had a long talk with him about his work and ambitions. When they parted he said to M. Rostand: "In my opinion you are destined to become the greatest dramatic poet of the age. I bind myself here and now to take any play you write (in which there is a part for me) without reading it, to cancel any engagement I may have on hand, and produce your piece with the least possible delay."

With such faith expressed in his powers, and such a promise for their ultimate fulfilment, Rostand felt inspired for some vast and dazzling undertaking. From that day forward, although his life was lived in a tiny circle, his mind was compassing wide revolutions. His first idea, after two months of work, was rejected in favor of a later one, that of making Cyrano de Bergerac the central figure of a drama laid in the city of Richelieu, D'Artagnan, and the Précieuses Ridicules—a seventeenth-century Paris of love and duelling. Although the conception of a hero such as Cyrano had been maturing in Rostand's brain for a number of years, according to his own statement, it was a mere chance that threw in his way an old volume of Cyrano de Bergerac's poems, which so delighted him that he immediately began to study the life of that unfortunate poet.

Despite the fact that Dumas had so thoroughly exploited the D'Artagnan type of the Gascon bravo, Rostand remained enthusiastic and hopeful of the success of his projected drama. When his "La Princesse Lointaine" proved a failure in London, and gained only a *succes d'estime* in Paris, Rostand's dejection was truly pitiable. He sank into a mild melancholy, refusing for more than eighteen months to put pen to paper. "As he slowly regained confidence and began taking pleasure once more in his work," writes M. Coquelin of him at this period, "the boyish author took to dropping in on me at impossible morning hours to read some scene hot from his ardent brain. When seated at my bedside, he declaimed his lines until, lit at his flame, I would jump out of bed, and wrapping my dressing-gown hastily about me, seize the manuscript out of his hands, and, before I knew it, find myself addressing imaginary audiences, poker in hand in lieu of a sword, with any hat that came to hand doing duty for the plumed headgear of our hero." The work gradually grew under Rostand's hands,—countless midnight hours were spent upon it. At last the play was finished.

The success of "Cyrano de Bergerac" has passed into dramatic history. All Paris was beside itself with joy: the literary primacy of France was once more assured as in the palmy days of Émile Augier, Dumas *fils* and the Third Republic. No such theatrical event had occurred in France since the production of Victor Hugo's "Hernani," the pivotal point in those fierce battles between the Classicists and the Romanticists. Francisque Sarcey and Émile Faguet were rapturous and unbounded in their praise, Faguet speaking of the dazzling *première* at the Porte-Saint-Martin as the greatest dramatic event in France within the last fifty years. In the midst of the tremend-

ous enthusiasm at the *première*, Rostand alone remained cool. After the curtain fell on the last act, he and his wife drove out to their *chateau* at Boissy St. Leger. There they remained for more than a week, waiting until the first wave of enthusiasm should be overpast.

Goethe says somewhere, that as soon as a man has done anything remarkable, there seems to be a general conspiracy to prevent him from doing it again. He is fêted, caressed, his time is taken from him by breakfasts, dinners, societies, idle business of a thousand kinds. With the plaudits of a world—with the cry ringing in his ears, "A Shakspere or a greater than Shakspere is here," Rostand still did not permit himself to be seduced even by the adulation of his own dear Paris. With confidence in the star of his genius, he next attempted the difficult task of surpassing himself. He chose for his theme the touching history of the King of Rome, the son of Napoleon I. All the patriotic illusions and glorious traditions of the "Napoleonic legend" lured him on. The title-rôle, reserved for Sarah Bernhardt, was designed for the constant display of her histrionic genius. "I thank God that He has let me be alive now to interpret a part, at least, of what this great genius will produce," she writes in Gallic enthusiasm and impetuosity. "If Rostand were to die, it would be a calamity to mankind, for he is bringing in a new period in the drama—a clean, wholesome period. If Rostand were to die, I think—why, I think I should want to die too." *Il ne manquait que ça!*

The remarkable and unprecedented success of both "Cyrano de Bergerac" and "L'Aiglon" constitutes one of the most brilliant pages in the annals of French dramatic literature. No such reception as was accorded Rostand's masterpieces had been given to a play in France on its initial production in the history of the stage. Corneille's "Cid," perhaps the most epochal play in all literature, was severely criticised, aroused the jealousy of Richelieu and the Academy, the open attacks of Scudéri, Mairet and others; and finally, gave rise to the celebrated "pamphlet-war," one of the most well-known incidents in the history of letters. Racine's "Britannicus" and "Phedre" met with mordant and well-nigh destructive criticism. Beaumarchais' "Le Mariage de Figaro" owed a very large measure of its marvelous success and popularity to the political allusions it contained. Vigny's "Chatterton" and Hugo's "Hernani" aroused literary battles of fierce intensity and long duration. There is a striking similarity between the circumstances attendant upon the production of François Ponsard's "Lucrece" and of Rostand's "Cyrano," as was suggested by M. Edouard Rod in one of his lectures before the Cercle Française of Harvard University a few years ago. At the time his "Lucrece" was produced in Paris in 1843, Ponsard was twenty-nine—Rostand's age at the time of the "Cyrano" production. This tragedy of "Lucrece" was hailed on all sides as a deliverance from romanticism, a return to classicism, and the beginning of a new era in French letters. Under a mere disguise—the backward swing of the pendulum—we have recently seen history repeat itself, as it so often does in literature as well as life. Untainted by the passional violence of Dumas, innocent of the pallid ratiocinations of Ibsen, the heroic comedy "Cyrano de Bergerac" was thought to mark the end of Ibsenism, the revival of romanticism, to give the *coup de grace* to the ultra-realistic *régime* of the Theatre Libre.

Ever since Henrik Ibsen, the poet-prophet of the nineteenth century, attracted the attention of the French literary world by penetrating the sex-relationship with the X-ray of his relentless logic, the younger playwrights of France vied with each other in imitating him. Just as German writers at the close of the eighteenth century sought to burst the

bonds of French classicism and hoisted the standard of Shakspere and Rousseau, so the last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the French dramatic writers emblazoning the name of Ibsen upon their banner. The warnings and protestations of Sarcey, and even of the French public, went unheeded. Ibsen and the problem-play reigned supreme; French dramatic literature became permeated with foreign influences; individuality was for a time stifled. Such a condition could not long exist.

It was just at this time that "Cyrano de Bergerac" came like morning sunlight to dispel the mists of Ibsenism with which the atmosphere of dramatic art in France had become obscured. Here at last was a truly French play, excelling in theatrical brilliance, brimful of life and fire, bathed in a flood of poetry and song; untouched by the mysticism of Maeterlinck, untrammeled by the problems of Ibsen, untainted by the pruriency of D'Annunzio; a play light, clear and delicate; brilliant, sparkling, coruscating as a diamond with a thousand facets; dazzling in verbal luxury, in extravagant fancy, in scintillant flash of wit and epigram. Here was poetry, not pathology; clarity, not obscurity; vitality, animate with romance, rather than the lifeless skeleton of the closet. Here too was history, not hysteria: the closed book of the seventeenth century opened, and Cyrano de Bergerac, D'Artagnan, the Précieuses, and the gay guardsmen came forth from the sepulchre of its pages and lived again. The French public bade glad farewell to Ibsen's greatness, and hailed Rostand with an enthusiasm that almost taxes credulity. "Great is Romance, and Rostand is its prophet," was the watchword. The brilliant writer and actor, to whom the play had been gracefully dedicated—"To Coquelin, into whom the soul of Cyrano has passed"—with unbridled appreciation exclaimed, "Ah, Rostand! What a mind, what a genius! I know no greater play than 'Cyrano.'"

It is not a matter for great surprise that "L'Aiglon" coming after "Cyrano," should have stirred the Parisian world to its depths. For here the gold of the Napoleonic *régime* was reminted into a new currency and the young King of Rome chosen for the medium of circulation. One other moving cause of the success of Rostand's plays, his masterpiece "Cyrano" in especial, was his genius as a dramatic director. The same estimative faculty that called the Englishman a "political animal" would no doubt dub the Frenchman a "dramatic biped." And that is just what M. Rostand is: a dramatic biped. In all the situations that the genius of M. Rostand has touched, the most conspicuous elements revealed are mastery of effect and technique, the scenic sense, and, more than all, theatrical intelligence. Even his bitterest defamers give him credit for admirably perfect carpentry.

Like Shakspere, like Moliére, like Ibsen, Rostand has gained his wide knowledge of stagecraft through personal direction of his own plays. Bernhardt declared him to be a finished actor, and Coquelin said that when "Cyrano" went into rehearsal his wonder grew again: Rostand almost lived at the theater, drilling each actor, designing each costume, ordering the setting of every scene. "We were in rehearsal," says Coquelin, "about two months and a half, with some sixty repetitions, and during that time I never knew Rostand to be in doubt before any dramatic tangle, or to make an error in judgment." Had it not been proscribed by custom, Rostand would have acted in his own plays. In default of that, he always reigned supreme as theatrical director. "On one point I stand firm: I will have no line or situation in any play of mine that is not wholly my own. If one of my company were to give me a splendid climax, just what I was seeking, I would not use it, for if I did, I would no longer be the master, and that I must be."

II.

The delicate, airy, Watteau-like picture painted in Rostand's first successful play, "Les Romanesques," is of far more interest to-day than when it was crowned by the French Academy. The scene is laid anywhere, so it be in a garden of bright flowers and green trees. "The time of the play is immaterial," read the stage directions, "provided the costumes be pretty." The play is a fanciful and jesting burlesque of the scheme of "Romeo and Juliet," with two old fathers, Bergamin and Pasquin, playing the *rôles* of Montagu and Capulet, while Percinet, son of Bergamin, and Sylvette, daughter of Pasquin, play the parts of Romeo and Juliet respectively. The fathers wish the children to fall in love and, with keen insight into human nature, assume hatred for each other and pretend to place obstacles in the way of the children's love. Of course the young creatures fall into the trap and become ardent lovers, delighting in circumventing their fathers' plans and pluming themselves upon their romantic attachment.

A swaggering braggadocio, Straforel, perhaps the most Shaksperian of all M. Rostand's creations, is hired by the two fathers to arrange a mock abduction of Sylvette, so that Percinet may have an opportunity to rescue her, and thus bring about, in the children's eyes, a reconciliation between the fathers. The plan is carried out successfully. After heroic struggles with the abductors Percinet rescues Sylvette, the fathers become reconciled, and the children are enraptured over the triumph of love and romance.

This closes the first act and in itself embodies a complete comedy, a light satire upon the folly and blindness of romance. But Rostand is not content with this as an ending. Although ignorance is bliss for the lovers, Rostand does not deem it folly for them to become wise. So in turn Sylvette and Percinet, by accident of circumstance, gain a glimpse of Straforel's bill for the abduction of Sylvette. The sight of the itemized account: "To Straforel (as per bill), one imitation rape, to bring betrothal on, etc.," punctures the shining bubble of their romance, and their love, as Shakspere has it, falls into low price and abatement, even in a minute. The marriage plans are shattered, Percinet rushes off to brush against the real world, and Straforel is left to mourn his unpaid bill.

Realizing that the prodigal will return sooner or later, the psychologist Straforel plans to unite the lovers a second time. So he devises a means of demonstrating to Sylvette the absurdity and undesirability of a life of so-called romance. Disguised as a duke, he courts Sylvette, and with clever art inspires her with fear and dislike of the Bohemia of reality. When Percinet returns, bruised and shocked by his rude encounter with the world of fact, Sylvette welcomes him with outstretched arms; and thus ends the play, with lovers and parents happy, and Straforel's bill paid at last.

The whole delicate comedy is in a light and satiric vein, a sort of merry jest at life, a travesty on love. Through it all runs a meaning not to be ignored. In this play is found a broad hold of craft-mastery, the hurrying flash of dialogue, the mellowing glamor of romance. It is wholly free from any trace of modern morbidity or decadence; unsullied by the joyless pessimism and passional degeneracy of modern France. Straforel is an exuberant and extravagant creation, in direct line of ancestry with that tremendous creation, Cyrano; incarnation of *l'esprit Gaulois*, but still possessor of a large grasp of human nature and of life: a vital and picturesque *moquer*. It was that authoritative critic, M. Jules Lemaitre, who said of this play: "Its execution appears to me remarkable. This is brilliant stuff; all sparkling with wit, and in places glowing with a large and easy sense of gaiety."

"La Samaritaine," described as "An Evangel, in three tableaux," the play that comes next to "Les Romanesques" in point of time, is, as its title proves, the story of the woman of Samaria. In its mystic and reverential appeal it touches the English pre-Raphaelites, Burne-Jones and Rossetti, on the one hand, and the Continental mystics, Maeterlinck, Huysmanns and Verlaine, on the other. Its emotional appeal and dramatic power give it a place beside Paul Heyse's "Mary of Magdala," so artistically produced in this country by Mrs. Fiske. Photine, the courtesan in M. Rostand's play, is a figure of vivid and intense beauty, moving across the stage with all the passionate earnestness and fervor inspired by the words and presence of Christ himself. The utterances of the Master are always those of the Gospel transcribed into flexible and poetic form. This play could not be produced in England or the United States, because of the employment of the Christ as a leading dramatic figure. Mme. Bernhardt protests against the Anglo-Saxon view as a puritanical and unnatural one; and of her emotions in interpreting the character of Photine, she says: "The *rôle* exhausts me more than any I have ever interpreted, because of its spiritual intensity. You know I am a believer, as Rostand is, and the play qecomes a reality to me every time I go through it. And the audience—Ah! if you could only see how they crowd the theater at Eastertide when we put on 'La Samaritaine.' All kinds of people come, those who never go to church, women who have done wrong, priests, children, old men. And as they listen to the simple story they are moved to the heart, they weep, they pray. I am sure that play does more good in the world than many sermons."

In its subtile blending of the idealities of love with the actualities of passion, the subjective self-examination, the minute tracery of feeling, "La Princesse Lointaine" is essentially a product of modernity. Rudel, idealist and romantic to the last, seeks his princess far away, even to the very door of death. Swaying like a willow between the moribund Rudel and the living reality Bertrand, Melissinde seizes with self-deluding eagerness upon Sorismonde's flattering unction: "You will not see him who was dear to you in the divine splendor of a dream, because you would not see him in the horrible haggardness of the fact; you would keep the recollection of your love still noble." "Ah, yes," replies the Princess, "that is the only reason." And yet the actuality of life, when put to the test, pales before the radiance of imaginative romance. It is the ideal that ultimately conquers. "The romance of chivalry has its good points," says that arch-skeptic Bernard Shaw, in a review of the play (Daly's Theater, London, June 17, 1895); "but it always dies of the Unwomanly Woman. And M. Rostand's 'Princess Far-Away' will die of Melissinde. A first act in which the men do nothing but describe their hysterical visions of a wonderful goddess-princess whom they have never seen is bad enough; but it is pardonable, because men do make fools of themselves about women, sometimes in an interesting and poetic fashion. But when the woman appears and plays up to the height of their folly, intoning her speeches to an accompaniment of pipes and horns, distributing lilies and languors to pilgrims, and roses and raptures to troubadours, always in the character which their ravings have ascribed to her, what can one feel except that an excellent opportunity for a good comedy is being thrown away? If Melissinde would only eat something, or speak in prose, or only swear in it, or do anything human—were it even smoking a cigarette—to bring these silly Argonauts to their senses for a moment, one could forgive her. But she remains an unredeemed humbug from one end of the play to the other; and, when at the climax of one of her most deliberately piled-up theatrical entrances, a poor green

mariner exclaims with open-mouthed awe, 'The Blessed Virgin!' it sends a twinge of frightful blasphemous irony down one's spine. Having felt that, I now understand better than before why the Dulcinea episodes in *Don Quixote* are so coarse in comparison to the rest of the book. Cervantes had been driven into reactionary savagery by too much Melissinde." Shaw's words were prophetic.

III.

Émile Augier long since affirmed that dramatic art is as dear to the French as it once was to the Athenians, and M. Rostand has done much to justify the truth of this assertion. "L'Aiglon" however is less the dramatic than the epic poem of modern France. All the heroic traditions of the Napoleonic era, all the magnificent drama of France in the noonday of its glorious supremacy, go pulsing through it in a lyrical tide of majestic and rhetorical sweep. Every chord is touched, every string set singing in the heart of modern France. The great protagonist of the poem is not the hesitating and impotent Eaglet, nor yet the stern impersonation of authority, Metternich, but the transcendent glory of the first Napoleon, that great flame in all history, which his son calls

"That mighty name, which throbs with guns and bells,
Clashes and thunders."

The play glows from first to last with fiery and impassioned rhetoric, summoning always the ghost of the Napoleonic legend. This is poetry indeed, on a lofty and elevated plane, devoted almost solely to the aim of playing upon the theme of Napoleonic greatness. It has been remarked with much truth that it is primarily because Rostand is a poet that he has put completely "in the shade" such an incomparable stage-machinist as Sardou.

From the standpoint of dramatic action, the play is loosely constructed, giving us a series of picturesque scenes rather than a logical and orderly succession of distinct, decisive actions. Judged in detail, the play, it must be stated, makes the most universal demand upon the actor or actress interpreting the character of the irresolute young duke—a demand for the whole range of histrionic power. In bringing into play all the tricks and devices of theatric and scenic technique, which are so completely at his command, M. Rostand has sacrificed the general unity and solidarity of effect which is the *sine qua non* of great tragedy. Ardent admirer of Rostand that he is, Coquelin nevertheless has said: "'L'Aiglon' is beautiful, but it will not live on the stage. Why? Because it is a poem, a grand poem, rather than a play."

Certain passages of the play are in swelling and majestic verse, lines of genuine epic swing and burning rhetorical fervor. Reichstadt's apostrophe to his father's name, and Metternich's soliloquy over the hat of Napoleon are glowing flames of poetic fire. Certain scenes in the play are of high dramatic intensity touched with the psychological imaginativeness of modernity. The mirror scene, where Metternich extinguishes in the Eaglet the flicker of Napoleonic fire with the damp of Austrian impotence, and the scene on the battlefield of Wagram, reminiscent of Victor Hugo's celebrated description of the battlefield of Waterloo, are moments of terrible and tragic power.

"L'Aiglon" is essentially a moral tragedy, the struggle of the son of Maria Louisa to be the son of Napoleon as well; not his son in name only, but the legitimate child of his glory, his feats of arms, his colossal achievements. The young Eaglet, impotently straining for flight, never achieves his ambition, for he is ever vacillating, fitful, hesitant.

"Like a poor prisoner who falls a-dreaming
Of vast and murmuring forests, with a tree
Fashioned of shavings, taken from a doll's house,
I build my father's Epic with these soldiers."

The clear struggle of hereditary qualities constitutes the real action of the play. The conqueror is not the daring spirit of Napoleonic resolution, but the hesitant vacillation of a long line of morbid and introspective monarchs.

In the soul of the Eaglet M. Rostand has built the epic of Napoleon's greatness. In the Eaglet's failure to realize this Epic, lies both the expiation and the punishment of Napoleon's transgressions.

"I am the expiation.
All was not paid, and I complete the price.
'T was fated I should seek the battle-field,
And here, above the multitudinous dead,
Be the white victim, growing daily whiter,
Renouncing, praying, asking but to suffer,
Yearning toward heaven, like sacrificial incense!
. . . . . .
'T is meet and right the battle-field should offer
This sacrifice, that henceforth it may bear
Pure and unstained its name of Victory.
Wagram, behold me! Ransom of old days,
Son, offered for, alas! how many sons!
Above the dreadful haze wherein thou stirrest,
Uplift me, Wagram, in thy scarlet hands!
It must be so! I know it! Feel it! Will it!
The breath of death has rustled through my hair!
The shudder of death has passed athwart my soul!
I am all white; a sacramental Host!
What more reproach can they hurl, O Father,
Against our hapless fate? Oh hush! I add
In silence Schoenbrunn to Saint Helena!—
'T is done! . . ."

IV.

In "Cyrano de Bergerac" the student of the history and literature of the period sees unrolled before his very eyes the Paris of 1640, and, athwart the moving picture, that admiration-compelling and lovable type of the French guardsman, cloaked, booted and spurred, his hand on his rapier, gay, fearless and honorable—and daily realizing the supreme ideal of his age, "*un beau coup d'epée.*"

The reconstitution of the Paris of the seventeenth century is an achievement worthy of the best traditions of French dramatic literature, and this alone is almost enough to make the play great. Not only has M. Rostand thrown upon the stage a genuine story of the period, and given us a presentation rather than a representation of the age, its form and pressure, but he has everywhere indicated, by the most delicate and allusive touches, the French temperament and a definitive type of racial psychology. And in many respects it is the real Cyrano de Bergerac that M. Rostand has given us—that real Cyrano who once wrote heart-brokenly to his friend Le Bret: "*Je suis le second du tout le monde.*"

In the beginning of the play, after the celebrated theater scene where Cyrano surges up out of the crowded pit of the Hotel de Bourgogne with his terrible nose and his "*Ah ! je vais me fâcher,*" it is the D'Artagnan of history who steps forward to congratulate him. In the end of the play, the greatest compliment of all is paid Cyrano, for Molière has robbed him of the celebrated *galère* scene in Cyrano's own drama "Le Pedant Joue." This is an historical fact, for Molière, whose avowed doctrine was "*Je prends mon bien ou je le trouve,*" actually inserted two scenes from Cyrano's play into his own drama "Les Fourberies de Scapin." Rostand's revival of this historical incident aroused so much interest in the life of the poet Cyrano de Bergerac, and his claims as a dramatist, that his play "Le Pedant Joue" was produced and published in 1900 by the Cercle Française of Harvard University. In that perilously ludicrous scene, where Cyrano delays De Guiche until Christian and Roxane are married, the six methods of reaching the moon there detailed are taken from the real Cyrano's book, entitled *Les Voyages dans la Lune et dans le Soleil.* As Cyrano's comedy "Le Pedant Joue" is interesting to-day for its influence upon Molière's "Les Fourberies de Scapin," so Cyrano's satire upon his age, *Les Voyages dans la Lune et dans la Soleil* is chiefly of interest because of its influence upon Swift's *Gulliver's Travels.*

In Cyrano M. Rostand has given us almost a new type in literature, so many-sided, so complex, so composite is the character. Cyrano is a hero animate

with the joy of life, the merry jest at death—buoyant in spirit, flamboyant in temperament. In every chosen vocation of his life he is magnificent, colossal, supreme. If, like Falstaff, he dilates upon his exploits, yet, like D'Artagnan, he makes good his every boast. If, with Gascon fanfaronade, he declares that at his passage through the crowd, true sayings ring like spurs, yet his pride as a poet is not without reason, for the greatest French dramatist of all time pays him the extraordinary tribute of robbing his play of two whole scenes. If, as William Winter reminds us, "he would appear, like Acres, to keep a private graveyard, yet, like Sydney Carton, he is capable of magnanimous passion and holy self-sacrifice." If, like Hamlet, he ever sounds the renunciatory note of gaunt despair, yet he is ever capable of action in that life he dared to live so largely. His silence after Christian's death is the pure symbol of his loyalty to Christian, his devotion to Roxane. When Roxane, at the end, asks him, "Why, why have been silent all these long years, when on this letter, in which Christian had no part, the tears are yours?" Cyrano's sad reply is, "Because the blood was his." Although he replies to De Guiche's query if he has read *Don Quixote*, "I have, and at the name of that divine madman I uncover," yet, like Bayard, he is the soul of true chivalry and honor—*sans peur et sans reproche.*

The conception of a hero, whose nobility of soul would be offset by some physical defect, Rostand affirms had long been maturing in his mind. It was with eagerness and delight that Rostand caught at Cyrano de Bergerac. For here was one who had really lived, the very hero of his dreams. And in Cyrano he created a type of high-souled magnanimity, noble self-sacrifice, and pure devotion that fills the heart with deep and regenerative pathos. Cyrano plans Roxane's happiness, with no selfish hope of reward. Christian casts insults in his teeth: Cyrano, for Roxane's sake, forgives him. Roxane avows her love for Christian: Cyrano promises to protect him. He woos Roxane for another and sees that other take the kiss that belongs to himself. He lends Christian his soul, his genius, his poesy, and receives for his reward only bitterness and despair at the sight of Christian's bliss. "We shall compose together a hero of Romance," but it is Christian who is to tread the boards, play the gallant *rôle* and pluck the flowers of love and happiness, while Cyrano, in the dimness of anguish, from behind the scenes, plays the self-tormenting prompter. He gives joy and happiness to others: to himself none can he award. He saved others: himself he could not save. When at last Christian bids him speak, when his cup of hope is brimming over and the supreme moment of his life is at hand, a shot rings out, and with a definitive, heart-rending cry, he bids farewell to all his hopes. His lips, like Christian's, are sealed for evermore.

It is inconceivable that Cyrano ever could or would consciously condemn the woman of his heart to a life of misery with a brainless dolt. In the balcony scene, when he is expressing himself at highest potency, his words to Roxane are unmistakable in import: "Ah, for your happiness now readily would I give mine, though you should never know it, might I but, from a distance sometimes, hear the happy laughter bought by my sacrifice." Thus he resigns all to Christian, believing him to be a man worthy of her choice, for at one place he calls him a "fine fellow," and at another he speaks of him as "Christian, the comely and the kind." He believes that Roxane's marriage to Christian will bring to her heart that "happy laughter bought by his sacrifice." Of Cyrano in his love, as of Romeo, it might truly be said:

> "Affliction is enamored of thy parts,
> And thou art wedded to calamity."

v.

After the celebrated duel scene in the first act, a magnificent and heroic musketeer steps forward, congratulates Cyrano with warmth, and then vanishes. No theatrical byplay this, but a symbol of deep and vital significance. The generation inspired by the message of Walter Scott welcomed with open arms the D' Artagnan of Alexander Dumas. Today the generation inspired by the message of Robert Louis Stevenson bids hail to the Cyrano de Bergerac of Edmond Rostand. The Musketeer D'Artagnan congratulates the Musketeer De Bergerac, but are not these figures of still grander proportions? Is it not rather the spirit of the first half of the nineteenth century congratulating the spirit of the first half of the twentieth century upon Edmond Rostand and the return of Romance?

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Chapel Hill, N. C.

DIRECT POPULAR LEGISLATION: THE CHIEF OBJECTIONS EXAMINED.

BY CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER, LL.M., Ph.D.
Judge of the Court of First Instance, Philippine Islands.

THE ATTITUDE of expert and professional opinion has not, as a whole, been favorable to the extension of the Swiss referendum. While there are notable exceptions,* eminent specialists in political science, as well as distinguished representatives of the bench and bar,† have expressed themselves adversely to the system. Now that direct-legislation has ceased to be a mere hobby of the professional agitator and theoretical reformer, is in actual operation in some states,‡ and bids fair to become a live issue in others, and especially now that its constitutionality has been judicially affirmed,§ it ought to be of value to inquire into the reasons for this attitude on the part of those who are supposed to speak with authority, and to ascertain how far it results from mere conservatism and dislike of radical change and how far it is due to the actual demerits of the proposed system.

An examination of the literature of the subject will disclose that the chief objections urged by these opponents of the referendum may be reduced to four, *viz.*, (1) Indifference of electors; (2) complexity of legislation and incapacity of electors; (3) obliteration of distinction between constitutional and other law, and (4) impairment of legislative influence.

I.

Of these the first is the one most frequently and insistently urged. Even so moderate and impartial an observer as Albert Bushnell Hart says of the institution in its original home:

* Among these is Professor A. V. Dicey. See his article, "Ought the Referendum to be Introduced into England?" *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 57, p. 502.

† See address of President U. M. Rose before American Bar Association, 1902; 25 American Bar Association's Report, 239, and cf. Judge Sherwood's article, "The Referendum under the United States Constitution," 56 *Central Law Journal*, 247; also article in 13 *Yale Law Journal*, 248; 58 *Central Law Journal*, 81, 244.

‡ It is in full force in South Dakota, Utah and Oregon, and in a modified form in Arizona; is authorized as to municipal matters in California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Nebraska, Washington and Wisconsin; and is employed in Canada and Australasia, besides, of course, its original home—Switzerland.

§ In Kadderly *vs.* City of Portland (Or.), 74 *Pac. Rep.*, 710.

"I must own to disappointment over the use made by the Swiss of their envied opportunity. On the twenty referenda between 1879 and 1891, the average vote in proportion to the voters was but 58.5 per cent.; in only one case did it reach 67 per cent. and in one case—the patent law of 1887—it fell to about 40 per cent. in the Confederation and to 9 per cent. in the Canton Schwyz. On the serious and dangerous question of recognizing the right to employment, this present year, only about 56 per cent. participated. In Zurich there is a compulsory voting-law, of which the curious result is that on both national and cantonal referenda many thousands of blank-ballots are cast. The result of the small vote is that laws duly considered by the national legislature, and passed by considerable majorities, are often reversed by a minority of the voters. The most probable reason for this apathy is that there are too many elections—in some cantons as many as fifteen a year. Whatever the cause, Swiss voters are less interested in referenda than Swiss legislators in framing bills." *

So M. Deploige, a Belgian critic who is none too friendly, declares of the referendum:

"It is a little ridiculous to talk of legislation by the people when more than one-half the citizens refuse to exercise their legislative rights." †

But it seems not to have occurred to the opponents of direct-legislation that this line of argument would tell quite as strongly against a cherished American practice—the submission of constitutions to a popular vote. Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, speaking of a state where submission has been followed from the first says:

"Experience shows that much less interest is taken by the people in propositions for constitutional amendments than in elections to office. The personal element is always wanting, and, generally, that of party advantage."

The strife between Hartford and New Haven for holding the state capital was of special interest to every citizen, and great efforts were made to call out a full vote on the part of each, yet a fifth of the electors who cast their ballots for state officers in 1873 cast none on the constitutional amendment. And the change to biennial elections, in 1884, was carried by little more than a fourth of those who took part in the general election, the total vote for state officers being considerably more than double that cast on the proposed amendment. The prohibition question has excited as much interest as any not connected with the immediate success of one of our great political parties, but at the decisive vote in 1889, only 72,746 ballots were cast, though those for governor, at the last preceding state election, numbered 154,226, out of a total registry of 167,529.‡

In 1887, out of a total electorate of over 31,000 in Delaware, less than one-half took the trouble to vote on the question of calling a convention. In 1891, when the voters appear to have increased to 35,000, there were still less than fifty per cent. who cast their ballots.§

* "Vox Populi in Switzerland," *The Nation*, Vol. 59, p. 193. See also a letter by Professor Hart in the *Direct-Legislation Record*, Vol. 1, p. 81, and an extended reply by the editor who concedes that the figures in so far as they concern the national referenda are "correct or approximately so." In the same number of the last-named publication at page 80, the following statement is quoted from a writer on the Referendum in the New York *Tribune*: "It is seldom that fifty per cent. of the registered voters can be persuaded to cast their ballots." Commenting on this the editor of the *Direct-Legislation Record* says: "Our readers have seen the correct figures. In Zurich the average for twenty years was 74 per cent. On all the national referenda up to date the average, not merely the registered voters, but of the entire population, has been nearly 60 per cent."

† *The Referendum in Switzerland* (Trevelyan's Translation, London, 1898), p. 289.

‡ The Three Constitutions of Connecticut *vs.* New Haven Historical Society Papers (New Haven, 1894), p. 241.

§ See Oberholtzer, *The Referendum in America*, p. 135; *McPherson's Handbook*, 1888, p. 72; 1892, p. 136.

In Nebraska, in 1896, the electors were invited to vote on no less than twelve amendments to the constitution. The total vote for the office of governor in that year was 217,768, while on the very important amendment relating to the increase in the number of supreme court judges, there are reported as having been cast only 122,475, or about 61 per cent. of those cast for gubernatorial candidates.* Indeed, proposed amendments have been submitted in that state in all but two of the even years since 1881,† and only one of these has been declared adopted.‡

Now the benefits of popular ratification form a subject on which there is a practical unanimity of opinion among the publicists of the present day.§ Professor Hart himself observes:

"In the United States we have already the good effects of the referendum, so far as it deals with changes of the constitutions, the permanent and superior part of our law." ||

Among these "good effects" are, it is generally conceded, the permanence of constitutions¶ and the educational influence upon the electors—all this in spite of the fact that a large percentage apparently fails to exercise the privilege. It is difficult to understand why similar advantages might not accrue by applying the system to ordinary legislation.

Moreover, in some parts of the country, at least, the voters display a growing appreciation of their function as constitution-makers. Thus in California, during a period of a dozen years, in which some twenty-eight amendments were submitted, an average of about two-thirds of those voting at the election availed themselves of their right to pass upon these proposed changes in the fundamental law. On the question of extending the franchise to women, which was submitted at a presidential election, 83.4 per cent. of those voting for presidential candidates registered their choice, while the lowest constitutional vote during the period was 39.4 per cent., which was cast on an amendment to which there was little opposition.** In Texas and other states of the South and West, the figures reveal on the part of the electorate an increasing interest in constitution-making.

Even in the instances referred to above as indicating a different condition, there were qualifying circumstances. The Delaware, and at least one of the Connecticut, instances were special elections which hardly ever afford a fair test of the voter's real interest. In Nebraska most of the rejected amendments received a majority of the votes cast thereon and were lost by reason only of the constitutional requirement of a majority of all votes cast at the election. A light vote on constitutional amendments may also frequently be explained by the comparative unimportance of some, or, on the other hand, by the strong probability of their adoption on account of their general acceptance or for some other reason.

But conceding that the electors do fail to take as much interest in abstract questions in the form of proposed constitu-

* *Id.*

† See Tecumseh National Bank *vs.* Saunders, 51 *Neb.*, 802.

‡ See an article by Judge Charles B. Letton in the Omaha *Bee*, October 5, 1902.

§ Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (2d ed.), p. 457; Borgeaud, *Adoption and Amendment of Constitutions* (Hazen's Translation, Chicago, 1895), p. 346; Jameson, *Constitutional Conventions* (4th ed., Chicago, 1887), pp. 490–1; Eaton, "The Late Constitutional Convention of South Carolina," 31 *American Law Rev.*, 198.

|| *The Nation*, Vol. 59, p. 194.

¶ "A general survey of this branch of our inquiry leads to the conclusion that the peoples of the several states, in the exercise of this their highest function, show little of that haste, that recklessness, that love of change for the sake of change, with which European theorists, both ancient and modern, have been wont to credit democracy; and that the method of direct-legislation by the citizens, liable as it doubtless is to abuse, causes, in the present condition of the states, fewer evils than it prevents."—Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (2d ed., Chicago, 1890), Vol. I, p. 457.

** Moffett, "The Constitutional Referendum in California," 13 *Political Science Quarterly*, 14.

tions and laws as in the election of candidates, does it follow that the system of direct popular action is a failure or that the state's interests would be promoted by discarding it?

"The lack of an absolutely full vote on any question," says Mr. Moffett, in the article above referred to,* "is . . . not a disadvantage but the reverse. It means that only those who feel some interest in the subject, and are therefore prepared to act with a certain intelligence, take the trouble to vote and that the members of the unintelligent residuum voluntarily disfranchise themselves."

It may be, and apparently is, true that more electors will go to the polls to vote for certain individuals for office than will exercise the higher privilege of determining the character of the state's laws. In other words, a personal and concrete subject arouses greater interest than an impersonal and abstract one. But it surely will not be claimed that those who vote simply for candidates and fail to vote on proposed laws are actuated by patriotic or even intelligent motives. We have seen that the framers of the first popularly-adopted American state constitution sought to make ours "a government of laws, not of men"; the voter who goes to the polls because, and merely because, he wishes one or more individuals elected to office and who ignores the opportunity to express his choice concerning the laws, must be deemed to be more interested in the fortunes of individuals than in the welfare of the state and to have failed to attain a high standard of good citizenship.

II.

M. Simon Deploige, in his objections to the referendum declares: †

"The elector who writes Aye or No on his ballot-paper performs an act, the apparent simplicity of which has attracted the democrats, but this act is, as a matter of fact, a very complex one. It requires that each voter should be able not only to understand why legislation is necessary, but also should be able to judge whether the law in question is adequate to meet the case. Nothing effectual has as yet been devised which would assist the elector in forming a personal opinion on such a subject."

But it may well be asked if this is not after all an indictment of popular government in general rather than merely of popular legislation, and whether as a matter of fact the people are not now, in the last analysis, required to determine these questions but to do so under a system which disguises and conceals the fact that they are involved? When the American electorate is called upon to choose a president or a congress, or when the British voter is asked to register his choice for members of parliament, the result usually determines the fate of important measures vitally affecting the national policy. But these are not the questions

* "The Constitutional Referendum in California," 13 *Political Science Quarterly*, 14, 15.

† *The Referendum in Switzerland* (Trevelyan's Translation, London, 1898), p. 288. Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell, an American critic of the referendum, thinks that the difficulties would be multiplied if the system were adopted in the United States. "The relations of the executive and legislative in Switzerland," he says, "are very different from what they are in this country, for a great deal of what we should consider legislation falls into the province of the Swiss executive. The laws are passed in a comparatively simple and general form, and the executive has authority to complete their details and provide for their application by means of decrees or ordinances. Partly for this reason, and partly on account of the small size of the country, the number of laws passed in a year is far less than with us. Is it not evident that while a people may vote intelligently on five or ten laws a year, it is absurd to suppose that they could vote intelligently on four hundred? How could they be expected to consider independently each one of four hundred different measures? Is it not clear what they would do? They would not attempt to consider each law separately, nor even to understand it at all, but they would vote on them all as their party-leaders directed." "The Referendum in Switzerland and in America," 73 *Atlantic Monthly*, pp. 523–4.

most discussed in the campaign before the people. Instead of simplifying the voter's task the present system too often complicates it by involving the merits of a question with others, like the personality of candidates, or the necessity of party success.

"It is often said," observes Mr. Lecky,* who certainly cannot be suspected of any predilections toward democracy, "that there are large classes of questions on which such a popular opinion could be of little worth. To this I have no difficulty in subscribing. It is very doubtful whether a really popular vote would have ratified the Toleration Act in the seventeenth century, or the abolition of the capital punishment of witches in the eighteenth century, or Catholic Emancipation in the nineteenth century, or a crowd of other measures that might be enumerated. It is now, however, too late to urge such an argument. Democracy has been crowned king. The voice of the multitude is the ultimate court of appeal, and the right of independent judgment, which was once claimed for the members of parliament, is now almost wholly discarded. If the electorate is to judge policies, it is surely less likely to err if it judges them on a clear and distinct issue. In such a case it is most likely to act independently and not at the dictation of party wire-pullers."

III.

Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell, in an elaborate article says:

"Our whole political system rests on the distinction between constitutional and other laws. The former are the solemn principles laid down by the people in its ultimate sovereignty; the latter are regulations made by its representatives within the limits of their authority, and the courts can hold unauthorized and void any act which exceeds those limits. The courts can do this because they are maintaining against the legislature the fundamental principles which the people themselves have determined to support, and they can do it only so long as the people feel that the constitution is something more sacred and enduring than ordinary laws, something that derives its force from a higher authority. Now, if all laws received their sanction from a direct popular vote, this distinction would disappear. There would cease to be any reason for considering one law more sacred than another, and hence our courts would soon lose their power to pass upon the constitutionality of statutes." †

But the referendum is not a system under which "all laws receive their sanction from a direct popular vote." Its adoption means not the abolition of the legislature but primarily the maintenance of a wholesome check thereon, and at most the providing of an alternative system. In Switzerland the bulk of legislation is still enacted by the representative body.

Moreover, there are those who would not consider it a serious calamity if our courts should lose some of "their power to pass upon the constitutionality of statutes." In this day when important and beneficial statutes are often annuled on purely technical grounds,—when inferior courts and even ministerial officers assume to pass upon the constitutionality of laws,—the adoption of a system which would necessarily check this tendency, could hardly be regarded as an unmixed evil.

Finally it should not be overlooked that this objection is not peculiar to the referendum but that it could be made and has been made in reference to popular constitution-making. Woodrow Wilson declares‡ that in our recent funda-

* *Democracy and Liberty*, Vol. I., pp. 289–90.

† "The Referendum in Switzerland and in America," *Atlantic Monthly*, (1894), Vol. 73, p. 523.

‡ *The State*, sec. 896.

mental codes "the distinctions between constitutional and ordinary law hitherto recognized and valued, tend to be fatally obscured" and it is common to deplore the tendency of the framers of these instruments to encroach on the field of general legislation.* But whether or not this tendency is as dangerous as is claimed, it seems unlikely to be prevented by keeping out the referendum.

IV.

Professor Dicey, speaking with reference to the British legislature, says:

"The referendum diminishes the importance of parliamentary debate and thereby detracts from the influence of parliament. That this must be so admits of no denial; a veto, whether it be exercised by a king or by an electorate, lessens the power of the legislature."†

Mr. Bryce expresses the same thought when he says that direct popular legislation "tends to lower the authority and sense of responsibility in the legislature."‡

But the loss of legislative influence is already an accomplished fact.

"The American people," declares Professor Commons,§ "are fairly content with their executive and judicial departments of government, but they feel that their law-making bodies have painfully failed. This conviction pertains to all grades of legislatures, municipal, state and federal. The newspapers speak what the people feel; and judging therefrom, it is popular to denounce aldermen, legislators and congressmen. When congress is in session, the business interests are reported to be in agony until it adjourns. The cry that rises towards the end of a legislature's session is humiliating. . . . This demoralization of legislative bodies, these tendencies to restrict legislation, must be viewed as a profoundly alarming feature of American politics."

Nor are such expressions confined to the writers of one country.

"I do not think," says Mr. Lecky,‖ "there is any single fact which is more evident to impartial observers than the declining efficiency and the lowered character of parliamentary government. The evil is certainly not restricted to England. All over Europe, and, it may be added, in a great measure in the United States, complaints of the same kind may be heard. A growing distrust and contempt for representative bodies has been one of the most characteristic features of the closing years of the nineteenth century. In most countries, as we have already seen, the parliamentary system means constantly shifting government, ruined finances, frequent military revolts, the systematic management of constituencies. In most countries it has proved singularly sterile in high talent. It seems to have fallen more and more under the control of men of an inferior stamp: of skilful talkers and intriguers; of sectional interests or small groups; and its hold upon the affection and respect of nations has visibly diminished."

Mr. Dicey writes in a similar vein.

"Faith in parliaments," he declares,¶ "has undergone an eclipse; in proportion as the area of representative government has extended, so the moral authority and prestige of representative government has diminished. . . . The proposals for elaborate schemes of proportional representation, the denunciation of the party system by brilliant and weighty writers

* See *e. g.* Eaton, "The Late Constitutional Convention of South Carolina," 31 *Am. Law Rev.*, 198.

† *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 57, p. 502.

‡ *The American Commonwealth* (2d ed.), p. 453.

§ *Proportional Representation*, pp. 1, 8.

‖ *Democracy and Liberty* (New York, 1896), Vol. 1, pp. 142–3.

¶ 13 *Harvard Law Review*, pp. 73, 74.

who express in language which few men can command sentiments which thousands of men entertain, all bear witness to the widespread distrust of representative systems under which it, occasionally at least, may happen that an elected parliament represents only the worst side of a great nation."

Even so conservative a writer as the late E. L. Godkin* gives this testimony to the discredited plight of modern legislatures:

"At present, as far as one can see, the democratic world is filled with distrust and dislike of its parliaments, and submits to them only under the pressure of stern necessity. . . . They (democracies) seem to be getting tired of the representative system. In no country is it receiving the praises it received forty years ago. . . . There are signs of a strong disposition, which the Swiss have done much to stimulate, to try the 'referendum' more frequently, on a larger scale, as a mode of enacting laws."

Indeed, instead of impairing the prestige of legislatures the referendum seems to offer the one means of saving what little of it still remains. Probably the one fact which has contributed more than any other to lower the tone and standing of legislative bodies is the presence and influence of the lobby. If important measures were subject to a reference to the people before attaining the finality of legislation the power and influence of the lobby would be greatly reduced, if not destroyed. Such, at least, has been the experience of South Dakota as declared by its chief executive.†

These, then, are the results of a somewhat extensive search for the opinions of those who are supposed to speak with authority in opposition to the referendum. The arguments advanced and the reasons given seem far from convincing. This is not saying that there are no sound objections to the referendum. But if that system is to be condemned by the masters of political science it would seem that they must do so upon other grounds than those commonly urged.

Charles Sumner Lobingier.
Tacloban, Province of Leyte,
Philippine Islands.

FRANK F. STONE: CALIFORNIA'S MOST GIFTED SCULPTOR.

By B. O. Flower.

I.

THE ARTIST, the poet and the musician acting in harmony with the great Mother, minister to the profound emotional depths and feed the imagination. The moralist and the prophet of lofty spirituality appeal most compellingly to the conscience or ethical nature, or the sense of duty and right. The philosopher, the discoverer and the scientist appeal primarily to the intellectual in its narrow significance, leading us from height to height up the Himalayas of thought. All these groups are necessary to the rounding out of perfect manhood. They are the high-priests of civilization, the apostles of culture, ever ministering to the vital sides in the higher nature of man.

The artist, poet and musician as servants of idealism and interpreters of the soul of beauty feed the imagination with

* "The Decline of Legislatures," 80 *Atlantic Monthly*, pp. 51, 52.

† See *The Independent*, Vol. 54, p. 1,977.

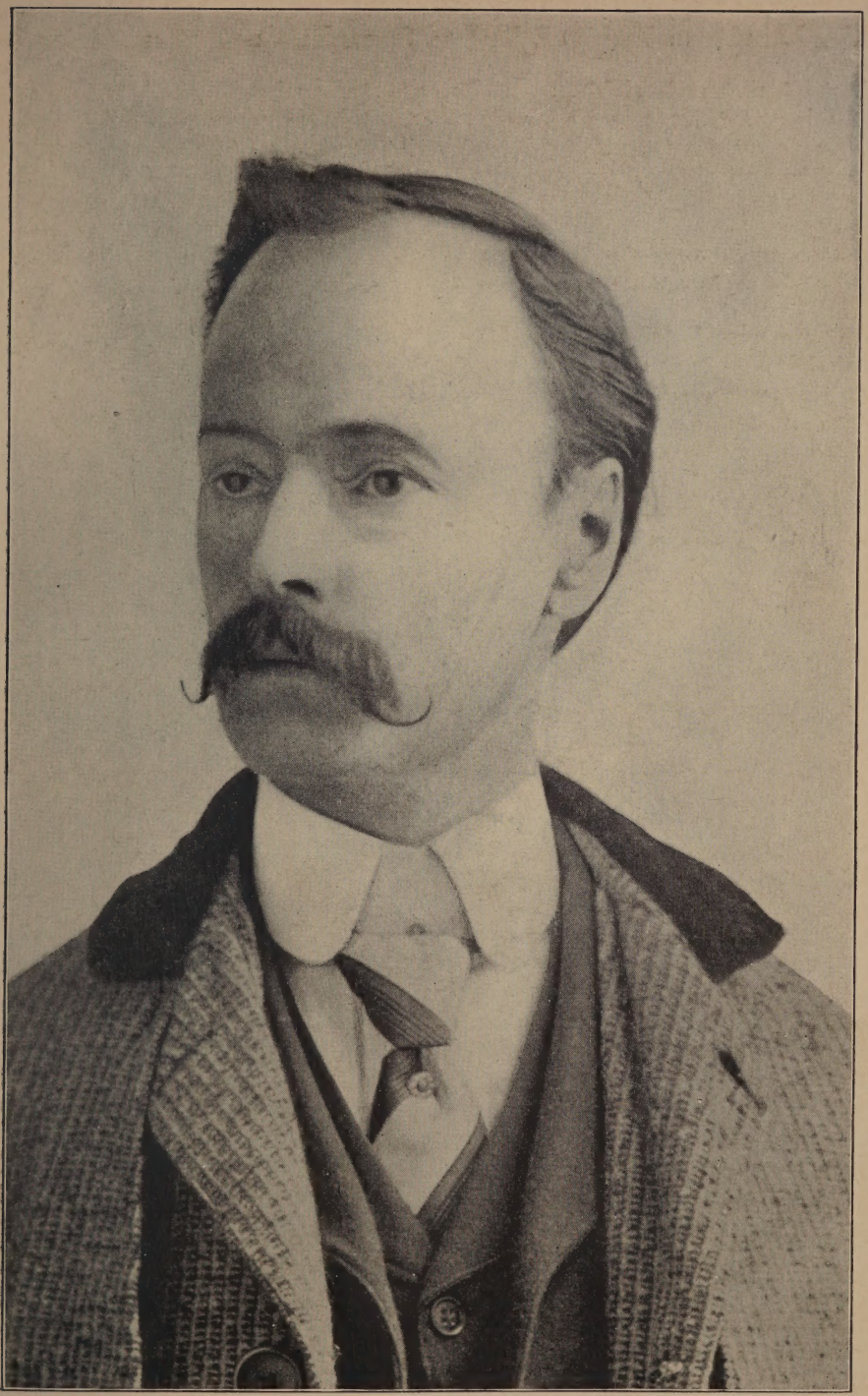

Photo. by Coules, Los Angeles

FRANK F. STONE

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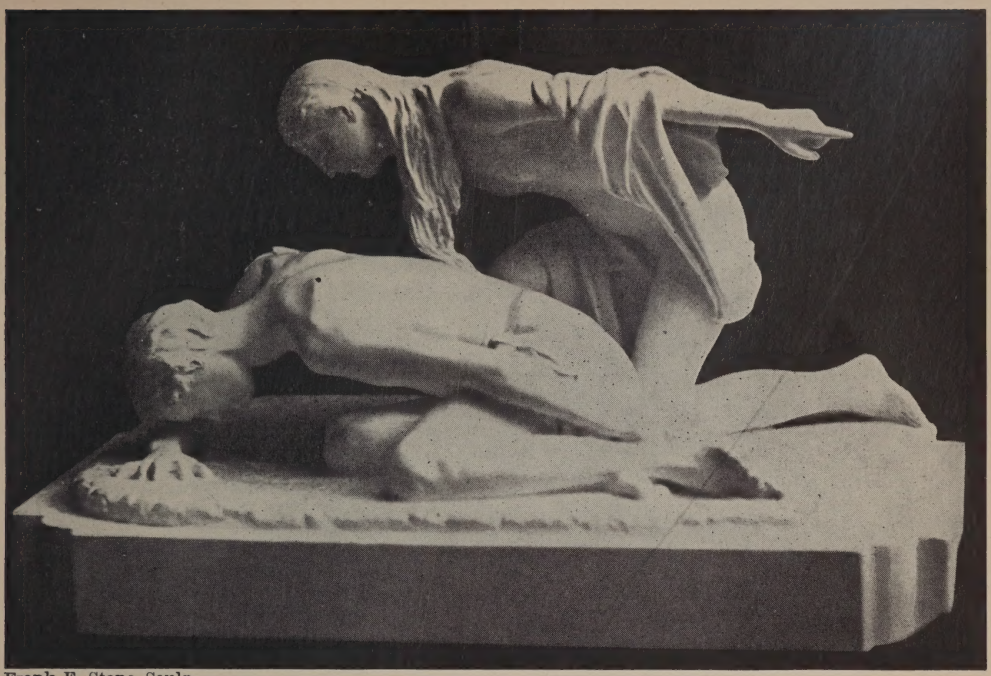


Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

WHISPER OF THE DAWN.

living water; and barring the joy that is born of the love for sentient life, their work yields more pure, unalloyed and exalted pleasure than aught else known to civilized man.

In new nations art necessarily waits on the brawn and the brain of the pioneer and home-builder; and later, when the forest and the wilderness have blossomed into homes, gardens, orchards and fruitful fields, and when the hoarded wealth of nature in mountain fastnesses and recesses of the earth has been taken from its storehouses and utilized for light and fuel, for building and the multitudinous services of our complex life, then a people turns instinctively and yearningly to its artists, poets and musicians, calling them to give something of that bread of life which ministers to the high demands of man.

Until recently our great republic has offered little encouragement to the sculptor, the painter or the creator of divine melody, but with the astounding material development of the past fifty years a change has been wrought so that now in our metropolitan centers, especially of the East and central West, evidences are not wanting of an esthetic awakening that presages a great American art. In the meantime here and there in remote regions men of genius and talent are holding high the standard of true art and in various centers are creating a love for the beautiful and a critical appreciation for fine art that is inestimably valuable to the region in which they are faithfully laboring.

On the Pacific coast there is a sculptor of marked ability who is dowered by nature with a poet's rich imagination. He is creating some remarkably fine work which must necessarily do very much toward stimulating the artistic taste in the land of sunshine and roses, of the grape and the golden poppy. It is not strange that California is proud of her eminent sculptor, Frank F. Stone, whose home is in Los Angeles. Indeed, we

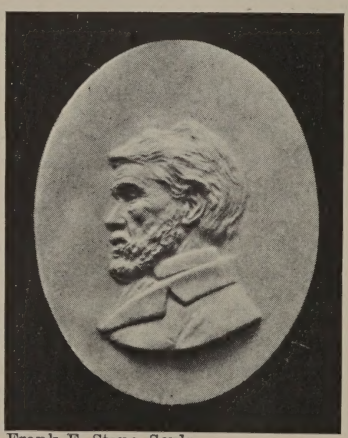
imagine that though her people appreciate the genius of the gifted sculptor, they little dream of the value to their commonwealth that comes from such labor as he is performing—creating noble art-work and fostering the love of the beautiful in their midst.

II.

Mr. Stone was born in London, England. His father was a man of education and refinement, an idealist and a dreamer of fine dreams, but one of those many fine natures of our time utterly unsuited for the hard, grinding, shrewd and crafty commercial life of this age of gold-worship. An unkind fate cast his lot among the slaves of trade. He was a lumber-merchant, and though he struggled manfully to succeed without sacrificing a jot or tittle of his high principles or lowering his ideal of rectitude and integrity, he finally failed financially, and when little Frank was but three years old grim poverty took up her abode in the little home. Early the child was compelled to toil long hours to help in the battle against starvation. His school advantages, though limited on account of the necessities of the family, were eagerly improved to the utmost. But much of the time that should have been consecrated to the health and culture of body, brain and soul during the formative period was spent in the treadmill of an irksome toil wholly distasteful to the boy, who, like his father, had inherited the poet's temperament.

Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

SIR HENRY IRVING.



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

THOMAS CARLYLE.

The pittance he earned added little to the family's meager store, and lack of sufficient food of the right kind, long hours of labor, unsanitary conditions and the beating of ambition's wings against the iron bars of fate's unkind prison, all conspired to undermine the never very robust health of the lad, laying the foundation for nervous dyspepsia which later, when fortune smiled upon him, well-nigh wrecked his life-work. Like Charles Dickens and Gerald Massey, whose boyhood fell a little more than a generation earlier, young Stone's youth was rendered bitter by pinching poverty; yet the Angel of Beauty did not wholly desert her own. She, who, according to the poetic legend, wanders through the world visiting the hovels of the poor and the palaces of wealth, and over whatsoever cradle she bends and smiles, henceforth and forever the sleeping babe is marked for her own and is eternally haunted by the ideal and dowered with a passionate love of the beautiful, loved the boy and with her deathless sister, Hope, attended the youth even during his long hours of labor, whispering in his ear words of courage and inspiration, and the child's brain was filled with beautiful images. His imagination was fed as by a perpetual but hidden spring, even amid gloomy, repellant and soul-deadening environment. Whenever he could snatch a few moments he could call his own and found himself possessed of chalk or crayon, he strove to

Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

THE AGE OF ROMANCE.

picture forth some of the beautiful images that haunted his brain. No time was idled away, but as the slow months lengthened into years and the lad grew to early manhood's estate, what wonder if his heart grew faint and courage all but deserted him? He had passed the threshold of twenty and no congenial avenue had opened for him.

One day, however, a well-known artist saw some of young Stone's chalk-drawings and insisted that the work showed "the sculptor's hand." As a result the young man came under the instruction of Richard Belt, sometime sculptor to Queen Victoria. Here was the longed-for opportunity, and though circumstances compelled the youth to toil early and late, by burning the midnight oil he was able to give the necessary time to his new work. Naturally enough he threw his whole energy into his labor. His imagination for the first time was satisfied. He had entered his own realm—the fairy-land of the poet and artist. His progress astonished even his friends, and soon the excellence of his work was noised abroad. He received several orders and with the returns from them was able to devote his whole energy to his chosen work. More than this, he was able to satisfy that inborn craving of all normal natures and become a home-builder, by wedding the one who had won his love.

As the months passed it seemed that fortune had at last claimed the sculptor for her own. Many eminent men came to his studio for sittings. Gladstone heard something of his battle and desired to meet the young sculptor. Before the visit was over the great Commoner had made an appointment for sittings and had given him an order for a bust the result of which was highly satisfactory to the statesman and to the English people, judging from the fact that over six hundred copies of the medallion of Gladstone that Mr. Stone made at the same time were sold in England and the Colonies.

One of the sculptor's greatest triumphs

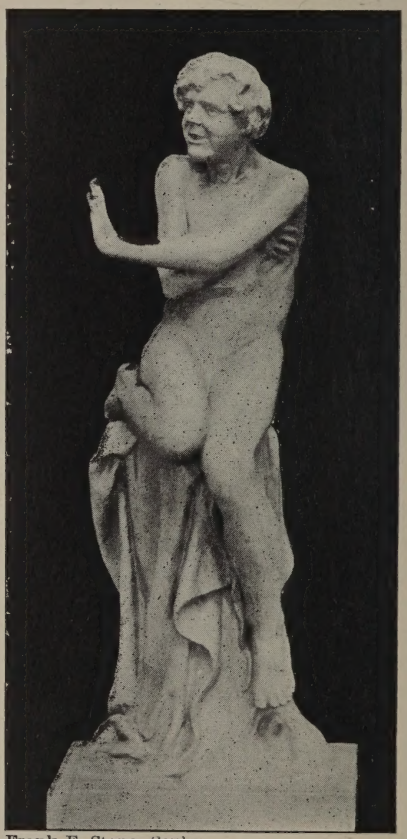
was a bust of Cardinal Manning, made in his Jubilee year. The sittings which were given for this work were the last the great prelate gave to any sculptor, and the result more than delighted the Cardinal's most intimate friends. The *Review of Reviews*, of London, published a picture of the bust and the editor in referring to it and other works of the artist observed: "Mr. Frank Stone, whose bust of Cardinal Manning is the best that has been done of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, has brought out a series of medallion portraits of Mr. Stanley, Mrs. Booth, Mr. Gladstone and Lord Tennyson, very faithful likenesses."

This work was pronounced by Cardinal Manning's secretary and intimate friends to be by far the best bust of the Cardinal that was ever made.

Many other of England's most distinguished men also sat for the sculptor. Seldom has fortune smiled more genially upon a favored son than she smiled at this time upon the young sculptor. Fame held her wreath above his brow. He had youth and ambition, he joyed in his work, and now money came in so freely that the young people were able to begin to save something beyond their expenses. The future seemed very bright and shadowless, when all at once, as is so often the case in this strange life of ours, two clouds appeared above the horizon and steadily grew, casting ominous shadows over the happy home. The first was the failure

Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

THE WORKER.



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

"DON'T!"

Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

INNOCENCE AND DEATH.

of the health of the sculptor. Never robust, he had drawn too heavily on his reserve strength. Poverty, the malnutrition of early days, the feverish struggle for success when art gave him the opportunity for which he had dreamed, and the long hours of labor at night when nature demanded rest, culminated in nervous dyspepsia that for a time threatened his life. Even more distressing to the young artist was the serious danger that imperiled the life of the young wife. She went into a decline. A physician was summoned who after a careful examination announced that she was threatened with tuberculosis. "Only by prompt removal from London can her life be saved," he gravely declared. "Nor will it do to fly to the rural districts. Her hope lies in getting to the pure, dry, sunny and genial air of the New World—that part of Canada far removed from the ocean or the genial climate of southern California. Either might and doubtless would work a cure."

Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

THE LATE SENATOR STEPHEN M. WHITE OF CALIFORNIA.

No time was lost in acting on the physician's urgent advice. The household belongings were sold and the little money already saved was taken, and the artist and his wife set out for Canada. Later—now five years since—they removed to Los Angeles, where Mr. Stone has since resided and where he is working out many noble dreams.

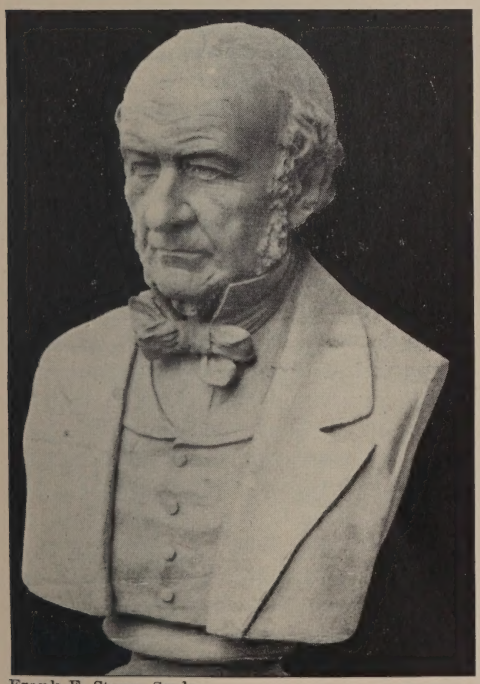
When in London he made a great reputation with his wonderfully life-like medallions of eminent personages. In this issue we give typical examples of these in the portraits of Henry Irving and Thomas Carlyle. His fine and original concept, "He of Nazareth," which we published in the July ARENA, is one of his most noted works. It presents the author's idea of Jesus as the "Man of Sorrows." In it he emphasizes more of the humanity of the Christ, more of the soul-weariness, more of "the man vulnerable at times to discouragements," than are found in any other sculptor's dream of the great Galilean with which we are acquainted.

Two of his creations that impress us as especially fine are "Innocence and Death" and "The Worker." The former is an exceptional concept shadowing forth the imaginative power and poetic nature of the sculptor. Death has no terror for Innocence. The wild, weird face so associated with Death is absent here. In its stead is the serene if inscrutable friend who gives to innocent childhood when summoned by the Master, no less than to the wearied ones that have wrought faithfully and worthily, a rest from their labors, perplexities and anxieties; or shall we not more truly say, who lifts the sable curtain and leads them into the many mansions of the Father's house?

"The Worker" is a powerful and suggestive creation that is the very opposite in its concept of "Innocence and Death." In referring to this work Mr. Stone has written the following descriptive lines:

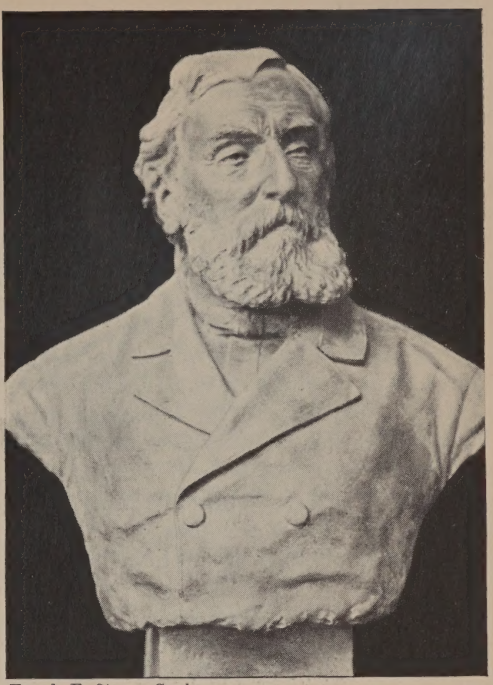
"What makes he? Everything—yet shiftless goes;
Omnipotent well nigh, yet crass of brain;
His chiefest works on drones and cheats bestows,
While for himself he welds an endless chain."

In a lighter vein is a charming concept representing a mischief-loving boy. It is entitled "Do n't!" and is full of life and spirit. And indeed the rare power of catching and reflecting the soul of man or the spirit that animates the dream of the artist is one of the great excellencies of the sculptor's work. This is notably in evidence in Mr. Stone's recent statue of the late United States Senator Stephen M. White, of California, in his bust of Charles Kendall Adams, LL.D., sometime president of Cornell University and of the University of Wisconsin, and also in his recent and wonderfully spirited ideal concept, "The Whisper of the Dawn." This last work is one of the sculptor's latest creations. Another recent work that is noteworthy and typical is entitled "The Age of Romance."



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

GLADSTONE.



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL.D.

Late President University of Wisconsin. Sometime President Cornell University.

It will not be surprising if the time comes when the art-loving citizens of California who have patronized Mr. Stone will find the works they possess valued far beyond their cost to them; for in our land the men of imagination, the true artists, poets and dreamers who shall stand as the pioneers of the great art that is coming, will be more and more appreciated and their creations will ere long be treasured above price as the works of the advance-guard in the awakening of the great Art-Spirit in the New World.

B. O. Flower.

Boston, Mass.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.*

II. DOMINANT TRUSTS AND CORPORATIONS.

By Hon. J. Warner Mills.

Part I. The Powers Upon the Throne.

THE COLORADO barons of incorporated autocracy have their imperial throne in Denver. Their satraps are numerous and powerful in many different parts of the state. Their agents, attorneys, newspapers or apologists may be found in nearly every community. If we call the roster of these imperious masters and use their common names, they will respond about as follows:

1. The four Denver public-utility corporations—
   - The Water Company,
   - The Tramway Company,
   - The Gas Company and
   - The Telephone Company.
2. The coal-trust; comprising—
   - The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company,
   - The Victor Fuel Company, and
   - The Northern Coal and Coke Company.
3. The Smelter Trust; and
4. The Railroads.

On this roster is the real and absolute power of the state. All other trusts, corporations and combines are mere licensees. They may seem free and powerful, and undoubtedly so impress the public, but most of them know the source of their delegated power, and to save themselves the humiliation of being called down they are careful to keep the terms of their implied licenses inviolate. Even the strongest banks in Denver are not unmindful of this license. This is illustrated by the election contest brought in the county court, growing out of the city election of May 17, 1904. The Republican candidate for mayor was John W. Springer, and R. W. Speer was his opponent on the so-called Democratic ticket. The public-utility trust owned and manipulated the Democratic machine in this city election, just as it also owned and manipulated the Evans-Graham branch of the Republican machine. The result was, that by the most stupendous ballot-box stuffing and fraud, Mr. Springer and his ticket, upon the face of the returns, was defeated. He filed a contest and his chance of catching the Utility-Trust in its unholy alliance with ballot-box stuffing and fraud seemed almost a certainty.

Suddenly, however, and to the amazement of the people, he dismissed his contest. In a speech before the Republican state convention that renominated Governor Peabody in the fall of 1904, and later, in a signed newspaper statement, he asserted that the reason he dropped the prosecution of his contest was because William G. Evans, the president of the Denver Tramway Company and the great boss of the Utility-Trust, had coerced him to do so by threatening to bring all the concentrated power of this irresistible trust to crush and ruin the two Denver banking-institutions with which he (Springer) was connected. If a single head of the throne-powers of the state could thus bring to their knees two of the great and successful banking-associations of the capital city,—what knee would not bend when their command or their frown fell upon the ordinary merchant, manufacturer, mine-owner or citizen?

Every political nomination, whether local or state, every constitutional amendment and every charter for the city and county of Denver, to be of the elect, must receive the sanctifying approval of these exalted throne-powers. In this way only is its safety insured from sand-bagging

*The first of this series of articles appeared in the July, 1905, number of The Arena.

at the polls; and it thus also secures the assurance that its unsanctified opponent will never be able to escape the sand-bag.

It is only a casual or a thoughtless observer who cannot trace an unbroken sequence between these dominant throne-powers of the state, or some one or more of them, and the great industrial and political events occurring within our borders. Seldom, however, is the commanding scepter wielded by these imperious masters with a single hand. They wisely shrink from such frequent united action as will enable the masses of the people to identify them as essentially a single concentrated power. They seem to realize that if they were so identified in the public mind, the people would see the trump-card in their hands, and would know how it was played, and by united action would hold the same card and would imitate the same play, and would beat these inflated corporations at their own peculiar game. This is the one view-point of all others that the throne-powers of the state would most dread to have adopted as a general view-point. Yet, it is a view-point so true and commanding, one marvels that it requires so much agitation, reflection and study to enable it to become the general view-point. The only rational explanation of this seeming stupidity lies in the fact that the throne-powers are accomplished experts in concealing from public view their trump-card. This they do, however, not necessarily by pre-concert of action. The complicated social and industrial fabric affords a multitude of opportunities for litigation, friction and contest that need not be sham, and that give not only the appearance but often the fact of bitter hostility and passion. Instances are not wanting where these throne-powers have fought among themselves, especially when sparring for position and a division of the spoils; also in the formative period of their history. But it can be safely asserted that no struggle has ever occurred, either here or elsewhere, where the question at issue between the contending corporations was a fundamental principle of deep and vital interest to the people; such, for instance, as the affirmation that a special privilege or an uncurbed monopoly is inherently unjust and portends breakers ahead and an inevitable avalanche of usurpations, oppressions and dangers. Corporation fights, whenever they pertain to special privileges or monopolies, are always to secure some interest in or division of the privileges or monopolies but never to denounce or destroy them.

If this observation were not so often forgotten, there would be much less chance for confusion, when, as is occasionally the case, some of these "throne" corporations actually appear secretly or in the open on the side of the people, fighting other constituent members of the corporation throne.

We will here give a few facts that will illustrate this interesting aspect, and at the same time bring into view some of our local men and corporations.

Deceptive Dissensions Among the Throne-Powers.

At the present time and for a number of years past, the traction operations of the capital city of the state are and have been carried on by the Denver Tramway Company, concerning which more hereafter. We have two enterprising railroads, that do the principal local business of the state,—the Denver and Rio Grande and the Colorado and Southern. The Tramway Company is in close corporate alliance with the Denver, Northwestern and Pacific, commonly known as the "Moffat Road," now being built between Denver and Salt Lake City through the northwestern part of Colorado and opening a vast empire to commerce and exploitation.

In Colorado, it is unnecessary to tell anyone who Mr. Moffat is or why this new railroad enterprise is called the "Moffat Road." We introduce him, however, to the readers who do not know that he has long been a prominent factor

in the mining, banking and railroad interests of the West, and that at the present time he is the financial idol of the state. David H. Moffat is the familiar form of his name. He is a pioneer citizen and is reputed to be the richest man in Colorado. The newspapers tell us he is worth from fifteen to twenty-five millions, but the tax-rolls, of course, tell no such tale. He has long been the president of the First National Bank of Denver, the oldest and largest bank in the city. Some years ago he was the president of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company, and is now the building promoter of the new road mentioned above that commonly bears his name. In the financial circles of the East, Mr. Moffat is already a national figure, both through the fight upon his road by rival trans-continental lines and by his membership upon the board of directors of the Equitable Insurance Company, now made so notorious by the magazines and newspapers. It seems he has a close business alliance with Senator Depew and young Mr. Hyde and others in their group, and the press has pointed to the millions under their command as the unfailing source of funds from which he will build his road. But to return to the "Moffat Road."

The enormous coal-bodies of Routt county, mentioned in Chapter I., will reach market over this new road, and iron and steel enterprises, in Denver or northwestern Colorado, of a magnitude as great, perhaps, as those of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company at Pueblo, will in the near future be an accomplished fact. The "Moffat Road" will be a competing road (at least upon paper) with the Denver and Rio Grande for Salt Lake and Utah business. It is nearly completed over the first mountain-range and is carrying freight and passengers. On the most elaborate scale, it has already opened the Leyden coal mines about fifteen miles from Denver, and is now selling their output in the city to the present discomfiture of the above-mentioned coal-trust.

William G. Evans, referred to by Mr. Springer above, and president of the Tramway Company, seems to be the active representative of all Mr. Moffat's vast utility and railroad interests, and he is the political representative of his corporate interests of every kind. The control of the stock of the Tramway Company is credited to Mr. Moffat, and it is by his grace, of course, that Mr. Evans is its dutiful president. Now to make our illustration clear, we must refer to another matter. Through the initiative and referendum, in the charter of the city and county of Denver, the Tramway influence circulated, during the summer and fall of 1904, petitions permitting this company to carry coal through the streets of the city, between certain hours of the night, and sufficient signatures were secured prior to the November election, so we were told, to have entitled this proposition to be submitted to a referendum vote. It was not submitted, however, nor have any of the petitions been filed with the city officials. The charter does not require them to be filed at any particular time, save that they must be on file not less than thirty days prior to the election at which the measure is to be approved or rejected. No one but Mr. Evans and his facile "whips" has any actual knowledge whether these petitions were sufficiently signed or not, and when, if at all, this menacing coal-proposition will be submitted to vote. In this way the wily tramway keeps its own counsel, and also keeps its rivals continually alert and guessing. If the Leyden coal could be put into our back-yards and cellars without the cartage charge on the long haul from the depot, such a special privilege granted to the "Moffat Road" and the Tramway and denied to the other coal-carrying roads—the Denver and Rio Grande and the Colorado and Southern—would, of course, be a handicap upon the latter of serious import to their profits. It is easy to figure the amount involved in this issue at hundreds of thousands of dollars. In this connection it is

also pertinent to add that the first charter framed and submitted to the voters of Denver, September 2, 1903, under Article XX. of the State Constitution, or, as it is sometimes called, the "Rush" amendment, provided in Section 271 as follows:

"No street-railway shall carry freight by virtue of any existing franchise."

The charter containing this provision was opposed of course by the Utility-Trust, and especially by the Tramway. But notwithstanding it was the most radical people's charter ever framed or proposed, it was quietly but loyally supported by the coal-carrying roads and the coal-trust. It undoubtedly received a majority of the legal votes, but still was counted out by the peculiar "Utility" methods to be mentioned in a later chapter.

This apparent dissension among the throne-powers, however, in the charter-election of September, 1903, with some of them fighting on the side of good government and on behalf of the people, was confusing only to those who did not see that the bone of contention between the corporations was not the same bone over which the people contended. The corporations had no thought of destroying a special privilege; but the Tramway wanted to defeat the charter that put such privilege out of its immediate reach, while its corporate opponents were willing to accept such limitation until they might all pull together for its change, with the expectation of mutual division and enjoyment at the people's expense.

There were other reasons than the coal issue, however, why the four utility companies were against this charter. It contained provisions that made public-ownership easy. It is probably also true that, outside of the coal issue, the two railroads mentioned,—the Denver and Rio Grande and the Colorado and Southern,—would have favored the charter, if for no other reason because the Utility-Trust was against it. They both seem to recognize the dangerous power of the Utility-Trust over the city council and other important officers, both city and state. The Tramway is extending its system to suburban travel, and these railroads would like to retaliate by extending their suburban systems into the streets of Denver. But the power of Evans blocks their way and puts the special privilege of street-franchises far beyond their reach. Here is an economic reason for corporate conflict and friction. It has shown itself in all the recent charter-elections and in the election for municipal officers, May 17, 1904. The throne-powers pulled together in the effort to reëlect Peabody Republican governor in the fall of 1904, but they were apart soon after in the corporate scramble to dictate the gubernatorial appointment of the judges of the enlarged Supreme Court. They closed long enough to see that the people were not consulted as to the selection of either judge, and induced Governor Peabody, among the last acts of his administration, to send to the senate for confirmation the two names for judges on which they finally agreed. They both took sides again in the gubernatorial contest, the Utility-Trust, Smelter- and Coal-Trusts being for Peabody and the above railroads, or at least the Colorado and Southern, for Adams. They closed again, however, when they agreed upon the proper division, and the Colorado and Southern was assured of the passage of its pet measure, H. B. 178, then pending in the senate, and allowing it to form a gigantic trust. They then threw principle to the wind and, acting on the cunning strategy of Evans, consummated the infamous deal that has now become a world-wide scandal in American politics. The railroad deserted Adams, who had been regularly declared and inaugurated governor, and, through a sham contest in the legislature, he was unseated. Governor Peabody, Republican, who was defeated at the polls, in tacit acknowledgment of his defeat, was permitted to be governor for but twenty-four hours, and then, by previous written stipulation, his resignation was filed and he became the tool

to swap over the state government from a Democrat to a Republican, the latter being Lieutenant-Governor McDonald. The details of this rotten bargaining will appear in our chapter on "The Overthrow of the Ballot." But the treachery of the railroad was soon followed by other treacheries, and Evans gave to the public new evidence of his diplomacy and power by inducing the new governor, McDonald, to veto the above pet measure, H. B. 178. This stunning blow to the ambitious railroad has inflicted upon it new wounds that seem deep and unhealing.

I have carried this illustration to considerable length to show how easy it is, at first blush, to suppose that these internal dissensions among the throne-powers of the state are permanent and lasting, and that the people can rally to the support of some corporation as against others, because such "others" are apparently against the people. But even this brief rehearsal has served to show that the reed of corporation reliance is so fragile that it twice bent and broke—once as to the judges, and again as to the governor. When a corporation gets what it wants, it quits, or at least it can quit if it wants to. The only fight it seems willing to press to a conclusion upon principle is a fight against a labor union. It will never stay upon principle and fight to the end with the people. It is all right, of course, to let a "quitter" of our own flesh and blood help us if he will, but we must not tie to him if we would save ourselves and our cause from sore disappointment. But as to an artificial "quitter" the case is different.

Corporations in Politics.

A corporation, as such, cannot be elected to office or cast a single vote or perform any civic function imposed upon the citizen of flesh and blood. If it is in politics, and it is only of political corporations I am now speaking, it is there because it wants something,—favor, power, graft, franchise, etc.,—and when it gets what it wants, it is free to quit altogether, or to quit its old allies and to scheme for new ones. I am not unmindful in this connection of the corporate point-of-view; that is, that the corporations are forced into politics in self-protection. I know they are grafted upon and bled by clever imitators of their own designs and methods. But they first graft upon and bleed the people, and shake down rich plums in the shape of franchises and other special privileges. How then can they pose in moral censure and surprise when their own success tempts the people's servants to betrayal of their trust, that they, too, may taste the sweets of loot and of bounty? In this wise the corrupter and the corrupted are inspired by a common end and they become the component parts of a great machine, which permeates and pollutes the public service and menaces the foundations of all free government. No one should make a political comrade of a corporation. It is the crime of crimes for corporations to be in politics at all, and they should be driven out. Meantime we should always be suspicious when their political or economic interests lead them to be on the people's side, and we should not be discouraged when they drop out or even turn to the other side, but we should be prepared to fight on to the end and as if nothing had happened, save always, of course, the acquirement of a little political experience. The main point is, however, in this connection, never to be misled into identifying one political corporation as inherently more a people's corporation than another, merely because its economic necessities may drive it, either in a single contest or in a series of contests, to espouse the side of the people.

The Throne-Powers in United Action.

These throne-powers, as we have seen, always close up and unite when a vital point is at stake. They never, however, come out into the open as a united power without there is some real or apparent danger to corporate aggression or to special privilege and monopoly, and con-

ditions are opportune to throw dust in the eyes of the people and to induce a large part of them to vote against their own economic interest. I can recall five distinct occasions that will illustrate this feature of corporation dominion and acuteness, and that will also serve to point out the unity of these throne-powers, both before and since they attained to their present highly-developed form of a practical trust. They are as follows:

1. The "Waite" campaign of 1894.
2. The "Bucklin" amendment campaign.
3. The fight against the "Rush" and "Eight-Hour" amendments.
4. The Metal and Coal-Strike of 1903–4.
5. The "Peabody" campaign of 1904.

These measures and events are so inseparably connected with the economic history of the state, that a few words concerning them are necessary to an intelligent understanding of our economic troubles; and at this point we can use them, both as illustrations and as history.

1. *The "Waite" Campaign.*

All the dominant corporations in the state opposed the reëlection of Governor Waite. The utility corporations that are now the Utility-Trust; the mining and smelting companies, that have since become the Smelter-Trust; the coal companies, that are now the Coal-Trust; and all the railroads. This means, too, that the combined newspapers, attorneys, agents, retainers and employés of this powerful corporate aggregation was also thrown into this campaign on the side of their employers. With such an unmistakable amassing of the throne-powers of the state before the open eyes of all the people, still a large part of the people, and many of them the best we have, could not see in this campaign the field maneuvers of the corporations. They were hopelessly lost in the cry—

"Redeem the State
From Governor Waite."

It was clear that the throne-powers would profit by such "redemption," but the profit to the people was not so clear. Governor Waite was an ardent reformer with populistic ideas. He was editing a reform journal at Aspen, when, in 1892, the Populists nominated him for governor. He was endorsed by the Democrats and elected. While not against corporations *per se*, still he would not warm up to them. He would not ride on railroad-passes, or take the little tickets so meretriciously circulated among the official classes of Denver by the Tramway Company. It is true he had his share of human frailties. Into his willing ear was poured the false word of flattery by boosters and sycophants ready to flock to any standard that gave hope of office. Many of them are still in office, both as Republicans and Democrats. They found their chameleon-like convictions especially fitted them for the business of holding office. As the leader of a new party, with new and untried men overwhelming him with obsequious attentions, Governor Waite had a difficult task to perform in making his appointments. He was not always wise in selecting the recipients of his official confidence and favor. As a reformer, too, he was especially unfortunate in still clinging to the delusive thought of a protective tariff. This left a back-door open, as it were, for the easy approach of Republican sirens, and a few skilled schemers were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunity. It was thus, in part at least, that certain minor gubernatorial acts were not always beyond fair criticism, and a few, such as the sending of Solomon Toy as a new warden to replace the governor's former appointee and to take possession of the penitentiary at midnight, were calculated to excite the popular risibles.

His war on the city hall had something of a serious aspect. After some friction* he recalled his first appointees of the fire and police-board of Denver and appointed Orr and Martin in their stead. They

* Trimble *vs.* People *ex rel.* Phelps, 19 Colorado, 187 (Nov. 22, 1893).

soon proved recreant to his trust, however, and tried to evade or deceive him as to his order to close up and keep closed all the gambling-houses in Denver. This conduct on the part of his second board seemed to make him furious.

He cited Orr and Martin to appear before him, and as a result of the trial with which he proceeded, he made the following findings:*

"*First:* The defendants, as members of the fire and police board, in knowingly sending special-policemen of Denver to the gambling-houses of Denver for the protection of said houses by the city police, were guilty of malfeasance in office; and,

"*Second:* That in failing to cause to be arrested persons whom they knew to be in open violation of the law were guilty of neglect of duty."

He then removed them and appointed a third board friendly to his policy, pledged to stop all public gambling in Denver. But Orr and Martin, with their offices at the city hall, refused to vacate. They had but recently witnessed the spectacle of a mayor of the city so favored by the delay of the courts that, although finally adjudged to have been elected through ballot-box stuffing and fraud, he practically held the two-years' term of his office, and was only actually ousted about thirty days before the regular biennial election of his successor.†

With this precedent before them, and encouraged by the particular class they had undertaken to protect, Orr and Martin thought they could badger the governor, and accordingly locked horns with him upon his order of removal. The grappling was ferocious, and amid all kinds of forecasts and conjectures the public, in suspense, looked on and waited. The then charter of Denver expressly lodged in the governor the power of appointment and removal, and, under the constitution of the state, Art. 4, sec. 5, he was required "to execute the laws." Thus fortified, he resolved, despite the delay of the courts, to seat his new appointees Mullins and Barnes. Suspicious of a loophole or betrayal, he refused to submit the question of his proposed procedure to the supreme court. This he might have done as a gubernatorial inquiry under Art. 6, sec. 3. But he claimed that court was unfriendly to his administration and was indeed only waiting for an opportunity to foil and humiliate him. At the instance of Orr and Martin the police-force at the city hall was heavily armed, and all the approaches to the building were barricaded and under guard. To meet this military defiance the governor, despite all entreaty and advice, determined to call out the state troops. This he did, and great crowds followed the troops as they marched through the city from the armory on 26th street to the field of battle, and took their position at 14th and Lawrence streets, only a block from the city hall. The people were soon driven into side streets and alleys for comparative safety, and cannons were trained on the guarded hall. The crowd now was constantly increasing and prominent citizens could be seen here and there and comments on the impending battle were numerous and variant. I was myself an humble but personal witness to these martial proceedings, and saw a judge of the supreme court in earnest conversation with the commander of the troops at the very time the on-lookers seemed to be expecting the order to fire. The command from Governor Waite to fire was the only remaining preliminary to bloodshed and slaughter. But there was a lull and suspense, and we must turn now to occurrences elsewhere to understand the peculiarity of the situation and to get the sequel.

An inquiry by the governor as to the availability of federal troops from the suburban barracks at Fort Logan introduced a federal entanglement, with a

* People *vs.* Martin, 19 Colorado, 566.

† See Londoner *vs.* People *ex rel.* Barton, 15 Colorado, 246, 557 (Feb. 6, 1891); also 13 Colorado, 303 (1889).

threatening intent of federal intervention, despite the protests of the governor. Some time later I was called to the executive chamber for professional consultation, and Governor Waite complained bitterly that the judge I had seen talking with his military commander had urged the latter to mutiny and, despite his official honor and oath, to ignore and defy the military orders of his superior, the commander-in-chief. I expressed my opinion, however, against his martial method of seating his appointees, although he vehemently protested there was open insurrection in the city, especially at the city hall, and a conspiracy existed to override the law between the police-force led by Orr and Martin and a large body of evilly-disposed men and gamblers, and that the sheriff of the county would not or was unable to keep the peace. He was both petulant and stubborn in insisting on his official right and duty to proclaim an insurrection and to declare martial law. I believed then, and so stated, that, in my judgment, he was utterly wrong in his conception of his right and duty, and that the exercise of such a power was unprecedented, autocratic and dangerous.

And here I pause to remark that I remained firmly fixed in the above opinion, until ten years later I read in the Moyer case, decided by the Supreme Court of Colorado, that Governor Peabody, acting under the same constitution, was actually invested with that self-same absolute, dangerous, autocratic power. Until I saw that opinion, I never supposed it was possible to secure upon American soil a judicial endorsement of the principle that a governor created by the constitution of the state could be so lifted above the constitution, that he could lay the courts at his feet, could set his heel upon the sacred writ of *habeas corpus* and fix his will upon a community as absolute as the will of the Russian czar,—to shoot, kill, hang, banish or deport. Had such an opinion, so easily a firebrand, been in the hands of Governor Waite at the critical moment in question, why should he have hesitated with his command to fire? Deprived, as he was, however, of this later constitutional wisdom, more pacific counsels finally prevailed, and he was induced to send the troops back to the armory and to submit the respective rights of the two contending police-boards to the decision of the supreme court, upon satisfactory assurance of its assuming original jurisdiction and disposing of the controversy upon its merits without delay. The case was soon fully argued and decided,* and the new appointees were given their seats. They kept faith, too, with the governor, and, for the first time in the history of the state, closed every public gambling-place in town.

And so it was that the gambling and sporting elements of Denver and throughout the state were also arrayed with the corporations against the reëlection of Governor Waite. But let it here be noted that this alignment did not occur until the spokesman of the gamblers had made an effort to placate Governor Waite, whom they had now come to fear and to respect. His campaign manager in Denver was authoritatively told that the gamblers believed he would be elected anyway, and that they knew he could be elected with their support and votes; that this he could have, if he would only insure them against interference upon their running a quiet game behind locked doors with a wicket; that, with this assurance, they would contribute $25,000 to his campaign-fund, and would guarantee to get him, by letter and personal solicitation, the vote of every sport and gambler in the state. To those who have doubted the sincerity of Governor Waite on the gambling question, even in the face of the showing he made in the actual results, it may be a surprise when they learn, as now they may, that he indignantly spurned this proposition of the gamblers, and declared he preferred to suffer defeat rather than to achieve success with their votes and support.

* People *vs.* Martin, 19 Colorado, 566.

But good people were chilled by what they called the "City-Hall War" and the "Penitentiary Hold-up." Others were frightened by the corporation cry that the reëlection of Waite would prevent capital from coming to the state. This last was an influential consideration, especially with the business and commercial classes, and probably of large influence, too, in moving many honest women to cast their first vote in a state election against the man who effectually suppressed public gambling in Denver, and who, as governor in 1893, did not veto as he might,* but signed the bill that enabled them to vote against him in 1894.

This cry of "driving out capital" is the cry of the privileged classes in every campaign where there is any man or measure not in full accord with their designs. The Colorado women, however, are wiser now and undoubtedly know that capital is never "driven out," where, as here, the natural opportunities are attractive and there is a chance to put in bank two dollars for every dollar wisely invested.

Among his strong points for the people was Governor Waite's determination that the troops should not be used by the mine-owners of the employing class, merely as a means of forcing their terms upon the strikers. This, as we shall see later, was his position in the strike at Cripple Creek in 1894. Another point for the people was his solicitous concern to protect the debtor class from the rapacious aggressions of their creditors. In the financial panic of 1893, half a dozen banks in Denver snapped like reeds and the depreciation in property from the sudden fall in the price of silver brought financial wreckage into nearly every home and business in the state. It was the happy moment for the ghoul of the money-lending fraternity, and trust-deed foreclosures and attachments in large bunches were of daily occurrence. The distress of our citizens was acute and appalling. Stay laws and other unconstitutional relief were agitated; but Governor Waite called the legislature in special session for the first time in the history of the state, and caused to be enacted two acts that are still upon the statute-book, and that stand as a monument to his fidelity to the cause of the people.

One, called the "pro-rating" law, made all judgment and attaching creditors at the same term of court share *pro rata* out of the proceeds of the attached property. Before that, the first creditor attaching took all the property attached to the exclusion of all other creditors. This was said to be the reward of diligence. It was in fact, however, the reward of avarice and oppression. Creditors disposed to be reasonably just and indulgent had to watch not only their debtor, but the debtor's importunate and greedy creditors as well; and many a promising property was seized and sacrificed, not for want of any faith in the debtor, but for fear that some other creditor would be first to pounce upon the debtor's all. This "pouncing" business was destroyed by Governor Waite.

His other law was known as the "Public-Trustee Act." In Colorado the form of security for money loaned has seldom been the mortgage. It has been a trust-deed, wherein the debtor conveyed his property directly to a private trustee who, upon default in payment of principal or interest, was empowered to sell the property and to give an absolute and indefeasable deed by merely advertising, for thirty days, notice of the sale. Such publication had to be in a newspaper published in the county where the property was situated. As the private trustee was frequently a scheming friend or a close relative of the holder of the note, it often happened that

* Woman suffrage in Colorado was conferred pursuant to Colorado Constitution, Art. 7, sec. 2, that expressly authorized the general assembly to "enact laws to extend the right of suffrage to women of lawful age and otherwise qualified"; but no such enactment was to be of effect until submitted to the vote of the qualified electors and approved by a majority of those voting thereon. This "enactment" was approved by Governor Waite April 7, 1893, and voted on by the electors in November, 1893—the vote standing for, 35,798; and against, 29,451.

they conspired to take advantage of the debtor and to get title to his property stealthily and without his knowledge. In Denver it was not difficult to accomplish this imposition, in view of the numerous weekly newspapers, many of them with but small circulation in the city and but little read,—especially was this true of the weekly editions of the Denver dailies. Out of this state of facts and similar impositions taking a debtor unawares and practically robbing him of valuable property on a thirty-days' notice before he could turn around to save himself,—great hardships and vast losses were the inevitable result; also numerous suits arose, and in some cases where the trustee's sale was enjoined, still the fraud succeeded because the debtor was too poor or hard-pressed to secure an injunction bond.

But at last the outcry of the distressed debtor was heard and the "Public-Trustee Act" required all future trust-deeds naming a *private* trustee to be foreclosed in court as an ordinary mortgage,—taking at least nine months and generally a year,—and when the *public trustee* was named, it required him to designate the newspaper and to conduct the sale and to give the debtor personal as well as published notice, and allowed the latter six months after the sale in which to redeem. Thus it was that the rack-riding features of Colorado mortgage foreclosures were brought to an end.

Yet, though Governor Waite especially pleased the clergy by routing the gamblers, and though his signature gave to women the right to vote, and though he kept the bayonet from the bosom of the toilers, and though he ended the abuse of pouncing on honest debtors through writs of attachment, and though he took fraud and surprise out of mortgage foreclosures, and though, too, in addition to all else, he measured high in the then political standard of the west requiring fealty to the cause of silver at 16 to 1,—still enough of the people, good, well-meaning people and church-people, too,—stood openly on the side of the throne-powers and gamblers to deprive the governor of the overwhelming majority necessary to put his election beyond the reach of the now familiar methods of corporation-fixing and fraud. Albert W. McIntire, his Republican opponent, secured the face of the returns and was inducted into office. Take any average citizen of Colorado now, however, regardless of his politics, and interrogate him and, if he is not a slave to the throne-powers, he will not only make the comparison between Waite and his opponent of flattering advantage to the former, but will make the comparison between Waite and any other governor of the state at least one of favor and encouragement. He was eccentric, of course, but his eccentricities were always on the side of the people,—a merit not so clearly disclosed by other eccentric governors of the state. Even his views on the tariff did not turn him from the people. While, like the most of us, he was not hostile to corporations in the exercise of their legitimate rights and powers, still he would not worship at their shrine and for this unpardonable sin they marked him for slaughter. Such marking alone will some day so atone for personal faults and blunders that an intelligent awakening of the people will mark the throne-powers for slaughter and their selected victim for preferment. It is hopeless to expect that day, however, until the people understand that the corporations are in politics for economic reasons,—to increase their grip upon the special preserves and thereby also to increase their profits and dividends. When they see this they will appreciate the value of counter-economics and will act and vote accordingly.

2. *The "Bucklin" Amendment Campaign.*

This campaign occurred in 1902 and it stirred the state deeply from one end to the other. The corporations were united and frantic, and they were joined by the privileged classes and their pensioners and champions of every kind and degree. They all denounced this amendment as

confiscatory. In it they affected to see the shades of Henry George stealthily haunting the state. They saw the single-tax philosophy written upon the sign-boards at every turn. They saw anarchy and socialism overriding the constituted powers, and even daring to challenge the high prerogatives emanating from the corporation throne. Their denunciations were so fierce, their protests so loud and continuous, and their pictures so touched with pathos and gloom, that they first alarmed and then they aligned with their fighting-hosts many excellent men and women and large and important interests that economically and logically belonged on the other side.

There was no reasonable ground for this political hysteria. It was an artificial affection communicated by injecting nervous delirium into the following facts:

Senator James W. Bucklin is an ardent single-taxer. He was the chairman of a committee of three hold-over senators appointed under a resolution of March 27, 1899, to report to the thirteenth general assembly in 1901 upon the state and local revenue laws, to point out their defects and to suggest a remedy; and this committee was "particularly instructed to investigate the tax-laws of New Zealand and the Australian colonies and the effect of such laws," and to report the results of such investigations with recommendations. Senator Bucklin, at his own expense, visited New Zealand and Australia. He made a very valuable printed report of 62 pages of his observations and conclusions concerning the Colorado tax-laws, and also concerning what he called the "Australasian Tax-System." Among other recommendations, the hold-over committee joined Senator Bucklin in suggesting, as a constitutional amendment, the measure in question that bears his name. It was put upon the official ballot not only as a proposed amendment of Article 10, sections 9 and 11, but also under the then familiar catch-phrase, the "Australasian Tax-System." It did not, however, establish the Australasian tax, except the "local option" feature thereof, nor the single-tax, nor any other tax or system. Still, as we shall presently see, it made the way as open in Colorado as the New York constitution opens the way for rational progress in tax reform, and for that reason it received the hearty support not only of single-taxers but of tax-reformers and publicists of every shade of belief. Senator Bucklin's report was widely circulated and read, and it was printed, too, as Senate Document Number 209 of the Second Session of the Fifty-sixth Congress. It showed, in brief, that in Australia and New Zealand personal property is not rated or taxed for any purpose; that there was no "constitutional or other restriction on the power of the legislatures to establish or enlarge the land-value tax," and that under "local option" provisions, *improvements* had been relieved from taxation and the tax placed on the value of the land, to the great advantage of industry and progress and to the abiding satisfaction of the people.

As before noted, this "Bucklin" amendment was introduced into the general assembly of 1901. But at that same session there were also introduced two other constitutional amendments, mentioned hereafter and known respectively as the "Rush" amendment and the "Eight-Hour" amendment. This was a masterstroke by the reformers and the throne-powers were excited and confused. They, of course, were against all three of these proposed amendments, but did not dare to divide their forces. At last, however, they made the "Rush" amendment the center of their legislative attack, but, somewhat maimed and disfigured, it finally crowded through with the others and received the necessary two-thirds vote of each house. When the railroads defied the new revenue act, also passed by the legislature of 1901, Governor Orman called the legislature in special session to pass another revenue act acceptable to the railroads.

The throne-powers then saw their

chance and induced the governor to include in his proclamation a right "to recall or rescind any constitutional amendment now for submission at the next general election."

The purpose of this new move was to make another assault upon the "Bucklin" amendment. This time they had singled it out by itself and had doomed it for slaughter. The contest was sharp and severe, but as the measure was then pending before the people, there was no constitutional right or power in the legislature to recall it, and although there were weak-kneed solons anxious to please the throne-powers, they "squared" themselves by throwing down the amendment in the subsequent campaign,—but they were afraid to pass a vote of recall. So it was that at last the amendment reached the people.

That the reader may now see precisely what went to the people and what cunning use the throne-powers sometimes make of the people to help them draw corporation chestnuts out of the fire, I insert this much-berated "Bucklin" amendment entire.

It is short, and is as follows:

Article 10, section 9. "Once in four years, but not oftener, the voters of any county in the state may, by vote at any general election, exempt or refuse to exempt from all taxation for county, city, town, school, road and other local purposes, any and all personal property or improvements on land; but neither the whole nor any part of the full cash value of any rights of way, franchises in public ways, or land, exclusive of the improvements thereon, shall be so exempted; provided, however, that such questions be submitted to the voters by virtue of petition therefor, signed and sworn to by not less than one hundred taxpayers of each county, and filed with the county clerk and recorder, not less than thirty nor more than ninety days before the day of election."

Article 10, section 11. "The rate of taxation on property for state purposes shall never exceed four mills on each dollar of valuation but the provision of this section shall not apply to rights of way, franchises in public ways, or land, the full cash value of which may be taxed at such additional rate, not exceeding two mills on each dollar of assessed valuation, as shall be provided by law, after exempting all personal property and improvements thereon from such additional rate of taxation."

The reader is now competent to pass his own judgment and to say whether these two proposed sections are revolutionary or anarchistic. If we analyze them it will be seen that they are essentially permissive; that is, they permit the people of designated political divisions of the state to vote into being their own local system of taxation for the revenue purposes of such divisions only. Of their own force and without further action of the people they create no new system of any kind. Without a popular vote pursuant to their terms decreeing otherwise, the existing system would continue to exist wholly unaffected, except as to the important subject of franchises. And at this point we get at the milk in the cocoanut. These sections do ordain that "neither the whole nor any part of the full cash value of any rights of way, franchises in public ways, . . . shall be . . . exempted"; and, unlike other property taxed for "state purposes" and limited in rate to four mills on the dollar, these franchises are subject to an additional rate of two mills on the dollar. These are the provisions that set the corporations wild. From their view-point it was really a franchise fight, and yet they concealed this view-point so successfully that a large part of the people never suspected that the cry of "confiscation" was the mere corporation method of duplicity and concealment. Something of the extent to which the corporations were affected throughout the state by this franchise provision will appear by taking the situa-

tion in old Arapahoe county, at that time containing what is now the city and county of Denver and the new counties of Arapahoe and Adams.

From a signed statement printed in one of the Denver dailies during the campaign and written by John P. S. Voght, a deputy in the assessor's office and one of the most competent fiscal statisticians in the state, I quote as follows:

"The valuation of such franchises and rights of way would be increased at their true value, instead of a ten per cent. valuation, as now in vogue. The valuation of the Denver Tramway, the Denver Union Water Company, the Denver Gas and Electric Light Company, steam-heating, telegraph and telephone companies and all the great railway companies entering and centering in the city of Denver will be $34,000,000 under the Australasian tax, instead of $3,597,845 under our present system. Railroad and corporation franchises and rights of way, with the additional two-mills levy for state purposes, will pay (in taxes) $1,198,840 instead of $102,601.54 as now."

With such a prospect before them, no wonder the throne-corporations poured money like water into the campaign and distorted the issues. It is a matter of wonder, however, that the newspapers and the people followed their lead and did battle for "The Anti-Bucklin Amendment League" under the alarming and misleading declaration:

"The Bucklin Amendment means the Single-Tax, Confiscation, Confusion, Panic."

The amendment shows on its face that outside of the franchise feature, it is nothing more than the popular proposition of allowing "local option in taxation." This proposition has been approved by many eminent and capable associations and men. Space will permit reference to but few and these I select as fair samples and at random. The Ohio State Board of Commerce declared for it in the following terms:

"For an amendment to the constitution to permit local option in taxation."

As conservative a body as the Ohio State Bar Association, in 1900, adopted this resolution:

"That the constitution of Ohio should be so amended as to completely separate state and local taxation; that each city and county of the state should be vested with the power of taxation for the purposes of such city and county . . ."

We shall also see in a moment that this proposition had the support of one of the branches of the New York legislature and of some of the most conservative bodies of New York city. So competent a critic as Professor John R. Commons gave for use in the campaign a letter over his own signature approving the "Bucklin" amendment. Even so conservative an educator and publicist as President Hadley, of Yale College, specifically approved the principal aims the promoters of this amendment had in view in the following terse and pointed words:

" . . . Unimproved real estate should be assessed higher and improvements relatively lower than at present. The assessors of to-day see that the man who holds unimproved real estate gets little income and they let him off easily on account of his supposed inability to pay a high tax. The real effect of this is to take burdens off from the shoulders of a man who is waiting for the growth of a community to make him rich, and to put these burdens on the shoulders of those who are contributing to that growth. Whatever may be thought of Henry George's single-tax theory as a whole, there can be little question that *a relatively high assessment of ground rent, with corresponding relief for those who have made improvements, is a much-needed reform.*"*

*Johnson's Univ. Cyc., tit., "Taxation." Vol. 8, p. 23.

Yet this "much-needed reform" so cogently urged by President Hadley never could be accomplished in Colorado without first liberalizing the constitution. This constitution now requires the "taxation of all property, real and personal" (Art. 10, sec. 3) according to the well-known "rule of uniformity" familiar to those at all acquainted with tax matters. It gives a list of property that may be exempted, such as that of municipal corporations, public libraries, and, until otherwise provided by law, cemeteries not for profit, and "lots with the buildings thereon, if said buildings are used solely and exclusively for religious worship, for schools or for strictly charitable purposes." It then declares that "all laws exempting from taxation property other than that hereinbefore mentioned shall be void." (Art. 10, sec. 6.)

Hampered by such restrictions, it is impossible in this state to attempt any just or effective tax-reform, without they are first modified or abolished. This was the aim of the "Bucklin" amendment, and in this respect, if it had carried, it would have placed our constitution on no different ground than that already occupied by the constitution of so large and conservative a state as New York. We are all familiar with the Elsburg bill, drafted by such distinguished citizens as Charles S. Fairchild, secretary of the treasury in Cleveland's cabinet; Alexander E. Orr, a multimillionaire and for years president of the chamber, and George F. Seward, John Harsen Rhodes, and Clarence E. Kelsey, representing the committee on state and municipal taxation of the chamber of commerce of the state of New York and unanimously endorsed by the chamber on January 3, 1901. It was also endorsed by the state commerce convention, the board of trade and transportation, the Merchants' Association, the West End Association, the United Real Estate Owners' Association, the New York Tax-Reform Association and many other bodies and eminent men.

This Elsburg bill permitted "local option in taxation" in New York, in all cities and counties of the state, and no change in the constitution, as in Colorado was a necessary preliminary. It permitted the county-board or the council of any city or village, by mere vote, as if passing an ordinary resolution, to exempt from taxation all the improvements on land, or all factories, or all railroads, or all mercantile establishments, or all stocks or bonds or anything else. This bill was supported by leading newspapers of New York city regardless of politics and the New York *Commercial Advertiser* (Republican) said:

"The main effect of the proposed law would be to exempt personalty almost entirely from taxation and to raise the entire revenue by taxation of *realty and public franchises.*"

The Elsburg bill, with such provisions and effect, passed one house of the New York legislature but was defeated in the other. Its origin, however, was too respectable and conservative to bring it or its supporters under the ban of "the Single-Tax, Confiscation, Confusion and Panic."

Yet this very ban was put upon the "Bucklin" amendment and its supporters. And this, too, although it was a much fairer measure for "local option in taxation" than its New York prototype. In the latter the "option" of determining the character of property to be taxed or exempted was given to a mere clique,—to a county-board or a city-council, and undoubtedly would have engendered all the graft and vices of franchise grabbing. While in the former the "option" was given to the people themselves, by an effective initiative and referendum proceeding, to determine what property they would tax or exempt. Yet through the cunning of corporation tactics the people were hoodwinked into distrusting and condemning themselves, and into graciously holding immune from the touch of just taxation the tax-dodging franchises of the imperious throne-powers. This was not true, however, of the

miners. They keenly realized the inequity and iniquity of our existing tax-system, taking its revenue from their meager earnings and belongings, while vast profits were rolled up on the dividend-sheets that never made even a shadow upon the tax returns. President Harrison said, as we have seen, "this sense of inequality breathes a fierce and unmeasuring anger." In the "Bucklin" amendment there was a ray of hope for economic tax-reform, and the miners as a class gave it enthusiastic support. The result was that the only counties that returned a majority for the measure were the metal-mining counties of Clear Creek, Dolores, Hinsdale, Lake, La Plata, Pitkin, San Juan and Teller. But, as we shall presently see in the chapter on the strikes of 1903–04, these enthusiastic champions of tax-reform paid the full penalty for their organized disloyalty to the edicts of the throne-powers. Upon the face of the returns the vote was as follows: For the amendment, 32,710; and against it, 72,370. I do not say, however, that the amendment was defeated. I leave that for the reader to say, if he thinks so, when in our chapter on "The Overthrow of the Ballot" he becomes acquainted with corporation methods of running Colorado elections.

Notwithstanding the respectable company in which we have seen the "Bucklin" amendment had a right to be received and to move in the field of American economics, still, to succeed in their vicious franchise-fight, the throne-powers did not hesitate to malign and traduce it, nor to denounce and ridicule all its advocates and exponents. To win, under cover, so important a fight, they not only stirred to the bottom the passions of the people throughout the state but also stirred the reputation of the state throughout the nation. The reflection of the contest as seen in the press of the East was all of corporation making, and like their lurid painting on other occasions, represented this modest amendment as mad anarchy and revolution and its supporters as wild confiscators and loons.

Yet, as against their libels and insidious machinations, there is no better sentiment to express than that of Shakspere's telling words used by Senator Bucklin in concluding his above report:

> "Be just and fear not,
> Let all the ends thou aim'st at
> Be thy Country's, thy God's and Truth's."

3. *The "Rush" and "Eight-Hour" Amendments.*

The "Rush" amendment was adopted November 4, 1902, as Article 20 of the State Constitution. It was carried by a popular majority of 33,983. After the official canvass of the vote, Governor Orman, on December 1, 1902, as he was required by the terms of the amendment, issued his proclamation declaring it duly adopted as a part of the state constitution. This Article 20 contains eight sections and is too long for present insertion. A brief reference to its essential features, however, will suffice to show its importance and to show also why it especially offended the throne-powers.

(*a*) It abolished the city of Denver and the county of Arapahoe which included the same, and merged and consolidated these two organizations and so much of the territory of the latter as was co-terminous with the exterior boundaries of the former, together with all other municipalities within this area,—into an entirely new and unique entity to be called the "City and County of Denver," and which should be "a single body corporate and politic."

(*b*) It required this "single body corporate and politic" to have but one set of officers to be "such as by appointment or election may be provided for by the charter," and "the jurisdiction, term of office, duties and qualifications of all such officers to be such as in the charter may be provided"; and to show this "single body corporate and politic" as a new creation of the sovereign will of the people and to protect it as a new species of governmental being from judicial or legislative invasion

to the extent necessary to let it live and develop according to its peculiar endowment,—it was provided that "anything in the constitution of this state in conflict or inconsistent with the provisions of this amendment is hereby declared to be inapplicable to the matters and things by this amendment covered and provided for."

(*c*) It gave the voters of the city and county of Denver the right to elect twenty-one members of a charter-convention to frame a charter, which, when approved by a vote of the people, should become the organic law of such city and county. But it provided in order to preserve the application of the general provisions of the constitution and statutes, that "every charter shall designate the officers who shall respectively perform the acts and duties required of county officers to be done by the constitution or by the general law, as far as applicable."

(*d*) The principle of the initiative and referendum was specifically adopted for the framing of successive charters when desired by the people or for amending any charter of the city and county or for the enactment of ordinances; and this was to be done upon a five per cent. petition for submission at a general election or a ten per cent. petition for submission at a special election, and without any legislative permit, interference or approval.

(*e*) It required all franchises to be approved by a vote of the people before they became effective.

(*f*) It required the fire and police department and the department of public utilities and works to be under civil service.

(*g*) It required the school districts within the limits of the city and county of Denver to be consolidated and merged into a single district, to be called "School District No. 1."

(*h*) It permitted cities of the first and second class in the state, that is, cities having a population exceeding two thousand, to avail themselves of certain adaptable parts of its provisions, especially of the charter-making power, and of the initiative and referendum.

(*i*) It required all charters and amendments thereof to be filed with the secretary of state before the same should take effect.

In the above analysis, points *c*, *d*, *e*, and *h* indicate the special features that drew the fire of the corporations. By point *e* they had to run the gauntlet of a popular vote to renew their fast expiring franchises, and by points *c*, *d*, and *h*, the power was always in the hands of the people to establish such a condition precedent or any other condition for the granting of franchises in their charter, even if by any untoward circumstance the provisions of point *e* should be eliminated or invalidated, or indeed, they might deny the granting upon any conditions of any franchise whatsoever.

Of the "Eight-Hour" amendment, it is enough here to say that it added Section *25a* to Article 5 of the constitution, and prohibited the employment of persons in underground mines or workings or in furnaces, smelters or reduction-works for more than eight hours in any twenty-four hours, except in cases of emergency, and declared that "the general assembly *shall* provide by law (for the enforcement of such period of employment) and *shall* prescribe suitable penalties for violation thereof."

The legislative betrayal and shirking in 1903 of this direct command of the constitution and the failure to pass any eight-hour law whatever and the result of the same, will be especially pertinent to a subsequent chapter.

But as we have seen and by wise preconcert, perhaps, this "Eight-Hour" amendment, the "Bucklin" amendment and the "Rush" amendment were all to be voted upon at the same time,—November 4, 1902,—having all been passed and submitted to the people by the legislature in 1901. Confusing as it was to the throne-powers to have these three measures passed at the same session of the general assembly, it was still more

embarrassing to have them all pending before the people for a vote at the same election. Again, they did not dare to divide or scatter their strength. In the legislature, as said above, they made the "Rush" amendment the center of their fight, but in the field the "Bucklin" amendment, as we have seen, was the stormy center. The "Eight-Hour" amendment was so popular and was supported by such a tremendous pressure that the throne-powers wisely postponed their organized assault upon this measure until, as we shall see later, the legislature was applied to to pass the necessary enactment to put it into execution.

The result of the returns of the now famous election of 1902, besides giving us James H. Peabody as the Republican governor of the state, also gave us the "Rush" amendment and the "Eight-Hour" amendment* by large majorities. But the "Bucklin" amendment, by the same returns, was sent to the tomb,—a fate, as we shall see, but little different from that finally overtaking its two companions—the one being bled to death by the legislature and the other by the courts. Such is the facility with which the existing economy can absorb, adapt or destroy the most restrictive or fundamental measure that lies in its way. Apropos of this thought, watch the rate-fixing fight now going on in the nation. If it finally wins in Congress, see what becomes of it in the courts.

4. *Metal and Coal-Strike of* 1903–04.

This subject will have a chapter by itself, and it is enough to say now that during all these stirring troubles there was not a ripple of inharmony among the throne-powers of the state; that they were a unit in advice and encouragement to Governor Peabody, and he did no act and exercised no power that drew a breath of protest from any corporation in the state.

5. *The Peabody Campaign of* 1904.

A word here, too, will at present suffice, as the strikes just mentioned and their incidents and issues must first be presented to the reader before he will be prepared to appreciate why all the throne-powers of the state were defiantly aligned for the reëlection of James H. Peabody and for the defeat of Governor Adams. In a later chapter on "The Overthrow of the Ballot," both this campaign and its subsequent contest will receive specific attention.

In the foregoing pages we have had a general glimpse at the dominant trusts and corporations of the state, both as to their occasional troubles among themselves and as to their united front against the people. Their internal dissensions, as we have seen, should be of no vital concern to the public, but their power and disposition for united political action is of the deepest concern. We repeat that it is the crime of crimes that they should be in politics at all.

When we now turn to a more specific consideration of these throne-powers and see each of them in their large holdings and ambitious pretensions, with their vast tap-roots and runners sapping the political life-blood and the substance of the people, we shall then have some appreciation of the economic situation in this state, and realize that the issue cannot be much longer postponed when it must be decisively determined whether the people shall go down upon their knees as suppliants, or the corporations shall be driven from their throne.

(*To be continued.*)

J. Warner Mills.

Denver, Colo.

*The vote on the "Eight-Hour" amendment stood thus: for, 72,980; against, 26,266.

TAINTED MONEY AND THE CHURCH.

By Rev. George F. Pentecost, D.D.

THE PERIOD of frenzied discussion of this subject is past and the time for a more calm and dispassionate consideration of the whole matter has come. Without doubt such discussion will be continued until the public conscience shall reach a conclusion similar to that which all good people hold in respect of slavery and Mormonism. Ideals of righteousness are always advancing and, though slow to catch up with this advance, the people in the end move toward the higher ideals and confirm a new standard of righteousness which a generation before they would not have recognized. The question just now under discussion is not so much the enormous (mis)fortune of one man and the methods by which he obtained it, as the whole system of commercial enterprise which the genius of this one man has invented and put into practice and which has been adopted and spread through all the great controlling commercial enterprises of our country.

Is there such a thing as tainted money? The writer may be pardoned if at the outset he attempts to answer this question from the religious or Christian point-of-view. All the more so since the man around whom this question just now revolves is an eminent (?) Christian man; or at least he stands before the community clothed in that profession. At the outset it is conceded that money in itself is without moral quality and can only be characterized as "tainted" by reason of its association or use. James—the Lord's brother—one of the New Testament writers and especially a writer on the whole subject of Christian ethics in relation to the common or practical life, says, of certain rich men who had acquired their wealth by oppressing and defrauding their poor laborers: "Your riches are *corrupted;* your gold and silver are *cankered.*" Surely no one will deny that this is a description of tainted money, which instead of being an instrument for blessing becomes "a witness against" its possessors and "shall eat" their "flesh as it were fire." "The cries" of those who have been defrauded in the process of gathering this "heaped together treasure" "have come into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." Even Dr. McArthur would scarcely speak of this writer as the "notorious James." Who will doubt that money obtained by theft, extortion, uncleanness, robbery, etc., is tainted, so long as it remains in the hands of or is administered by the thief, the extortioner, the covetous man, or the one who practices fraud upon his neighbor?

Turning from the strict rule of the gospel to that of the common conscience, it is evident that certain money would by any honest or decent man be regarded as tainted and unfit for use in the work of God. Should a professional gambler, thief, keeper of a disreputable house, an embezzler of bank or trust funds, or men who have obtained their money by fraud and known oppression of the poor, come with their money and offer it to any treasurer of any department of the work of the church, would such treasurer receive it on the grounds that, though obtained by such means, it was clean in itself, or at least that to use it in a good cause would sanctify it? The doctrine that "the end justifies the means" is not one that is accepted by the average Christian of the twentieth century. The point here is not now whether "Standard Oil" money is on a par with that hypothecated above, but that there is certain money which even the common conscience regards as tainted.

Can tainted money be cleansed? This raises another question which may easily be answered. A bad man is not neces-

sarily doomed to perpetual badness. He may be converted and become a good man. Any business or occupation, unless it itself it is inherently bad, may be reconstructed and placed on a basis of righteousness. So, without doubt, tainted money may be cleansed, but not so long as it is held by and represents the unrighteous man and his methods of business by which the money has been obtained. It has been urged that we should never question either the man or his money if he is sincerely seeking to do good with it; that "it is always right to do good." There is a sophism in this plausible statement that needs exposing. A man with his right hand steals and continues to steal and "heaps together riches"; but he has good impulses and so with his left hand he takes a certain portion of his money which with his right hand by fraud or oppression he has acquired, and devotes it to some charitable or religious object. He commits a fraud with his right hand and writes a check in favor of charity or righteousness with his left hand. Shall we say that the check of the left hand sanctifies the fraud of the right hand or cleanses the money obtained by frauds, especially if the right hand *continues* strenuously to do business in the same way? So long as money stands for and represents the man who possesses it or gives it, it partakes of the moral quality of the man it stands for, and not of the cause to which it has been given. If we are reminded that the "altar sanctifies the gift and not the gift the altar," it may be replied that Jehovah by the lips of more than one of His prophets refused absolutely to allow the sacrifices and offerings of certain of the Jews to lie upon His altars, because of the "corrupt practices" of the men who sought so to "worship" Him. Instead of *sanctifying the gift*, the altars of the Lord would have been *desecrated by the gift*. Clearly it is not possible to sanctify tainted money merely by devoting it to religious or charitable purposes.

It has been urged that the Lord himself accepted gifts which were wrong-doing, *e. g.*, in the case of the woman who was a sinner, who broke upon his head and his feet the very precious box of ointment, one of the art-agencies in her unholy profession. But those who refer to this case seem to forget two points in this story. First, the woman had utterly abandoned her unclean life, and the gift of the hitherto "tainted" ointment was the offering of the *penitent* and a token of her abandonment of the unholy life. Let the possessors of "tainted money" come confessing their sins, with the abandonment of their "system" of unrighteousness, and then as a token of their penitence give their money to God that it may in some fashion and measure atone for their wrong-doing, and we should be inclined to believe that the money would be sanctified. In the case of Zaccheus, the rich tax-gatherer, as a token of his penitence and reformation he declared that wherever he could do so he "restored fourfold" to the men whom he had wronged by his professional "squeeze," and for the rest he gave the "half he possessed to the poor." Let the "system" and all who have adopted the methods of the "system" seek out those whom they have in their business relations "squeezed" and crowded out of business by the power of their system and their enormous wealth, by their "rebates" and "secret agreements," and restore to them "fourfold," and then give the half of their remaining possessions to the poor; then it is probable that what remains to them will be in sanctification. In the case of money-making as in fruit-growing, one must first "make the tree good" before "the fruit can be good." As "men do not gather figs of thistles nor grapes of thorns," so religious societies do not get clean money from the hands of commercially unclean men. Repentance, restitution (where restitution can be made), and a life and business method reconstructed on righteousness would seem to be the only way to sanctify "tainted money." This may be the setting of

a high ideal and the suggestion of a severe remedy; but so is the Sermon on the Mount a high ideal and the "cutting off" of the offending hand and the "plucking out" of the offending eye a severe remedy; but in certain cases it must be done or "hell" is at the other end of the refusal. In any case there are few who would urge the abolition of the Sermon on the Mount or the abrogation of the Savior's remedy for certain serious "offences."

The question under discussion is not an abstract or an academic one. The recent gift of a "certain rich man" to a Christian Foreign Missionary Society has awakened the protest of a large number of Christian ministers against their society for receiving the money, on the ground that it was the price of oppression, fraud and dishonesty in its acquirement, and that to receive it with thanks was to condone the dishonest methods and become *particeps criminis* with the man and the "system" which the gift represents. This objection seems too simply obvious to need discussion. The real question is whether the money *is* "tainted" in the sense that it represents a method of business which violates the essential moral principles which should underlie every honest business transaction. Mr. Rockefeller, Sr., is singled out as the man chiefly criticised, not because he alone practices the "system," but because he is the man who made the particular gift under discussion, and especially because he is the inventor, genius and master-spirit of the "system" by means of which he has amassed the most colossal fortune in the world; and further because he is conspicuous in his profession of the Christian religion.

A thief, a gambler, a highwayman, or an embezzler of trust funds is judged by the criminal statutes of the country in which his offences are committed. A business man whose methods of acquiring money are brought into serious question, though he may not have been condemned by law, must be judged by the standard of commercial morality in the community in which he lives and does business, and if he is a professing Christian man, by the ethical standards of Jesus Christ. By business ethics we do not mean that system which the man under discussion and his partners have formulated, but those "old-fashioned" ethics which, as Mr. Roosevelt has so happily put it, ask for one's self in business only that which one is prepared to give to one's client or competitor—"a square deal."

Now the question is: Has Mr. Rockefeller acquired his enormous fortune, out of which he has dribbled and is still dribbling some gifts to education, charity and religion, fairly and honestly? If he has, then his money is clean. If he has not, then his money is tainted, and especially so if he persists in a method which by the concensus of the common conscience is regarded as both dishonest and dishonorable. How are we to know "whether these things be true?" We grant that rich men are usually the objects of envy and jealousy and are often the subjects of unjust criticism. Mr. Rockefeller should have the benefit of every reasonable doubt in this matter. In the present case the "system" which is the creation of the man, as well as the man himself, is the subject of an almost universal adverse judgment. It is true he has his defenders, some of them passionate and vehement; but in most cases they are either his partners, the holders of his stocks, business dependents, or the beneficiaries of his "benevolence." The indictment against the Standard Oil Company and those who originated and still manage its affairs does not rest upon the vague "they say" of irresponsible or merely jealous and prejudiced competitors, but upon such an array of hitherto undisputed facts as was never before marshalled against any set of men or business operations in the whole history of our country or the world. For illustration: If the story of the Standard Oil Company as written by Miss Tarbell is true, or anywhere near true, then the

transactions of that company and those who direct its affairs are little better than the enterprises of pirates or highwaymen. The highwayman rides up to his victim, pistol in hand, and demands: "Your money or your life!" The pirate sails up alongside his intended victim and with superior force of men, shot and cutlass overpowers him. The Standard Oil Company approaches a small business competitor and demands: "Your business or your commercial ruin"; or by means of its powerful organization, its "rebates," "secret agreements" with railroads and its unlimited wealth simply says: "Get out of business or we will drive you into bankruptcy!" It is not a case of fair competition. They have loaded their dice, they have stacked their cards. They know no such rule of business as the "square deal" or the time-honored "live and let live" of the honest merchant. It is simply with them: "We have the power and do not propose to brook any competition. Right or wrong, with us it is simply a question of might." If the statements of fact of Mr. Lloyd in his *Wealth Versus Commonwealth* are true or anywhere near the truth, then there are better men behind the bars than the managers of this gigantic organization.

The question is: Are these grave and circumstantial indictments true, or are they the scandalous libels of disappointed and jealous operators upon the business of good and honest men who by superior genius and business ability have, in lawful competition, outstripped their competitors in the race for wealth? If these specific indictments are not true, then the authors of them are scandalous libelers and defamers of character, and the workers of untold public mischief, in that they have shaken the confidence of the whole community and brought world-wide scandal and disgrace upon the business reputation of our countrymen. If these indictments are not true, and the Standard Oil people are honest men, then they would at once move to clear themselves of the grave impeachment by prosecuting those defamers of their good business name for criminal libel. But again, what are the facts? Miss Tarbell's book, published by a reputable and responsible firm, is on the counters and stalls of every prominent bookseller in the country and on the tables of all the great clubs and among the books of most of the leading men in the country. Mr. Lloyd's *Wealth Versus Commonwealth* is by a gentleman and student of unimpeachable character, and the manuscript was submitted to some of the best lawyers of the country and then published by one of our oldest, most conservative and responsible publishing houses. Mr. Lawson's terrific arraignment in his story of "Frenzied Finance" has gone into the hands of millions of readers; and yet the Standard Oil magnates take no steps to bring these defamers of character to book, or even to defend themselves from the charge of crimes laid at their doors. The feeble denial of Mr. Rogers and the recent passionate defence by Dr. McArthur do not meet the case. The hitherto successful policy of silence, backed by untold millions of wealth, still prevails. Is it true that the poison of this monstrous "system" has so entered into the blood of our great newspapers and that the arms of this octopus have so encircled our great financial institutions that they have no breath with which either to deny or to protest?

It is said that the law of the land does not take cognizance of these alleged "crimes of the Standard Oil Company"; that since the law against "rebates" was passed the Standard Oil Company has never practiced that iniquity. Let that be granted. What does it prove? Only that the lawmakers of the land have locked the stable after the horse has been stolen. It does not prove that the theft was not a moral if not a legal crime. Law does not make crime; it only reveals it and provides for its punishment. "By the law is the knowledge of sin." Nor does the absence or inoperativeness of

law prevent or disprove the alleged evasion of law or the practice of "secret agreements" by which the iniquity still goes on.

It is also to be said that the immediate operations of this company and its methods are not its worst offences. Its operations and its stupendous success (?) have inspired and stimulated a business method that has given birth to a vast brood of similar institutions that have practically enveloped the necessary business of the country within their octopian arms. The Beef-Trust, the Car-Trust, the Sugar-Trust, the Coal-Trust, *et hoc genus omne*, have the consuming public so in their grip that practically no man can eat or buy or sell except by leave of these modern robber-barons. More than this: So vast and ramified are the operations and interests of this company that banks, trust companies, railway companies and other public utilities are so more or less tied up that they can no longer act independently. The evil has spread to such an extent that the Federal government as well as some of the state governments has been compelled to enact laws for the protection of the people and to institute criminal proceedings against these, or at least some of these trusts, for their evasion and violation of law. The recent revelations in connection with the investigation of the Beef-Trust are only specimen pages from the story of the Standard Oil brood. The scandals of the Equitable Life, of some of the great banking institutions and trust companies, no less than of Amalgamated Copper, are more or less traceable to the "genius of the founder of the Standard Oil Company." If it seems far-fetched to saddle all the crimes of modern industrial enterprise upon one man or one company, it must be remembered that a man is responsible for his influence as well as for his immediate actions. It is said of good men that "their works do follow them." Is it not equally true that the works of bad men follow them? The Scotchman who first scattered a handful of thistles on the Pacific coast, though with no evil intent, is morally responsible for the curse of thistles that since then has burdened the land; just as the man who let loose a swarm of bees on that same coast has blessed the land with honey and sweetness. Old Fagin was responsible for the crimes of Oliver Twist. Every teacher is more or less responsible for the merit or blame attaching to the actions of the pupil whose character and principles he has formed. The taint and smell of Standard Oil has penetrated our whole commercial system. This diffusion of methods and principles, it seems to the author, is the worst offence of the Standard Oil system. The worst of all its crimes is that it has so far deadened the conscience of the Church of God, at least in some parts and places, that for the sake of its gold its principles and methods are condoned, and her servants stand hat in hand to receive a dole of the money that pours out of this fruitful hopper—money stained with blood and vocal with the sighs and groans of those who have suffered oppression and ruin at the hands of its operators.

Is Mr. Rockefeller only to be blamed in this matter? Are there not others? Then why single him out as though he were the only wrong-doer? Undoubtedly there are others; and all who are deliberately and of purpose following up and out the Standard Oil methods and participating in its profits are in like condemnation. But Mr. Rockefeller is singled out mainly because he is the reputed genius, inventor and chief promoter of the "system"; because he stands clothed in a profession of Christianity which, according to every tenet of its ethical teaching, is being contravened; because he is a conspicuous patron of the church, of so-called Christian education and philanthropy, by which means he brings the church into fellowship with himself and his methods of business. If it is objected that others are equally compromised by these charges of unrighteousness in business, not to say crimes against sound commercial and Christian ethics,

the reply is that the controversy heads itself up in Mr. Rockefeller. To settle the controversy with him is to settle it with all who are associated with him and all who practice his methods. Doubtless the money of the Beef-Trust and others of the same genus is as tainted as that of the Standard Oil-Trust and must and will be dealt with in the same manner; but until the question in respect of Mr. Rockefeller is settled it will be impossible to deal with that of his associates and imitators.

What shall the church do in the matter? This question has been practically answered above, but there are details which need consideration.

It is urged that Mr. Rockefeller and his money must be judged innocent and clean until he has been proved guilty by due process of law. That is practically the position of Dr. Parkhurst who said, if rightly reported, that he would accept the money of a gambler so long as he was unconvicted of the crime by which he came into possession of the money he proposed to devote to the cause of religion. This is not altogether a question of the technicalities of the law. It is a question of fact. Besides, there is a "higher law" than that of the statutes and there is a higher court than those of the state. Hitherto Mr. Rockefeller has remained silent. A man who remains silent under such serious charges must be considered as having "given consent," or else he must not complain if he be unjustly judged. Mr. Rockefeller has neither on the one hand denied the charges formulated against him and his company, nor on the other hand has he justified them. With such grave charges facing him it is difficult to conceive of any sensitively honest man remaining silent; if not for his own sake at least for the sake of the Church of God of which he is so conspicuous a member.

It is urged that it is impossible for the church to sit in judgment upon all the money that comes voluntarily into its treasury. In this and in other cases the money did not come voluntarily but after much solicitation. But in any case it amounts to the same thing. Its immediate source was and is well known. But the church does and must sit in judgment upon men and money that seek entrance or acceptance within its membership or participation in its work. The money of Ananias, of Judas and of Simon Magus was rejected because of the men and their deeds who offered it. The money of a known thief, gambler or embezzler would by the lowest standard of Christian morals be rejected unless it came in the form of restitution, accompanied by evidence of repentance on the part of the offerer; and even then if it were possible to restore the money to those from whom it was wrongfully taken it should go in that direction rather than through the channels of the church.

But much "tainted" money must find its way into the church treasury through the collection plates, etc. Must a rigid examination be instituted of every contribution so made? This is a quibble, but it is easily answered. All meats in the Greek cities were first offered to idols before being sent to the markets. Paul says: When we are asked to eat or buy meat *as* offered to idols,—*i. e.*, with that distinct understanding—then, though the idol is nothing and the meat in itself is nothing, it is to be refused; but if it is set before us or openly exposed in the market simply as meat, without raising the idol issue, then we may buy and eat without question of conscience. But when the issue is raised and it becomes a question of acceptance or endorsement of the idol, then even at the expense of life itself the meat must be refused. The principle is too plain to need discussion. But if this rule is to be rigidly or even measurably applied, "who shall stand?" Well, it may be that the "time has come when judgment must begin at the house of God." There are other tolerated offences within the church. Why pitch upon this one? There are other offenders in the church. Why pitch upon this par-

ticular man? Because this particular offence and this particular offender and chief of offences and of offenders are just now before the church. It is admitted that the tangle is an exceedingly complicated one. But here is at least one great Gordian knot. Let this one be cut and no doubt it will greatly facilitate the untangling of many minor knots and snarls. Because offenders are many and offences are multitudinous and smell towards heaven, shall we take the ground that no offence is to be condemned and no offender is to be censured or dealt with by the church? The money of the Standard Oil Company and its many allied industries and combinations furnish and have to do with a large proportion of the currency of the country. Is all the money that passes through Standard Oil hands unclean? This again is a quibble. A chemical mill or dyeing-house that empties its waste-water into a running stream pollutes it; but we are told that a running stream of water purifies itself after running a certain number of miles. In this case it is not a question of using the stream of money *miles away* from the source of pollution, but the stream of money issues direct and straight from the polluting works themselves. In any case the matter is so serious that it ought to be faced by the church in every branch of it, especially by those churches that are directly the beneficiaries of this "benevolence."

What shall the church do? It is certain that the church cannot at once accept the profits and denounce the business by which those profits are acquired. It is not a question of taking the money and "asking no questions for conscience's sake," for the reason that the answer to the question that conscience might ask is already proclaimed from the house-top. It has been said that if the church should refuse all money that has a suspicion of taint upon it, there would soon be no money with which to carry on the work of the church. The writer cannot believe that this is true or anywhere near the truth. This is much like the scandalous saying that "no man can be honest and succeed in business." But even if it were true, the answer would be the same. What the world needs to-day more than success in any enterprise in which the church is engaged is a church whose testimony in the lives, social habits and business methods of its membership shall illustrate the righteousness taught by Christ and enjoined by His apostles. Let the church stand for holy living and righteous dealing among men and she will not lack for money to carry forward all the work her hands shall find to do. Is it not because we have lowered and relaxed our standards of life and business that we have ceased to inspire that respect and confidence which lead good men voluntarily to supply the church with her needed sinews of war and work? Let the millionaire with tainted millions alone. Let him bear the responsibility of them himself. Do not ease his responsibility by a partnership with him. He is only too willing to buy the church's condonation. Let him understand that he can no more buy the silence of the church with his money than Simon Magus could buy the power of the Holy Ghost with his money. The case is not exactly parallel, but the principle involved is the same. The church cannot thrive under the patronage of such a system as that represented by the Standard Oil and the Beef-Trusts. To cringe and fawn before these corporations or the men who represent and manage them is to stultify every principle for which the church stands or ought to stand. No good can come of any compromise or partnership with them. Indeed, to accept the gifts of such men and the corporations they represent is for the church *to sell her birthright and betray her Master for so many pieces of money.* The church's power is not in money, but in the favor of God and the presence of the Holy Spirit. Were the apostle Peter now on the earth, he would probably say to these men, who, having first outraged every teaching of Christ,

now seek to buy the approval or at least the silence of the church: "Thy money perish with thee; thou hast no part or lot in the matter." The message of the church to such men as these should be the message of James, the brother of the Lord: "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are *corrupted* and your garments are *motheaten*. Your gold and silver are *cankered*, and the *rust* of them shall be a witness against you and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. You have heaped treasures together for the last days. Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped your fields, which of you is kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

GEORGE F. PENTECOST.
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DEPENDENT CHILDREN AND THE STATE.

BY SOLOMON SCHINDLER,
Superintendent of the Leopold Morse Home for Infirm Hebrews, and Orphanage.

IT IS essential to social conditions that they shall remain forever in a state of transition and that they shall produce new problems of life at every turn of the evolutionary wheel. People are constantly striving to solve these problems, but the daughters of Danaus might as well try to fill the bottomless barrel to which they are forced to carry water in sieves. The solution of every problem creates at once a new condition which in its turn creates one or more new problems.

Edward Bellamy pictured society as a cone poised upon its apex instead of upon its base. He described vividly how the cone was held in this unsafe position by the ropes of legislation. No sooner, says he, is the tension increased or relaxed on one side than the cone loses its equilibrium.

Of the many problems which the latest social developments have produced, none is of more far-reaching or vital importance than that embodied in the question: what are we to do with "dependent children" so-called? Many excellent people may not have heard of such a problem; others may care little whether this problem is solved in one way or another or not at all; again, others do not see that the unprecedented increase in the number of dependent children during the last decade is merely a symptom of a malady from which modern society is suffering; nor will they agree that with the reëstablishment of normal health the symptom will disappear.

What are dependent children? Whence do they come? What is done for them, and by whom?

Practically speaking *all* children are dependent. They are dependent upon the care and support of their natural parents who are held responsible by law for their life, their health, and their well-being until they are able to support themselves, that is, until they become of age. In speaking of dependent children, however, I shall apply the term only to those who, lacking natural protectors, are thrown upon the mercy of either communal or private charity for their support or care. These may be classified as follows:

1. Children who have lost father, mother, or both, by death.

2. Children whose parents are unable to support them because of the lack of earning capacity caused by sickness or some other disability not their own fault.

3. Children whose parents are addicted to vices or who are otherwise unfit to rear them. To this class belong children who are treated with cruelty by those who should lovingly care for them.

4. Children over whom their parents have lost control (juvenile criminals).

It would lead too far from my subject were I to enumerate the many reasons why, particularly in our large centers of population, the number of such dependent children has increased from year to year in an alarming ratio; but it is a fact which the reader can readily ascertain for himself that both asylums and reformatories for the young, supported either by private or communal charity, are fast becoming overcrowded, to say nothing of the vast army of children that are "boarded out."

In view of these facts, three questions present themselves:

1. Who should, nay, *must* care for these dependent children?
2. What is being done for them at the present time?
3. What might be done to solve this problem which is bound to assume larger proportions as time passes.

1. Who should care for dependent children? Naturally, those who would be most benefited by their proper training, and who are these? You and I and all the individuals who make up the state or community. A state—or if the word be too narrow, a community—is a body composed of individuals. The larger the number of individuals and the stronger the physical, intellectual and moral health of these units, the more vigorous and prosperous becomes the communal body. The life of every child, no matter how humble, is of value. Every boy or girl whose physical, intellectual and moral faculties are properly developed contributes so much additional strength to the future commonwealth.

It may be premature as yet to discuss the question whether the child belongs really to his parents and not rather to the state. Public opinion has not yet fully grasped the verity of the second part of the alternative; it has not yet become fully conscious of the fact that birth is a mere incident in our lives, if not a mere accident. Slowly, however, the truth of that theory is coming to be admitted in certain quarters. It has come to be an undisputed truism that the welfare of the community depends upon the degree of development of its citizens, and that, hence, the state has the right to take children from their parents for a given time each day and for a given number of years in order to educate them. The corollary has also been accepted that if public-school education is to be made a success, even books and stationery must be given to the pupils free of cost; not as a charity, but as that which is due to them.

It may not be out of place at this point to consider briefly what this word "charity" really signifies.

Charity is some kindly action which one person performs for another without compulsion or hope of gain. As the recipient of the charity has no right to demand the gift because he offers no equivalent for it, so the giver of the benefaction follows merely an impulse. He gives because it pleases him. He can give, if he desires, to the most unworthy object and can refuse the most worthy petition. The underlying principle of charity remains forever the same: no equivalent is to be asked or expected. As soon as an equivalent is given in reality or is expected, the transaction ceases to be a deed of charity. Any such hope or expectation transforms the action into a bargain with more or less profit to the giver.

Parents do not rear their children on the basis of charity. Leaving out of consideration the natural instinct of race-preservation, the parents hope for and expect a return from the child either by his work in the years of his minority or by the care he will give them when the feebleness of age prevents their caring for themselves.

The same returns—capital, interest and dividends combined—does the state receive from every rising generation as it replaces an outgoing one. Why, then,

should it be the province of so-called "state charities" to care for dependent children, or why should private charitable institutions be asked, or even permitted, to assume a task which it is the *duty* of the state to perform? I have dwelt upon this point for a purpose. I wish the reader to understand that the whole success of rearing dependent children hinges upon the question of whether the task is undertaken in the spirit of duty or of charity. If the work be undertaken in the spirit of charity, the outlay will seem too great, no matter how slight it may be. Improvements will be hindered because the expense will be dreaded. Neither the child, his parents, nor the people will have any determining voice in the work because they will be expected to be extremely grateful for whatever they receive apparently without making any return. If, on the other hand, the state is held to be in duty bound to take care of the dependent children, the question of expense will be no more considered than is now the question of expense in regard to our public-school system, or with regard to those national institutions in which young men are prepared for military service. All needs would be supplied, only the best would be good enough, provided the results would warrant the outlay.

It is premature, however, to expect that the care of dependent children will be taken from the hands of charity and transferred to the educational department of the nation. It is easy, however, to understand why the work of caring for dependent children is divided between state charities and private charities. Private enterprise has many a time supplied the want before the public became conscious that it was its duty to improve existing conditions. Some twenty years ago, when the kindergarten system was unknown in American cities, a wealthy woman expended a vast sum of money in demonstrating the usefulness, nay, the necessity of that preface to education. Another woman did the same in regard to the introduction of physical culture. Charitable institutions supported by individuals have, therefore, a place in the community, but only for so long a time as they may serve the public as guides. Their mission ceases when the community acts upon their suggestions; but the very realization of their aims is the equivalent which they receive for their outlay, and the name "charitable institutions" is in fact a misnomer.

There is also a second reason for the existence of private institutions for the care of dependent children. Religious bodies have ever been eager to keep the children of their votaries within the fold of their own creed. If the state or some private party of a different religious faith would be given control of the young, whom they desired for their own, they might be turned away from their religion. Brought up under different influences, they would form new habits of thought. Various religious denominations have, therefore, established institutions wherein to rear the dependent children of their own creed. The right to do this is indisputable; but because of this right they forfeit the privilege of calling these asylums "charitable institutions." They are profiting by their own efforts. Every child reared in their faith repays them with compound interest by his very life; he aids them in perpetuating what they consider a most valuable inheritance.

2. What is being done for dependent children at the present time? Both state and private charities are practically working along the same lines. The oldest and best-known method is that which might be termed "the barrack-system," where the children are gathered in large buildings and are reared uniformly regardless of individual traits or characteristics. The advantages of this system were manifold. Cheapness is an important item in all *charitable* enterprises. The contributor who gives—as he thinks—something for nothing, expects the greatest possible amount of work to be accomplished for the least possible outlay. He

would rather see a thousand children brought up improperly than one hundred properly. Under the "barrack system" the per capita expense is reduced in direct ratio to the increase in the number of inmates. We should not lose sight of the fact, however, that when the need is pressing, the larger the number of inmates in such an institution the more good, comparatively speaking, may be accomplished. When such an asylum is properly managed, there is an opportunity to find out the special talents of the various children. An able educator in charge of such an institution might classify the wards in such a manner as to bring out the best that was in each child. He might also discover atavistic taints, and if he could not entirely eradicate them, he might at least render them less dangerous. Finally, such an asylum is always open to inspection. Mismanagement cannot remain hidden for any length of time. When one inspects a well-managed institution of this sort, pity arises for the majority of children living lives of misery in the slums of our great cities who have not been so fortunate as to lose their parents.

The "barrack system," however, has many disadvantages. If one of the inmates contracts a contagious disease, large numbers will be prostrated in spite of the greatest precautions. Immoralities carried into such a home from the depraved quarters of large cities by a few black sheep would require heroic treatment to stamp them out. The treatment so necessary to secure order among large numbers of children would tend to destroy individuality. The monotonous round of daily duties continued for a few years would destroy the power of initiative. A life of seclusion tends to place the asylum-reared child at a disadvantage when he comes to mingle with the outside world. As a bird, reared in a cage, is unable, when set free, to use his wings, to obtain food, or to avoid the snare of the trapper or the claws of the cat, so the graduate from the asylum lacks the ability to cope with the temptations and trials of real life.

As these disadvantages became obvious, they might have been remedied had it not been that these institutions were *charity* institutions, and therefore, were always hampered by the lack of funds. Therefore, a method diametrically opposite suggested itself and was introduced with the hope of even greater results for a still smaller monetary outlay. The child, it was argued, should grow up within the world as a member of a family. New ties of affection should be formed to replace those that for one reason or another had been broken. The child should be "boarded out." A respectable, well-recommended family should be found somewhere in the country that would be willing to give to such a poor dependent child a home in lieu of a small remuneration. Visitors should ascertain from time to time whether the little boarder was well treated. If one home should not be satisfactory, if one family did not seem fit to care for a child, or a child did not seem adapted to a particular family, another should be tried until the right child could be placed with the right family. It would cost less to employ a staff of visitors than to employ a staff of attendants in an asylum. Diseases would not spread. The child could grow up a member of the family, could become familiar with the ordinary work-a-day life of the world through personal experience, and finally, would find his proper place in the community.

This method would be an ideal solution of the problem, provided it did not have one serious disadvantage. Such ideal families who would take upon themselves the cares, the worries and the disappointments incident to the rearing of children may exist in fiction, but they do not exist in reality. There may be a few praiseworthy exceptions, but they cannot be found in such large numbers as are needed to care for the thousands of dependent children. The experiment is as yet comparatively new and untried, and we have only the word of the visiting agents that the method is a success. Is

this testimony sufficient? Is the opinion of the agent as to what constitutes a good family or as to what the future of the child should be, to be taken as final? Can it be expected that people who, as a rule, take such children for the return which they expect from them will be able to perceive and develop individual talents or to remodel a character tainted by unwholesome slum experiences? If it was the fault of the "barrack system" that the child was brought too much before public gaze, the "boarding out" system suffers from the still graver fault that the child is too far removed from public notice. We have printed statements from visitors describing the happy life of the "boarded out" child, and sometimes a picture is added of a boy standing beside a cow; but are there not unwritten histories of unhappy lives which are never published unless some especially flagrant crime against childhood has been committed? The "boarding out" system, however, could be vastly improved were it not that it is dependent upon charity. Any halfway decent home is considered good enough for the recipient of charity. Were it the duty of the state to "board out" dependent children as a *right* to them, the question of expense would not be considered. A better supervision could be established and conditions generally could be greatly improved. Being dependent upon charity, however, the "boarding out" system is a greater failure than was ever the "barrack system."

As a result of these experiences the idea at length was conceived of taking from the two methods the most satisfactory features and combining them in an entirely new plan. The "cottage system," so-called, was born which is as yet in its infancy but which promises great things for the future. Imagine a village situated in the suburbs of one of our large cities and composed of fifty to one hundred cottages. There are public squares in this village into which wide streets lead. There is a church and a gymnasium with bathing facilities to be found in the hamlet. There are schoolhouses enough to accommodate all the children who are to be the residents of the little community. Each cottage affords accommodation for twenty children who live there under the supervision of a man and his wife, both of whom are trained teachers and who represent the father and mother. The distribution of the children in the various cottages is made from various view-points. The sex is considered, then the age, the temperament, and the equality of talents. The process of sifting and assorting is going on constantly so that every child finally finds his place in the little community where the best work can be expected of him. And work is expected. The whole work of the village is carried on by children from the age of twelve to eighteen years under the guidance of able instructors. A man of highest educational qualifications rules the little commonwealth, teaches and supervises the workers. The children will be kept in touch with the life of the city, and when the time arrives that the child is ready to take up the active life of the world, he will not find himself a stranger to it. The story of such an ideal commonwealth may read like a fairy tale, yet many of our foremost educators are already working for its realization. Why may not this scheme be adopted at once? Because the cost stands in the way. Each plant would cost as much and perhaps more than the support of West Point or Annapolis. Charity cannot afford such a luxury, and I hear the reader whisper: Were the community to support such an institution everyone would abandon his children and send them to it. What if this were to be done? Who supports the rising generation to-day? The people individually. Why should they not do it collectively? One more question arises. Where will the thousands of graduates find their places? In the army. Not in an army trained to destroy, but in an army trained to create wealth.

SOLOMON SCHINDLER.

Mattapan, Mass.

STRUGGLES OF AUTOCRACY WITH DEMOCRACY AT THE OPENING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

By E. P. Powell,
Author of *Nullification and Secession in the United States*, *Our Heredity from God*, etc.

THE FIRST election of Mr. Cleveland to the presidency was a great popular protest against centralization. The platform on which he stood pronounced against war-taxes; against the presence of troops at the polls; against converting the general government into a tax-collecting machine; in favor of an active policy for commercial expansion; for civil-service reform; and for a policy friendly to American labor. The people, under a general conviction that the Republican party had deserted the fundamental principles of democracy, swung freely over in favor of a change. Under Mr. Cleveland, United States troops were recalled from the polls of the Southern states; commercial expansion was stimulated—without being merged into territorial expansion; civil-service reform was honestly enforced and broadened; and Mr. Cleveland himself persistently urged tariff-reform. His party, however, was too much under the control of the lobby to inaugurate even moderate trade freedom. Nor was it any more friendly to labor—and especially was this true at Washington—than were its predecessors. Mr. Cleveland's convictions were soundly democratic, but his temperament was autocratic. At his inauguration he pronounced for a single term of office; but at the close of four years he was convinced that no other man could save the country—an opinion easy to adopt, but difficult to discharge.

Harrison was nominated and elected on a purely partisan platform in which we find this curio: "The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver." So little does either of the great parties know its own children. Mr. Harrison's administration was notable for the conduct of Speaker Reed in enacting, on his own motion, new and rigid rules for governing the House of Representatives. He won the title of Czar; but the people took little interest in the usurpation, because of a growing conviction that the House of Representatives was ruling "by its own right"—without owing responsibility to those it represented. This fatality covered appropriations, on the supposition that what Congress spends is out of a public fund—a deceit liable to be fostered so long as indirect taxation conceals from the people what the government takes and spends. Only when the people see and feel their taxes will they resent the waste of the surplus. The McKinley tariff bill differed in no way from those that preceded it, except in its deeper devotion to the principle that the great end of legislation was to shut out foreign trade and keep the home market for our own producers. But it happened at this very moment that the farmers of America were burning their corn for fuel and feeding their wheat to the hogs. The one all-important need of the farmer was not the home market, but to secure the markets of the world.

The People's Party, born out of the Farmers' Alliance, was organized, and secured such a rallying of independent voters that it elected nine members of the House of Representatives and two Senators, while casting over a million votes for President. Although sneered out of existence as the "Populist Party," most of the principles it advocated had become

the staple of its opponents. Among those most prominent have been senatorial elections by the people; enlargement of postal service to include postal savings-banks and parcels-post, governmental control of aggregated capital, to prevent fraudulent issuance of stock; a graduated income-tax; economy in public expenditure; and the relief of agriculture from unjust taxation.

Mr. Cleveland's second administration opened under less favorable auspices than his first. He should have kept Bayard at his right hand; instead he made him Ambassador to England. The balance of trade was rising nearly to a margin in our favor. Prosperity required above all things peace and a stimulus to commercial expansion. But Mr. Cleveland's autocratic temperament asserted itself fatally over his democratic principles. He began with an effort to undo the work of his predecessor, who had advocated the annexation of Hawaii. Mr. Cleveland not only showed unexplainable zeal to prevent annexation, but he entered into official correspondence with the dethroned Liliokulani. This was more than disloyalty to the United States; it was international treason. Following closely on the heels of this arrogant assumption of power came the Venezuela Message. Reading backward the noblest event of the century—the political alliance of Great Britain and the United States against despotism, in 1823—the Monroe Doctrine was made to endanger the peace of the Anglo-Saxon world, and to saddle the United States with a protectorate over two continents. The protest of the people was one prolonged roar from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Peace was preached from ten thousand pulpits, and arbitration congresses were held in England and America. On the whole democracy would have lost but little by this combination of executive blundering and stubbornness had it not been followed by Mr. Cleveland's refusal to give aid or encouragement to the Cubans, whose condition was such as to rouse the indignation of the whole world. Encouraged by our "friendly relations," Spanish tyranny became infernal. Mr. Cleveland soon began to reap what he had sowed. Blocking the way to commercial expansion and turning the eyes of the people inward to their own troubles made Coxeyism a feature of our national life. Tramps increased enormously, while millionaires multiplied. Wealth was concentrating as well as political power. These two forces most naturally coöperated. So came about the birth of those corporate aggregations of capital which we have learned to call the "trusts." The republic with abundant harvests and more wealth per capita than any other nation on the globe, nevertheless became bankrupt. We had to borrow money every six months. The bonds issued were placed at the option of capitalists, until Mr. Cleveland was compelled by popular clamor to offer the later issues to the people. The labor situation was most alarming. Great strikes took place, attended with extreme violence. One of these, which centered in Chicago, was suppressed by Mr. Cleveland with the United States army, unsolicited by the Governor of the State,—in fact against his protestation that the State could take care of itself.

Meanwhile the misery and resentment of the people had formulated into more or less coherent expression in all sorts of party platforms. Among the demands made in the name of reform were national ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones and other means of transportation and communication; municipal ownership of public franchises in towns; scientific control of forests and waterways; a progressive income-tax; compulsory education; referendum of all important laws to the people with more or less power of initiative; representation of the minority; prohibition; and old-age pensions. The first platform of the People's Party demanded a national currency issued directly by the Government; free coinage of silver and gold, at a ratio of

16 to 1; a graduated income-tax; economy; a postal savings-bank system; public ownership of railroads, telephones, and telegraphs; no more alienation of public lands; limitation of office of President to one term; election of Senators by direct vote of the people; no subsidies to private corporations. Ridicule cannot conceal the fact that most of these propositions still lie close to the heart of the American people.

The so-called Democratic convention of 1896 was a spontaneity. It was not planned; right or wrong, it was the voice of the common people. It astounded no one more than the party managers. It was above all a thoroughly sincere convention. It believed its platform, and it intended to carry out the principles laid down as its planks. During the campaign its opponents forgot their own platform in their determination to prevent the victory of these principles. It has been described as an effort on the part of the Democrats "to combine the weak, the poor, the debtors, the employed, against the men who were designated as plutocrats." Was it? Others hold quite as firmly that it was a spontaneous uprising of the people against the increasing potency of centralization—both the centralization of capital and of political power. I am convinced that history will assert the latter view to be correct.

A close comparison of the last few years with 1796 to 1804 would bring out so close a counterpart as to startle the student of sociology. The demand of Hamilton was for an army of fifty thousand; we now have a provisional army of nearly one hundred thousand. Hamilton desired to attack Cuba and the rest of the Spanish possessions in America; we have fought a war with Spain and driven her off the continent. Hamilton desired an alliance with Great Britain; we have had so complete an understanding with England that it has amounted to an alliance. Hamilton desired to subordinate the states and increase the power of the central government; this has been the peculiar work of the past few years.

This article will not undertake to discuss the necessity of the war with the Philippines; but it is quite within our purpose to note that as the King of England was also Emperor of India, so the President of the United States is Emperor of the Philippines. This endowment of Mr. McKinley and his successor with absolute civic and military power over those islands may not be unconstitutional, but it is extra-constitutional. If the President rules a part of the nation's land-holding a part of the time, may he not at some period be allowed to rule all the land all the time? Surely the road is a strange one for popular government to be traveling. Meanwhile the Supreme Court, unfortunately always too ready to side with autocracy, was prompt to decide it constitutional to govern our provinces by czar power, while it forbade to the people trial by jury.

The most alarming fact that characterized the close of the nineteenth century and the opening of the twentieth was that the weakening of democracy at Washington reappeared with aggravated symptoms in our state capitals. The legislatures of 1900–01 went a rifle's range farther than any of their predecessors. In Pennsylvania a "Ripper Bill" was pushed through the legislature, abolishing the offices of mayor for Pittsburg, Allegheny and Scranton, and creating instead city recorders, appointed by the governor. In Michigan the regulars had difficulty in managing Detroit, and in a night an essential part of the Detroit government was purged after the Pennsylvania model. The legislature of New York dared even to attack the fundamental institutions of Society. It merged town elections in state elections, and practically suppressed that independent town action which has characterized Anglo-Saxon life since it emerged from Jutland and Saxony. Wherever a county proved itself difficult in the hands of the boss, its local self-government was taken away, to be exercised at the state capital.

A senator apologized by saying that the American people would sacrifice anything for "good government." The reply was, "Then call in the Czar." Our complaint against England in 1776 was not lack of good government, but government at all. The end of social organization, according to democracy, is not government, but to teach the people to govern themselves.

The tendency to disfranchise cities arises from the very nature of the charter. Not a city in the United States is free to govern itself. Its charter is liable to be amended at any moment for party purposes. The people submit, and the danger is that they do submit. A healthy revolution will clear the atmosphere. New York city has had to choose between Tammany and Albany; naturally she chooses Tammany. Such municipal misrule as Tammany inflicts has in large degree been possible because of legislative arrogances. In Kansas City the people surrounded the common council with ropes and revolvers, compelling them to stand on a table and swear not to vote away public franchises to greedy corporations. Chicago, with Cleveland, Toledo, and Columbus, Ohio, elected mayors pledged to municipal ownership of public franchises. In Wisconsin it became illegal for any city or town to vote a franchise that could be operated within sixty days after the grant; and if, during that period, ten per cent. of the voters demanded a referendum, it must be permitted.

In 1900 it was all-important that we should have in our administrative department at Washington a man of progressive statesmanship, capable of measuring the needs of popular government, and by temperament fitted to resist the autocratic tendencies of the other departments. Mr. McKinley was such a man. His last speech, at Buffalo, just before his assassination, declared that the time had come to put an end to commercial warfare and to establish international reciprocity. His death seated in power a man of exactly the opposite disposition; a man whose character was represented by such significant phrases as "rough-riding" and "strenuous"; a man who had, in his *Winning of the West*, stigmatized the two ablest statesmen the republic has ever produced as "those infamous men, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison."

Already industrialism was rapidly rising to dominate the enterprise and the spirit of civilization. It was keenly to be desired that this new evolution of social economics should imbibe the spirit of democracy instead of autocracy. On the contrary the contest became at once sharp between capitalized political power and true statesmanship. The lobby, which formerly stood for local interests, and for tariff protection, now stood boldly for trusts and universal domination. It bought and occupied seats in the Senate, and unseated those who had been honestly elected to the House of Representatives. It was not caricature, but the portraiture of an accomplished fact, that placed Mr. Hanna's picture beside Mr. McKinley's on inauguration day, and again beside that of Mr. Roosevelt when the latter was nominated in Chicago, in 1904—the captain of concentrated capital and the captain of centralized political power—a coalition which proposes to govern the United States. Such an alliance drops our whole popular self-government out of sight, and leaves instead "the machine." It is not surprising that in the same autocratic spirit labor federations, imbibing the spirit of arrogance, put a heel of lordship on the free toiler. In one case as in the other the chief interest of the republic is to cultivate equality and fraternity. Labor, which is the gold of a democratic citizen, must be held to be more valuable than minted coins.

The United States *Investor* says: "The astutest commercial minds in the world are to-day intent on subverting the government of the United States to their private ends. Their plan is to secure the enactment of measures calculated to

enrich themselves at the expense of the people. Such measures must inevitably reduce the masses of the public to economic servitude, and have a strong tendency to crush that independent spirit which has so far been the chief characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race."

Capital, which dictated the Porto Rico tariff, if it did not stand behind the Philippine war, now undertakes a shipping-subsidy bill at the cost of manufactures and agriculture. A protective tariff for manufactures and a shipping subsidy for commerce! But where, pray, is the agriculturist? He pays the tariff on his clothes, and he pays the subsidy on his way to the foreign market won by his own energy and tact.

Capital assumes the right to break up an industry, where hundreds have been gathered for homes and food, sending helpless families adrift at its own option. The capitalist insists on his right to use the laborer so long as it profits him, with the equal right to toss him aside, like an old shovel, when no longer needed. The fact that one millionaire out of twenty is a free giver of his accumulations does not answer the problem. We do not wish to be turned into a nation of paupers to be fed at the crib of Crœsus, any more than we wish to be slaves of Cæsar. During the Chicago riot, to a benevolent proposition the workmen replied: "Damn your charity; what we want is justice!" This is the fundamental principle of American history: we wanted, we have taken, and we must preserve *justice.* Equal industrial rights are as essential to liberty as equal political rights. A bank president says: "There are to be great changes in our industrial life. The only outcome must be to take all the people into the combines, by a system of public or common ownership. The masses are too intelligent to be perpetually crowded out." We cannot wonder that industrialism in turn catches the spirit of autocracy.

During the first four years of the twentieth century the disregard for law has certainly increased. This has been shown by the enforcement of mob law, not only in the South but in the North as well. That which our national Executive may do, the private citizen is bound sooner or later to do. If the Constitution can be overridden at Washington, statute law will be trodden under foot by the common people. If our President will treat a small republic as he dare not treat England or Germany, our Governors will concentrate power at the state capitals, and under-officers will be pointed the way to autocratic exercise of power. The absolute breakdown of law in Colorado, the seizure of men without warrant and their deportation without trial by men elected to uphold law, is the finality toward which autocracy points. If this can be tolerated for Colorado it is sure to occur sooner or later in every state in the Union. We shall be dragged from our beds, harried into cattle-cars and dumped in alien fields at the will of either anarchists or autocrats,—the two terms are interchangeable.

The possible danger ahead cannot be overlooked by even the most assured optimist. Mr. Morton, assistant Secretary of State with President Harrison says: "Until the last three or four years the will of the American people has been to uphold law, but we are now breaking loose from this sentiment. The assertion of might over right at Washington has bred a spirit of lawlessness everywhere. What the country needs for a president is a man of judicial temperament; an upholder of the law and the constitution." We are in need of men like Jefferson, who ever spoke to the conscience of the people.

Neither of the platforms issued by the two great parties of America during the summer of 1904 came from the heart of the people; nor did either of them divine the real economic condition of the country or outline a courageous future. Cowardice, one of the consequences of tolerating autocracy, is the order of the day. It permeates every convention and every caucus. But the two platforms did leave

for the voter a choice between subsidy and no subsidy; between war-tariffs and commercial peace; between constitutionalism and strenuosity, with the possibility that a change of administration would leave the door open for the discussion and probable adoption of some of the more important political reforms.

The struggle of the people one hundred years ago to rescue themselves from Federal autocracy involved riots, with not a little bloodshed. The clash was violent, because "the best" really believed that the common people were unable to govern themselves. The second struggle with autocracy was hardly less forceful, and the Civil war emphasized the third. That the atmosphere will again clear itself of distrust of the people, without a sharp struggle and some breaches of peace, I do not believe. Not only do ills repeat themselves in cycles, but also remedies. It has been the object of this series of articles to give a succinct historical review of one of the most important lines of social evolution. The study of progressive popular government and the contention of centralization to suppress it is of importance to every citizen of a republic.

E. P. Powell.

Clinton, N. Y.

POPULAR EDUCATION IN RURAL DISTRICTS THE SUPREME NEED OF THE SOUTH.

By Agnes Valentine Kelley, M.D.

ONE OF the most important questions before the American people to-day is the subject of popular education in the Southern states. Comparatively few Northern people appreciate the need of this section or the comparative helplessness of many of the Southern states, due primarily to the widespread desolation wrought between the years 1861 and 1865 and from which the Southern states, and especially those on the Gulf, have been slowly struggling since the era of reconstruction. The people of many of these commonwealths, notably Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, are poor. The states are poor. The governments are not in a condition as yet to furnish popular education for their people, especially in the rural and outlying districts. I think it is safe to say that no people in the confines of our republic are more eager or anxious for education to-day than the white citizens of the rural districts of Louisiana, Alabama and adjoining states; and I believe that it is equally true that when the problem of popular education in these rural districts is solved we shall have gone a long way toward solving the race question. These states are potentially rich, but they are paralyzed, and until they are in a position to give good school facilities to industrious, enterprising, home-building people the tide of new life that should be pouring into their borders will pass to other commonwealths.

"Eighty thousand children are passing the educable limit every year, and fifty-five per cent. of these children are not in school." Why? Because we have not suitable schoolhouses in which to carry on our work. In the cities the school-buildings compare favorably with those of northern towns of the same size, but in the rural districts and the less well-to-do communities the conditions are pitiable in the extreme. I am familiar with a number of places from fifteen to twenty miles square where no schoolhouses of any kind can be found. Many of these communities are entirely dependent upon the voluntary service of chance city visitors. I have known several instances

where persons have been moved by the condition of the people—children and oftentimes older people—to establish for a time schools. These were sometimes held in the front-room of cabin homes, or, when the weather was good, under the shade of the trees; and here young and old were taught the common branches of learning. "Sixty per cent. of the rural school-buildings are small wooden boxes with rude and insufficient furniture and afford little or no protection to the children in any kind of weather. Good teachers will not continue teaching in such buildings, for their services are in demand where buildings and equipment are in harmony with the teacher's qualifications."

A good schoolhouse in any community will stimulate the people to provide by local taxation for the maintenance of eight months' schooling, and less than eight months per year is insufficient to equip a child for citizenship or social service.

In referring to the urgent needs of the rural districts, Governor Newton C. Blanchard, of Louisiana, recently wrote me: "To use the funds now in our hands to build schoolhouses in the rural districts would be to curtail the length of the school term (eight months) in places where schools are now held."

Governor Blanchard is making the subject of popular education the chief feature of his administration and under his wise guidance, aided and abetted by the entire administration, we are achieving splendid results; but although alive to the demands of the situation and willing and energetic, the state government finds the work too stupendous to accomplish alone.

And what I have said of Louisiana and Governor Blanchard applies with equal truth to Alabama and Governor Jelks. "You could not do a nobler work," wrote the latter gentlemen, "nor one that is more needed than the building of plain country schoolhouses in communities where the people are unable to build for themselves." And in another letter he writes: "I will be glad to meet you at any time and place to confer with you, and assure you that as governor of this state (Alabama) you shall have my entire sympathy and hearty coöperation."

To illustrate the ability and willingness of the southern youth to learn, an instance in my own experience may be of interest. I was teaching one of these backwoods schools eight miles from a city of more than twenty-five thousand inhabitants, when one morning during my first term a youth came to make inquiries about beginning to study with us. He was a tall, broad-shouldered, handsome lad. Upon questioning him I learned that he was just past his seventeenth birthday. He could neither read nor write. Indeed, he did not know one letter from another. He was eager to learn, however, and when once started he made amazing progress. Before the term expired he could read and write of ordinary things, and he was calculating the cost of a street-railway from our interesting schoolhouse to the city above mentioned. This boy is now and has for several years been a cashier in one of the leading banking-houses in the capital of this state. This school was taught in the negro meeting-house, I paying the rent for it out of my own purse. The building was a rough board affair, with boards laid upon boxes for seats. The negroes of the same district had a good two-room lath and plaster schoolhouse built by northern money.

Another instance of the eagerness of these people to learn is found in a recent letter written by a teacher in the field to Mr. J. B. Aswell, State Superintendent of Schools of Louisiana, and sent by this gentleman to me. In this letter the teacher says: "They come to the night-school —gray-haired fathers of families, and one who brings with him his five grown-up sons. This shows that they are teachable. But what can a teacher making four hundred dollars a year do when it comes to building houses? Life, in its fullest, truest, broadest sense, they know nothing of. Home is not in the French

language. [This woman teaches in the Acadian-French districts.] Therefore I would have a cabin built exactly as their houses are, and I would develop its possibilities and show them what a home is and how it is kept. There I would teach them the social amenities, the refining influence of a cultured home where art, music and literature go hand in hand."

I quote once again from a letter, this time that of your editor to whom I am indebted for the invitation to write this article: "Nothing is more needed to-day in America than popular education—education that will make men and women broad, just, independent thinkers—education that will touch the heart while it lightens the brain; and there is no section of the country where that education is more needed than among our own people—the white people of the South."

Now a word in regard to the work which I am trying to do. I have promised the governors of Louisiana and Alabama to undertake the task of building one hundred plain country schoolhouses in these two commonwealths. Some of this work I can do alone, and so far as my means will permit I cheerfully devote them to the cause; but to accomplish the entire task I must have help. The governors of both states offer me their hearty cooperation and assure me that I have the cordial sympathy and coöperation of every officer in their states. I am a southern woman and I know the southern people and their needs. We who appreciate the urgency of the case and the absolute importance in a republican government of popular and universal education are determined to bring the standard of our schools up to that of any state in the Union We are trying with all the power at our command and are going to accomplish this work so urgently demanded for the good of the state and the nation. First we must have the humble school-building in the country places—the primary school. I have lived for twenty years in the North, right among "nature's own noblemen," and I have noted with pride and emotion the splendid generosity of this section of our great republic when the heart of the people is touched; and it is to the liberal-minded and generous-hearted patriots of our northland that I appeal for aid in this work of redemption—a work that appeals as much to the reason as to the heart. You give munificently to universities, to public-libraries, to churches, to the missionaries in China, India and Africa; but where in all the wide world is there a more fruitful field for effective work than the rural primary schools in the South, where there are tens of thousands of bright, intelligent American boys and girls eager for that start which the primary school alone can give—that start which will enable them to exercise the sacred duties of citizenship intelligently and to advance successfully along various avenues of legitimate and productive labor.

My purpose is to go personally and locate the site of each building, being careful that these houses are built where they are most needed, and I shall personally superintend the erection of every building, photographing the site before work is begun, the laying of the corner-stone, the building during process of construction, and also the school after its completion. By this plan of individual work contributors may have optical proof of the good which their gifts are doing. It is often a sad truth that large donations fail to reach the beneficiaries intended by the donors. By following the plan I have marked out, those who aid in this work will have palpable evidence of the faithful carrying forward of the work for which they have contributed.

Governors Jelks, of Alabama, and Blanchard, of Louisiana, have promised to be present and lay the corner-stone of the first building in each of their respective states. They have also promised that the laying of every succeeding corner-stone shall be accompanied by appropriate ceremonies.

AGNES VALENTINE KELLEY.
Meadville, Penna.

BIRDS AND BIRD-INTERPRETERS.

A STUDY OF RECENT ORNITHOLOGICAL ESSAYS.

By Charles C. Abbott, M.D.

Author of *In Nature's Realm, Upland and Meadow, Notes of the Night, The Birds About Us, Birdland Echoes*, etc.

NATURE has proved so mysterious to recent ornithological writers that they conclude there is nothing mysterious about it. We have heard from vague sources of "soulless clods," but never before knew that birds were to be so included. In a qualified way they are admitted to be conscious of their existence, but nothing more. The bird-interpreter is controlled by intellectuality, but the bird by instinct only. If life is conducted on such a plan, mankind stands for something separate and apart from animality, which can not be dogmatically asserted.

Because, judging from the human standpoint, an explanation is plausible, it is not irrefutable evidence that it is really the correct one. The real and the apparent are not the same. A man may appear to be doing what in reality he is not doing. He may be purposely deceiving the on-looker. Many a bird and animal "plays sharp" rather than risk fleeing with the odds against it. "Not so!" the bird-interpreters cry out, of late. It better suits them to have the world a vast machine. Take a small india-rubber band and roll it between your thumb and finger until you make a little ball of it. Ten lay it on the table. As the slight adhesion of its twists and folds gives way, the mass unrolls, leaps, lengthens and finally the ball becomes a band again. There is a suggestion of life in its purely mechanical movements and only a trifling variation can be detected, if we roll up a hundred instead of one. These bands and one prominent writer's birds are very much alike, but the actual bird is a very different affair. Blind men may insist that there is nothing but darkness, but is light less a fact because of their insistence?

The question is, is not man as well as bird, a product of Nature, solely and simply? Where is any mark upon him of other handiwork than that of Nature? The same is true of the bird. It is a lesser brother of the man but still a brother. Nature has parcelled out her gifts in most unequal way, but the gifts are the same. The quality is not to be questioned, but the lack of quantity is sure to command attention. Men are not equally endowed; neither are birds. A crow knows more than a song-sparrow, precisely as the European knows more than the Ethiopian. But men of the same race are not equal; neither are birds of the same species. Here, hinges the whole matter. Instinct is ruled out of court. There is so great individuality among birds that one cannot be an observer who fails to notice it. The bird-interpreters insist that every nuthatch is like every other one of its kind; that the nest one robin builds is the counterpart of every other robin's nest, and so on to the end of the long ornithic chapter. This is worse, that is, more misleading than the hysterical unnatural history that crowds the pages of many periodicals. Many write of animal life as if seen only in the cramped quarter of a Zoo, where faculties have no room to play; but out in the open, in the real woods and wildernesses, where the battle of life is actually fought, there this individuality asserts itself and just as in human crowds there are fools and philosophers, so there are birds and beasts that have keener senses than have some of their brothers and the advantages of greater wit are not lost sight of. The observer need not stand long in one place to see the weaker going to the wall.

There is coöperation among birds, there is sympathy expressed and succor ex-

tended when disaster threatens or overtakes, and by no cunning sophistries can this be demonstrated an impulse of instinct. If there is anything more hopelessly blind than "instinct," the sane naturalist would be glad to hear of it. Instinct could never lead a crow to do what every farmer knows he can and constantly does accomplish.

The general similarity among the individuals of any one species is readily explained, but only by going back to that early day when the differentiation of species came about. The present uniformity is the fruit of the varied experiences and experimentation of birds before fixation of habit was established. This, of course, not from choice but the necessity incident to environment. Instinct played no greater part then among birds than it does among men to-day. Three birds are, every summer, a feature of my door-yard, and they are cousins. The great-crested flycatcher builds in the hollow of an old apple-tree; the wood-peewee on the upper side of a horizontal branch of an oak and the phœbe-bird builds under the floor of the bridge that spans a little brook. This is the fixed habit of each. Was it always so? Did the day finally dawn upon three flycatchers, so widely differing, that the day before did not exist? By no means. The divergence from the ancestral type was not abrupt, we know, and the finally fixed method of nest-building was as gradually brought about. Experience was their faithful guide, as it is ours. They knew failure and learned to obviate it in future attempts—this of the race; then why not of the individual? It must be remembered, too, that the initial step in nest-building is the determination upon a site. Instinct could never lead a bird to some proper arrangement of branch and twigs, or point to one spot on the ground as preferable to another. If so, the very best locations would always be occupied and every summer, if we look, we can find where birds erred in site-selection. A site is chosen and choice is ratiocinative play and nothing else.

Certainly seeing one cat-bird is not seeing all. If the helpless and hopeless puppet of blind instinct, then these and all migratory birds should be scattered on the approach of frost like so many autumn leaves and not once in ten thousand times would the same bird return to its haunts of the preceding summer, yet I know as surely as one can hold in possession a fact, that the return of the same individual to the same locality does occur. True of the cat-bird with a most strange voice, that I have now in mind, it is and must be true of house-wrens tame beyond their kind and of phœbe-birds that summer after summer seek the same home until the original cup-like nest becomes a tower. Instinct has no power to control a bird in all it does, to convert it into an automaton. Not a bird but recognizes the significance of its consciousness, and so far is a free agent. Hence rebellion at once when instinct points to danger that it does not see and the bird's consciousness unerringly detects. If birds were really as has been asserted they are, then but one season would be required to annihilate them. Instinct has never proven all-sufficient for the preservation of life. It cannot outwit the wiles of all enemies. Happily their reason protects them in the long run though many the risk is theirs because of defective judgment. May not this be said of human-kind?

If we could conceive of birds as instinctive creatures only, what a charm would be gone from every field and woodland. As well pin gaudy bits of paper to the trees and let them flutter in the passing breeze. It is the bird's intelligence that attracts. Flesh and feathers like plant and blossoms would catch the eye perhaps, but never captivate the heart.

So long as there are birds there will be bird-interpreters but always let us pay the greater heed to the former that the sophomoric flashes of the latter may not blind us.

CHARLES C. ABBOTT.

Trenton, N. J.

THE EBONY HAND.

By Clerin Zumwalt.

MY LIFE has been full of strange experiences. When a child I thought and dreamed of things of which no child ever thought or dreamed before. I seemed to remember things which had occurred in a previous existence, and by aid of these memories formulated thoughts and ideas concerning the world which startled my parents and adult associates. My dreams, even in healthful sleep, rarely bear any relation to my waking life, and sometimes bear no relation to the things of this world.

It is not of these, however, that I wish to write, but of an occurrence in real life which is so unusual that you will say as you read it, "What a wild freak of the imagination," or "An attempt to imitate Poe." These conclusions will be entirely false, and if at any point in my story you find something which you consider more improbable than all other parts—which seem contrary to all human experience, you may know that it is the portion which more than all is absolutely true.

I was born with an insatiate thirst for knowledge which led me through the lower schools at a rapid pace, and in the year of 18— I found myself ready to enter college. Wishing to become thoroughly acquainted with the surroundings of the school before the class-room work should occupy all of my time, I came to the town of Y., where the college is situated, fully two weeks before the beginning of the fall term.

One of the buildings in particular interested me much. It was partially disused and bore about it an air of age and mystery. It stood a little to one side of the campus in a clump of elms, and many of its basement-windows were choked by a rank growth of wild shrubs and vines. Here and there its massive walls were growing gray and mosses were clinging to the aging stones. The northern and eastern sides were clothed in vines and reminded me of the ivied-walls in the stories of old English castles. The first and second floors of the western wing were used by the professor of natural history and comparative anatomy. The remainder of the building seemed deserted, and in the old unused rooms the dust of years had accumulated upon the floors while upon the walls could be seen the marks left by the college-boys and girls who sang and shouted and made the old halls ring in the long ago.

In the museum I had noticed a great sheet of fungus-growth and upon it the statement that it came from the tunnel under the hall. "The tunnel under the hall,"—those words roused my curiosity and I decided that here was a new place to explore while I was waiting for summer to pass and school to begin. The idea might not on a cool day have been very attractive, but with the thermometer at a hundred and twelve in the shade and the sun like fire outside, the idea of a cool, moist tunnel was not repulsive, and I began to search for a method of gaining an entrance to the place. Upon walking heavily on the floor in the basement, I perceived a peculiar hollow sound like that of a bass-drum, but could find no door or opening of any kind into the tunnel which I felt sure was just below. I had almost given up my search when one day as I was exploring a peculiar old wooden shed at the west end of the building, I saw a suspicious-looking dark opening very low down and apparently running below the basement-floor. Moving away some boards and old timbers, I thrust my head within this hole, and there before me was the tunnel. It smelled mouldy even in this dry season, but seemed refreshingly cool compared with the torrid

heat outside. The darkness was so great that I could judge nothing of its extent, although I saw that it grew wider and deeper a short distance from the entrance. I decided to return early upon the following day with a lantern or candles and make a thorough exploration of the place.

Morning soon came and I prepared myself with a half-dozen candles and a box of matches and started for the tunnel. Creeping through the opening I found myself in a cellar-like place, so low that I was compelled to stoop to prevent thumping my head on the basement-floor. About half way down the building the tunnel opened to north and south. I turned north, and the ground dipped downward until I could nearly stand erect. Near the north wall of the building I stumbled upon a small boulder of the kind common to glacial deposits, which was nearly embedded in the earth and which the workmen who dug the tunnel had apparently considered it not worth while to remove. The stone was ground and cut in a very marked way by glacial action, and wishing to obtain it as a geological specimen, I crept to the mouth of the tunnel and selecting an old iron-bar from the pile of rubbish I returned and attempted to pry the stone from its bed. After working for fifteen or twenty minutes I was able to move it, and at last succeeded in turning it over. As I stooped to examine the glacial markings I placed one foot in the hollow where the stone had laid, and as I did so the earth gave way and I fell in the midst of a mass of earth and stones into a cavern below.

I was half-buried in loose earth and small stones and was surrounded by a dread and awful darkness. My heart thumped painfully and for a few seconds I scarcely knew whether I was dead or alive. At last I rose to a sitting posture and felt in my pocket for a match, and striking it I looked around me. I seemed to be in an underground-chamber some ten or twelve feet high and fourteen in width, with an opening in one side leading into utter darkness. Rising cautiously and tremblingly to my feet, I held the match high above my head to discover if possible what the room might contain, but just as I did so I heard a strange moaning sound, seemingly coming from a great distance and gradually changing to a curious rushing, like the movement of a mighty wind through a narrow passage. It drew nearer and nearer until a chilly gust of air swept into the chamber with a sound like the rushing of a myriad of wings, and my match flickered and went out, leaving me in total darkness, while the weird sound left the chamber and died away in the distance. Hastily striking another match I lighted one of my candles and began to look round the place for something which might be of use to me in climbing to the opening through which I had fallen. The mysterious wind and the moan had frightened me so that my hand trembled and a cold, clammy sweat came out upon my forehead.

Hearing no more strange sounds, however, I began to think myself very foolish to be frightened by a draught of air which was probably caused by the opening I had made in falling through the roof. Looking round, I saw in one corner of the chamber a long box, covered with mould and looking as though it might have lain there for years. It was about six feet in length and a foot in diameter. Lighting three or four more candles, I stood them in various places and going to the box I lifted one end. Finding it light, I drew it to the spot where I had fallen, and digging away the earth and stones with my hands, placed it on one end, piled the dirt around it until it seemed to stand quite firmly, and lifted myself carefully to a seat upon the top. Up to this time my only purpose had been to find a means of escape, but now that the opening through which I had so unceremoniously plunged was within easy reach, I began to look around the chamber and wonder what could have been the original purpose of the place and what was within the box upon which I sat. The candles

cast a feeble, flickering light upon the decaying ceiling and the walls of damp earth. The roof was upheld by massive timbers, upon which had been laid planks and earth. These timbers were mouldy and decaying, while the boards in the place where I had fallen through were rotten and soft. The opening at the side, through which the strange rushing wind had come, was little higher than a man's head, though much wider than the average door. The space beyond was black with a darkness which the feeble light of my candles could not penetrate, and for aught that I could see might be a hallway to perdition. A heavy oaken door, streaked with mould and studded with iron, was partly visible, the top hanging by a great rusty iron hinge, while at the base it had been torn loose and twisted back so that it was half-hidden in the chamber beyond.

Cautiously rising to my feet, and as I did so striking my head against one of the timbers which supported the ceiling, I found that it would be quite easy to lift myself to the tunnel above. Taking a last look at the gloomy chamber, with its flickering candles and dark, mysterious doorway, I drew myself from the box and attempted to climb to the tunnel.

Just as I was succeeding very nicely, I heard again that strange moan, far away but gradually drawing nearer, until the curious rushing again filled the chamber, and just as it came sweeping through and around the room a bit of rotten plank gave way beneath my elbow and I plunged again into the darkness below, and as I fell the sound departed, dying away in a moan just as it had done before.

A chill of terror crept over me and I tremblingly searched my pocket for another match, which I hurriedly struck and again looked around. Horror of horrors, my box was gone and with it my hope of escape—no, there it lay some distance from me and nearly in the corner where I had first found it. Looking for my candles, I found that they too were gone, and glancing toward the dark doorway I saw that it was closed by the great oaken iron-studded door which I had noticed some moments before, hanging by one hinge and half-hidden in the shadows of the chamber beyond.

I was filled with a sort of superstitious horror and dread. What was the power that had carried away my candles, moved the box, and closed the strange old door with the broken hinge? The door, however, was not entirely closed, on account of its not hanging evenly, but swung downward on the side opposite the hinge leaving an opening at the front and top as wide at the widest place as my hand, and this opening was now a greater source of terror to me than the whole doorway had been before.

Drawing from my pocket and lighting my only remaining candle, I drew the old box again to the center of the room and after much labor succeeded in placing it upright and climbing upon it, and with a scramble was in the tunnel above.

After reaching the light of day I glanced at my watch and found that I had been in the place but little over an hour, but it seemed to me that it had been days since I had seen the sunlight. I was weak and trembling from the shock of my strange experience, and the events of the last hour seemed to stand forth with startling clearness.

I walked slowly homeward, and as I walked the feeling of fear left me, driven away perhaps by the warm rays of the sun and the dry summer air, and in its place came a great desire to see the chamber which lay just beyond the heavy oaken door that had so mysteriously closed. As for the wind and the moan, they had probably been caused by the hole which I had made in falling through the ceiling, and were nothing but a draught of air from some distant opening in one of the chambers. This, however, would not account for the disappearance of the candles and the movement of the box; but, in my frantic efforts to save myself from falling might I not have thrown the box to its position in the cor-

ner? The candles were doubtless covered by the additional earth which had come with me in my second fall; in fact, now that I stood in the light of the summer sun and felt the blood bounding freely through my veins, there seemed to be nothing at all supernatural about my little adventure, and I decided to tell my friend John Pierce about the old cellar, for such I concluded it must be, and get him to come with me and help to explore the place.

Pierce was a young school-teacher who was visiting in the city until the beginning of his school. He was rather materialistic in his philosophy, and was a close observer and a deep thinker. He ridiculed all kinds of superstitious fear, and seemed to me to be just the sort of companion one would wish in exploring such a place. I found him in his room, trying to read Spencer's *First Principles* and growling because of the excessive heat. I told him of the old tunnel and my adventure. At first he was inclined to ridicule the whole thing as a scheme to get him to walk up to the college in the hot sun and thus get a laugh on him.

At last I succeeded in convincing him that there was some truth in my story by reminding him that he had seen the old piece of fungus in the museum and read the statement that it was from the tunnel, and he agreed to take a peep into the place, reminding me at the same time that he had no faith in my old cellar story.

Obtaining a lantern we were soon at the college and standing at the mouth of the tunnel. Remarking that at least the place seemed cool, Pierce followed me into its mouth. I lead the way down the north branch to the opening through which I had fallen and lowered my lantern into the cavern. Stretching himself upon the ground he gave the place as thorough an examination as he could from that point-of-view.

"What do you think of it?" said I. "Is it not just as I said it would be?"

"I 'll be hanged," said he; "I 'd like to know what anybody ever used such an old hole as that for."

"That 's what I 'd like to know," said I. "Suppose we get a ladder and a couple of hammers and a crowbar and come up after dinner and make some explorations."

"I 'll go you," said he, rising from the ground.

"Come up to my house after dinner," said I, "and bring a hammer; I can find the rest of the tools."

After dinner I borrowed a crowbar, a hammer, a couple of chisels and a screw-driver, and put on an old suit of clothes and waited for Pierce. He was soon on hand with an axe, a hammer and an old grip.

I asked him what he was going to do with the grip, and he opened it, showing me some bananas and sandwiches and a large bottle of water, telling me that he did not propose to starve before we could dig out if we should get shut in the place, and besides that if there were any treasures there he would be prepared to bring them away with him.

We were soon in the tunnel again, and lowering the ladder into the hole we clambered down and looked around. I was no sooner in the place than I began to feel an unaccountable fear and dread, and half wished that I had not begun this work of exploration. Our lantern gave more light than had my candles and I saw that the roof was more decayed than I had at first supposed. The heavy cross-pieces seemed strong, but the planks were breaking through in many places under the weight of the earth above. The walls were irregular and crumbling, except the one toward the old oaken door, and it was of stone, covered in places with a damp mould. In one corner was a rusty flintlock gun with the stock almost entirely rotted away, and hanging above it on the wall was a leathern pouch such as our ancestors used for carrying their powder and bullets when they fought in the Revolutionary war. The pouch was empty, and we turned to the old box which

had been the means of my escape and which now lay near the foot of the ladder. A few blows with the axe and it was open, but it contained nothing but a few handfuls of dry leaves. I brushed them around with my hand to make sure that nothing of value was concealed among them, and then we turned toward the door with the axe, crowbar and lantern.

I felt that strange dread coming over me again, and the darkness of the chamber or hallway beyond as seen through the narrow opening was filled with a mysterious horror.

The door itself had the appearance of having been built to guard a treasure-house or prison. It evidently had heavy cross-pieces of timber upon the opposite side, for it was studded with row upon row of great iron nails and was hung with mighty hinges of heavy iron. The iron was rusting now, and the wood was decaying and was covered with streaks and spots of mould.

We stepped within and found ourselves in a passageway not more than five or six feet wide and eight or nine feet high, extending to the right to an apparently interminable distance and ending in utter darkness, while to the left it ended within a few feet of the door in a stone wall.

We had taken but a few steps down this passageway when we came to a door much like the one through which we had entered but upon the opposite side. It was likewise of heavy planks, iron-studded and covered with mould. It seemed, however, to swing into the chamber and not out into the hall as the other had done.

Taking the axe in my hand, I struck the door heavily. The sound of the blow echoed and reëchoed, and just as the echoes were dying away in the distance, I heard again that strange moan, far away, but coming nearer and gradually changing again to the strange rushing sound, sweeping down the hallway, until the wind struck us with its chilly breath and the lantern flickered, flared and went out leaving us in total, awful, darkness, as dense and heavy as pitch, while the wind passed on and returned, going back far down the passage and dying away in that weird moan.

Before the sound died Pierce struck a match and in an instant lit the lantern, although I could see that his hand trembled as he did so. I was leaning against the wall, so weak that I could hardly stand. Pierce said not a word, but started, axe in hand, back toward the door through which we had entered.

It was closed but easily swung open again, and seeing our ladder safe in position I felt a little more secure. We turned and retraced our steps until we were again standing before the door which I had struck just before the wind came. It had been loosened by the blow, and now by inserting our crowbar we were soon able to swing it back upon its great rusty creaking hinges.

I had been expecting some utterly unearthly place to be revealed upon the opening of this door, but in this I was disappointed. Taking the lantern from Pierce's hand, I held it above my head to gain a good view of the room, and saw that we were in a rather large apartment bearing ample evidence of having formerly been the habitation of some human being. The walls being almost white, it was far less gloomy than the room into which I had fallen or the hallway without, and the first glance revealed two large cupboards, a number of shelves filled with books, two or three chests, some chairs and a table. Sitting by the table and leaning upon it was the figure of a man, his head resting upon one arm and the other lying upon the table, much in the attitude of a person who had fallen asleep while writing or studying. Drawing nearer to get a better view of the face, I saw to my horror the features of a grinning skull. The left side of the head was resting upon the left arm, and a fleshless, skeleton hand and wrist extended from beneath the grinning face. Beneath the bones of the right hand was a sheet of paper, decayed where it had come into contact with the hand, and dry now, but

stained nearly to the margin, evidently with moisture from the decomposed flesh. Another sheet filled with an irregular scrawl lay upon the table a short distance from the first. There seemed to be no moisture or unpleasant odor about the body; in fact, the air of the room seemed much more pure and fresh than that of the passageway without. Fragments of the clothing were still clinging to the bones, and the hair had not all fallen from the head, thus giving the appearance of a living man sleeping at his table.

"The poor fellow must have been dead for a long time," said Pierce, "or the body would have an offensive odor."

I had been stooping over the manuscript which lay on the table and now called Pierce's attention to the date, which was June 12, 1848.

"The man seems to have died or been murdered upon June 12, 1848," said I, "while in the act of writing a letter."

"I guess you are right," said Pierce, "for here is his pen," taking, as he spoke, a curious penholder from the table near the fleshless right hand.

Giving Pierce the lantern I took the first sheet from the table. The writing was irregular and bore evidence of the weakness of the fingers which had moved the pen, but by looking closely I was able to read the following:

"Great American Desert.
"June 12, 1848.

"Mr. John Fleming:

"Dear John:—I am very sick and have been sick for a week. Am hardly able to sit in my chair and write. I shall send this letter by Ben. Wilson if he comes while I am yet alive. If I should die before seeing you, write Mary at York, Penn., and tell her that I died claiming that I was innocent, and loving her with all my soul. I know that I must die within this month; the Hand has written it. Please destroy the Hand, John; remember that it was my dying request. Such power as it gives is not good for man to have. My keys are in the drawer of my writing-table. The large brass key with the file-marks on it will unlock the chest where I keep the Hand. Leave my books and all of my manuscript in my den. Take anything which may be of use to you—you are welcome to it—but do not take a thing which will give to the world any part of my cursed learning."

This was the end of the first sheet, and taking hold of the fleshless wrist I attempted to remove the skeleton-hand from the paper. Parts of the fingers fell rattling to the table as I did so and in the intense stillness of the room the sound startled us and I felt a creeping sensation along my spine.

The hand had evidently ceased to move when the page was about half written, and near the fingers the paper had entirely decayed and the moisture from the decomposing flesh had stained the remainder so as to make portions of it totally illegible. Holding it close to the lantern I was able to decipher the following:

"I wish to tell you one thing, John, which I ask that you never repeat to a living soul. Tell Mary what I told you above. Keep this entirely to yourself. I did kill Jacob Schellenber . . . I killed him for . . . books from which . . . the greater . . . cursed learni . . . es not believe . . . It was . . . se of magi . ."

The remainder was totally illegible.

We stood for a moment looking at the skeleton figure. How terrible to die in this curious, mysterious, underground home, far from civilization and loved ones, in the heart of the western wilds, and what could that strange Hand be which had foretold death and carried with it such a strange power.

"A strange death and probably a strange life," I remarked to Pierce.

"A murderer," said he.

"Yes, a murderer; a fugitive from justice, and yet a scholar," said I; "and it would seem from the letter that he murdered a Jacob somebody for books which

had something to do with the 'cursed learning' as he calls it."

Pierce placed the lantern on the table and stepping to the door closed it, and in doing so seemed to shut out black horror but close us in with death and mystery. The lantern lighted the grisly face of the dead, casting his shadow upon one side of the room, and because the lantern was near, the shadow was large and dark; it almost filled the half of the chamber with gloom.

"I do n't care to have that confounded wind coming in here and blowing out our lantern," said Pierce, as he returned from the door.

"Let 's look over his books and see if we can find what he meant by 'cursed learning,'" said I.

Pierce objected and wished to search the room for money and get out as quickly as possible, but by dint of a little ridicule and persuasion on my part I induced him to look over the books with me, and a curious lot they were. I remember few of the titles, but most were upon philosophic, mystic, and kindred subjects. All of them, except a few of the philosophical works, would be considered absolutely worthless in this day of broad enlightenment.

The books examined, we turned to the table to look for the keys mentioned in the letter. The drawer was almost beneath the reclining figure, but by carefully turning the table we were at last enabled to open it and there lay a package of letters and a bunch of keys. Taking the keys, we turned to the chests. The first contained nothing but clothing, but the next, whose lock yielded to a large brass key which had evidently been filed to make it fit, was filled with curious articles the like of which I had never before seen.

In one end was a large square board with a circle marked upon it, possibly of inlaid ivory, at least of some very white substance. The board was dark and highly polished, bearing evidence of much use and great age. Just within this circle was a hexagon, apparently of highly polished ebony and inlaid with an ivory equilateral triangle whose points coincided with three corners of the hexagon. A pin, apparently of solid gold and with its large top set with jewels, fixed the center of the hexagon to the center of the circle, and upon this pin the ebony hexagon with its inlaid ivory triangle turned with ease. The circle was divided into twelve parts, and just outside of each division was one of the signs of Zodiac, also of inlaid ivory. This was evidently an astrological instrument, and Pierce and I examined it for some time, noting the marks of age and use and wondering if it could be the Hand. Beneath this there were many curious ebony and ivory instruments, but none of gold, much to the disappointment of Pierce. In one end was an irregular object in a velvet sack. I opened the sack and drew forth a hand of ebony, a curious claw-like hand in the position of writing and holding a lead-pencil of the make of fifty years ago.

"The hand!" exclaimed Pierce.

"Yes, the hand," said I.

"Looks as if it might be the hand of the devil," said he; "of the very Old Scratch himself."

"But it can 't write," said I; "it is nothing but a piece of ebony and can no more write than can a block of wood."

We examined it very closely but could find no mechanism of any kind which could possibly cause it to write. It seemed to be simply a piece of ebony carved to represent a hand in the act of writing, but why anyone should go to the work of making such a hideous claw-like thing was a mystery.

"Let me see it," said Pierce; "perhaps if I take it closer to the light I can make out its purpose."

I handed it to him and turned to the chest to get some canes which interested me because of their curious make. The chest was not more than two steps from the table where the lantern stood, and I kneeled before it with my back toward the ghastly form which reclined upon the

table. In this position I could see nothing of what Pierce was doing while I was examining the canes. The first two seemed solid, but the third was light and something rattled within. After some effort I was enabled to unscrew the top, but just as I was about to examine its contents I was startled by a low, hoarse cry from Pierce and turning saw him gazing at something on the table, his eyes starting from their sockets and his face as white as a corpse. He stood thus for a moment, and then without a word dashed to the door and wrenching it open fled down the corridor.

I seized the lantern and without looking for the cause of his flight followed him, reaching the foot of the ladder just in time to see him clamber into the tunnel above. I called to him, but my voice echoed strangely from the walls and reechoed down the corridor. I waited for him to answer but no answer came. I stood for a time trying to decide whether to follow him, but for the moment curiosity was stronger than fear and I retraced my steps toward the mysterious chamber. In the corridor, just before entering, I held the lantern high above my head and tried to pierce the gloom of the farther end. An endless, utter blackness met my gaze and I stepped into the room and closed the door. I felt the old terror coming back upon me as I gazed upon the ghastly form at the table and I almost expected it to rise and grasp my throat with its long fingers and choke the life from my body.

The dead silence around me seemed to grow more and more intense, and I became possessed of a wild desire to break the stillness with a cry and yet had not the courage to do so. A cold perspiration came out all over me. I grew weak and trembled in every limb. Why had Pierce become so frightened? Had the dead man moved, or had he seen some horrid vision?

Gradually I became more calm. The form at the table did not move nor did ghosts or demons appear. At last I became courageous enough to walk to the table and attempt to ascertain the cause of Pierce's fright.

There lay the ebony hand, and beneath the hand was a sheet of paper, and—horrors! what was that? Upon the paper in clear, bold lines was the drawing of a face. No words can describe that hideous countenance. It was expressionless, but loathsome in its lack of expression. It had never been drawn by conflicts of the soul; no rage or hate or love or joy or sorrow were written there. Its loathsome unearthly soullessness made the flesh creep. There could be no human heart there, moved by the thrilling emotions of life and love, but an intellect which could know though it could not feel, and might do fearful deeds through powers unknown upon earth. A countenance that was unearthly and incomprehensible, yet making the soul to shudder with a loathsome dread and more than loathsome fear. One gleam of human passion, though it were the wildest and darkest in the heart of man, would take away the horror of that face, for it would make it human.

The pencil held in the fingers of the ebony hand rested at the base of the picture where it evidently had paused when the picture was finished. I knew that the Hand had made the face, for no one of human mould ever conceived those lines.

The paper was worn and soiled, and had evidently been carried in Pierce's pocket previous to its being used for the sketch by the weird artist. Cold with fear and dread, yet spurred by curiosity, I lifted the ebony hand and turned the paper. The reverse side was clean, and placing the hand again in position I said in a hoarse whisper which sounded sepulchral in that hollow chamber:

"Can you write?"

"Yes, I can write," came the answer in bold, clean characters.

Not daring to speak again I asked in my mind:

"Will you answer some questions if I ask you?"

"Yes," came the answer, slowly yet clearly written.

"Was that your face you drew a moment ago?"

"Yes," in a hesitating way.

"Is this your hand?"

"No," written in a positive manner.

"Is it your tool?"

"Yes."

"Are you the spirit of a man?"

"No."

"Are you sure that you were never mortal?"

"Yes."

"Are you the devil?"

"No."

"Are you a physical being?"

"No."

"Are you a form of energy egoized?"

"Yes."

"Is your nature evil to man?"

"Yes."

"Are you a devil?"

"Yes."

"A devil, but not the Devil?"

"Yes."

At this point my paper was all used and I began to search for more in my pockets but finding none suddenly remembered having seen paper and letters in the table-drawer. Opening it, I took out first a bundle of letters tied with a ribbon. Thrusting these in my pocket I lifted the papers lying beneath and began to search for one that had not been used. As I was thus occupied I heard a scratching sound and looking up saw the hand moving toward the edge of the table and before I could seize it, it fell with a crash to the floor and flew into fragments.

I stood looking at it in a dazed sort of way, and as I looked I heard far away that strange moan, and the rushing sound came down the corridor, opening my door as it passed and breathing its strange, chill breath into the room and passing on, then back again, dying away in the moan.

As the sound died away, I seized my lantern and the paper upon which the strange hand had written, and dashed out of the chamber, not stopping to breathe until I was safe in the tunnel and saw the timbers of the old college-hall above my head. Drawing my ladder out, I rolled the stone over the hole and drew the earth around it, and not until that hole was closed and the earth had been pressed in the smallest aperture did I breathe freely. This done, I hid the papers in my coat and taking up the ladder and the lantern was soon standing in the open air.

I felt as though the very foundation of things had been shaken. I had been taught to believe in a Devil, but higher education and the tincture of rationalistic philosophy which pervades the modern atmosphere had removed the personality of Satan, and as for his communicating with human beings, that savored of the legends of witches and wizards which we of the modern days ridicule as mere inventions of ignorant minds and active imaginations.

My dreams that night were wild and weird. I was again in the old chamber, and the strange wind came down the hallway, swept the oaken door back upon its hinges, and came rushing into the room, extinguishing my lantern and leaving me in utter darkness, while it swept away and down the hall with that strange, distant moan. Then that weird, expressionless face which the hand had drawn, appeared before me and the room was lighted by a strange, blue light, and in this unearthly glow the ebony hand relaxed its fingers and pointed toward the passageway. Numb with terror I turned toward the door and there were other faces—faces as devoid of human expression as the first, with great round, staring eyes that never turned and whose lids seemed never to close,—the awful, vacant eyes of a soulless being which could see and know, but never feel.

Impelled by some unseen power I moved to the door and down the passageway. I say moved, for I did not seem to walk but to float by a mere effort of will,

and yet I felt my will controlled by another infinitely superior in power. As I went down the passageway those awful faces turned and moved with me, and we swept on and on until the hallway opened into a vast chamber where shadowy forms were moving with a motion that had not in it the quick action of a human being, but was slow and measured like the motion of thought with never once a flutter of feeling, and the faces of all these were like the faces of my companions. The great chamber was silent except for a continuous rushing as of a mighty wind. Endless darkness extended upon either hand, and darkness, awful and impenetrable, loomed before us, while above us was a blackness deeper than the most starless night of earth. Far and near the strange forms were moving, each lighted by its glow of phosphorescent light, and at last it seemed to me that there was a purpose to their movements and that all were sweeping in one direction with a motion that was slow yet swift.

At last we came to a mighty amphitheater all builded of the blackest rock, and thousands upon thousands slowly seated themselves and fixed their staring, soulless eyes upon me while I was led to one end, where seated upon a mighty dais of ebony with a canopy of black and gold, were three beings of the same type as those of the multitude, but greater in stature and crowned with jet black crowns. I felt that I was to be analyzed by these awful beings, even as we have analyzed the stones of the hills and the pebbles of the streams. I felt that they could rend the human soul with never a change of feature of twinge of remorse—that they could wring from the human heart the wildest, deepest agony without a feeling of compassion; that the quivering of the human soul was to them a thing mysterious and inexplicable, and that sin and death were their tools, cold tools of steel, by means of which to cut and analyze humanity and find the cause of wild passion and deep despair; but yet I felt that those things must ever remain a mystery to them, for they had never felt, had never joyed, had never sorrowed, and love and hate were things beyond the realm of their cold thoughts.

I sat beneath the gaze of those horrid, expressionless eyes for a few moments, and then one of the three who sat upon the dais of ebony arose and with a long black wand wrote in letters of cold blue fire on a great curtain of sable hue at the back of the dais, these words:

"From what thoughts do men form hate and love?"

Every face in the vast amphitheater turned from the writer to me. The rushing noise had now entirely ceased and from all that countless multitude there came no sound, and the dead silence and those awful staring eyes seemed to chill my very soul. The writer slowly extended his wand to me and pointed to the curtain, and I saw that I was to write and to answer that question, but although I mechanically grasped the wand my mind seemed paralyzed and utterly devoid of thought.

Suddenly there seemed to come to me in soft, sweet tones from a vast distance, these words:

"Love and hate are not formed of thoughts, they are from the soul," and I moved to the curtain and wrote them with the wand in letters of blue flame, and all that multitude of eyes were fixed upon the curtain for a moment and then turned to me, then slowly to the curtain again and then upon me, as the one who had questioned me extended his hand for the wand. Again it moved slowly across the great black curtain and these were the words that were written:

"We have thought upon man and we have analyzed man, and our deepest thoughts and most careful analysis have revealed no soul."

Again I was prompted by the sweet, far voice and wrote:

"Only through the soul can you know the soul."

Then he of the wand motioned to another who stood near and that other one

stepped behind the dais and returned with a great black cap which he of the wand took and drew over my head. For a moment I could see nothing, and then there came a faint glow of light and at last, far away, I saw one that I loved, and she was in the agonies of death. I stretched forth my hands and called to her, but she quivered and her eyes glazed and I fell to the earth and great sobs shook my frame. Suddenly the cap was removed and the awful expressionless eyes of that vast multitude gazed upon my sorrow, and wondered and gazed, without a shadow of sympathy, and the rushing sound began again. Then I was plunged into awful darkness and with a cry of terror awoke.

I was trembling from head to foot and was covered with a clammy sweat. With shaking hand I lit my lamp and sat with chattering teeth until the familiar scenes of the room had removed my terror; then lying down I slept a calm, peaceful, dreamless sleep and woke with the birds singing outside my window and the sun streaming across my bed.

The dream had been so vivid that I began to wonder if it were not possible that my whole adventure had been a dream. But no, there upon the table were the papers and letters which I had taken from the table-drawer in the old chamber. Leaping from the bed I began to glance over the papers. Among them was the one upon which the hand had written and upon it the features of that horrid face. I slipped this into my pocket and laid the remaining papers and the letters away in the drawer of my desk, intending to examine them in the near future. After breakfast and a trip down town to attend to some business, I called to see Pierce, but was informed that he had suddenly departed for Colorado on the ten-forty train, giving as an excuse for his departure the effect of the hot weather upon his nerves. A few days later, having a little spare time, I decided to examine the letters and papers and try if possible to learn a little of the history of the inhabitant of the old chamber, but to my surprise they had disappeared, and although I searched in every conceivable place I could not find them nor have I seen them to this day, and all the proof I have of my visit to the place and the strange things which occurred there is the scrap of paper upon which the Hand wrote and upon which it drew that horrid face. I am sure that I placed the papers in the drawer, and I can only explain their disappearance by assuming that some one concerned in the secret of the old chamber heard of my trip to the place and searched my room for the papers, or that some unearthly power removed them.

This is all that can be known of the secret of the old tunnel, or rather of the chamber beneath it, for the floods of the following year filled the tunnel, and the plumbers who drained it have closed the entrance with a wall of stone, so that now no one may set foot in its dark, damp confines, and the flooded chamber will crumble and the history of the strange things hidden there will never be known.

CLERIN ZUMWALT.

Topeka, Kansas.

Drawn by Ryan Walker expressly for THE ARENA.

Mr. You-and-Me is a wonderful man. When he was a little child some one blindfolded him with Ignorance, and shackled him with Social Customs. As he grew up he was so afraid that some one would unchain him and open his eyes that he surrounded himself with a powerful bodyguard.

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.

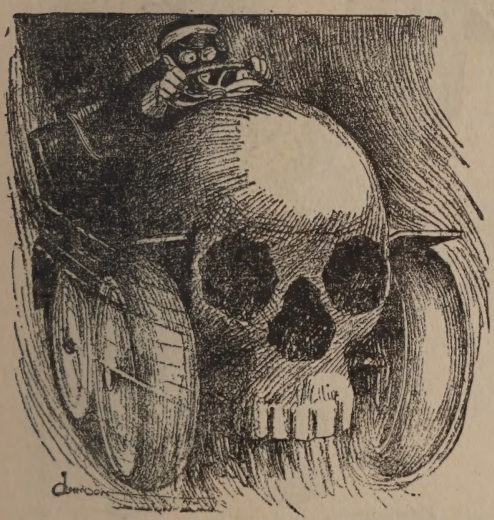
Bush, in New York *World*.

"SATISFIED."

RAH! RAH! RAH! REE! RAH! RAH! VALE "VAR-SI-TEE! HEAR OUR FELLOWS BELLOW! ROCKEFELLER ROCKEFELLER!
THE LAW
VOCAL SOLO BY DODD
THE PULPIT
VOCAL SOLO BY MAC ARTHUR
DROP A MILLION IN THE SLOT.
YALE
MORE

Jack, in Glenwood (Col.) *Post*.

MONEY TALKS.



Johnson, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

CAR OF DEATH AND THE MASKED DRIVER.

Opper, in the New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

WHEN THE PEOPLE WAKE UP.

"The Beef Trust Will Get His All Right."

Opper, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

"1905."
"VIVE L'EMPEREUR!"
(With acknowledgments to Meissonier.)

Opper, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

WHEN THE LID CAME OFF.

"Sing a song of robbery by men in places high,
Several hundred millions raked from a pie;
When the pie was opened the birds all took to wing,
Now are they not a pretty lot? (In the background note Sing Sing.)"

Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American*.

FIRST CLIP AT SAMSON'S HAIR.

"And Samson's strength went from him."

Walker, in Puget Sound (Bellingham, Wash.) *American.*

WHAT HAPPENED WHEN MR. YOU-N-ME FAILED TO BECOME A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

No. 1—A few years ago we honored the Captain of Industry and pointed him out to our son as an example to imitate.

No. 2—Now we point him out as a shining example to swat good and plenty.

Chopin, in Lebanon (Pa.) *Evening Report.*

ONE FOR THE YELLOW MAN.

"Secretary Taft argues that there should not be a too rigid enforcement of the exclusion act."—News Item.

Rogers, in New York *Herald.*

"RIP VAN" WILSON.

Drawn by Ryan Walker.

"EVEN THE WORM WILL TURN."

Warren, in Boston *Herald.*

"WHAT WILL THE ARMY DO?"

Sullivant, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

"THE MAN OF THE HOUR."

Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American*.

PENROSE—"WAIT! I CAN EXPLAIN!"

"Senator Penrose is having prepared an answer to the accumulating evidence of assessment frauds."—News Item.

Satterfield, in Lebanon (Pa.) *Evening Report*.

IN POLAND.

"The Cossacks are a brave and fearless band of men."

Spencer, in Omaha *World-Herald*.

"WITH FEET OF CLAY."

EDITORIALS.

MR. LAWSON'S CRUSADE: ITS STRENGTH AND ITS WEAKNESS.

I. Expert Diagnostician of Moral Tuberculosis in Present-Day Financial Life.

THE REVELATIONS made by Mr. Lawson during the past year have wrought a great and needed work in arousing millions of American citizens from the moral torpor and intellectual indifference into which the corporation-controlled press and the great political managers and bosses had lulled them. It would not be true to say that the startling disclosures are essentially new, for far greater and more profound thinkers than Mr. Lawson among our statesmen, economists and educators have time and again solemnly pointed out the evils which he has so graphically and circumstantially described. The earlier critics, however, were met by the sneering epithet of "alarmists" by those who were in a position to know the truth of the charges and the ominous verity of the grave predictions made, but who from sordid motives of self-interest or because they were employés of those interested in the "system" in some of its ramifications, found it convenient to belittle the statesmen's profound utterances and ridicule their solemn warnings. The favorite and most effective method of dismissing charges made by such incorruptible statesmen as the Hon. Robert M. Baker, Governor La-Follette or Mr. Bryan was to say that they were theorists who reasoned from hearsay without knowing the facts involved. We were told that they might be honest, but they were not personally connected with the great corporations and high financiers of Wall street; hence their views must be considered as academic rather than as the revelations of those actually familiar with the subjects about which they preferred their charges. The circumstance that in each instance the statesmen were well fortified with facts and that they were prepared to prove the charges counted for little when the daily press with strange unanimity advanced this superficially plausible reason for discounting the charges.

When Mr. Lawson, however, entered the public arena as an exposer of the "system" and the methods known as "high finance," it was no longer possible to dismiss the accusations on the ground that the writer was ignorant of the subject he discussed; for here was a man who for years had been the most intimate business associate and partner of the chief figure in the most powerful and immoral of the great typical monopolies and speculative bodies of the Wall-street world; here was a man who had amassed millions in stock-dealing and who was intimately acquainted with the inside history of the great gambling deals by which a few men had acquired tens and hundreds of millions of dollars. He was therefore in a position to give an absolutely faithful record of the infamy that flourished under the robes of respectability in America's Monte Carlo; so his unmasking in a most detailed and circumstantial manner of the moral turpitude, mendacity and corruption of the great Wall-street rings, the banks, the insurance companies and the speculative monopolies that were so juggling with the people's money as to acquire absolute political, economic and commercial mastery of the people, was confirmation from the star chamber of the modern world of "high finance" of all that the incorruptible patriots and statesmen had previously charged.

That the cormorants of Wall street realized the potential danger of the revelations was instantly apparent from the simultaneous attacks upon Mr. Lawson and the significant uniformity of the same. It was impossible to weaken the force of his charges by declaring that he was ignorant of the facts; hence he was charged with turning state's evidence. He was himself, we were told, merely a stock-gambler, and his sincerity and veracity were on all sides called into question, while the powerful influence of the Standard Oil Company and allied interests was set in motion to accomplish by threats what the interested parties dared not attempt to achieve by open warfare. Thus the attorneys of Mr. H. H. Rogers called on the publishers of *Everybody's Magazine*, where the Lawson exposures were being made, and declared that if they published any libelous statements or utterances that

could not be substantiated, they would be sued for criminal libel. Such a threat, coming from the attorneys of a master-spirit in the richest corporation in the world, was well-calculated to intimidate both the publishers and Mr. Lawson. A poor man would have been powerless, because he could not have successfully fought this organization, no matter how just or truthful his charges might have been. But happily for America, Mr. Lawson had wealth and the courage to stand by his guns.

Failing in this method of intimidation, an equally bold attempt was made by the "system" to intimidate the American News Company to such an extent that it would not send out the January *Everybody's Magazine*. Happily the warning came after the magazines had been shipped, so no delay even was occasioned, and the knowledge of the attempt caused hundreds of thousands of extra copies to be sold; while the threat made by the attorneys of Mr. Rogers to prosecute if Mr. Lawson departed from the truth in his revelations, and the fact that for over a year the "high financiers" of Wall street have writhed under his merciless exposures and have not dared to enter suit for libel, have convinced the people as few other things could have convinced them, that Mr. Lawson has merely told a plain, unvarnished tale of the moral depravity of the great speculative magnates and of the insurance companies and certain banking institutions that are a part of the corrupt "system." The revelations of the moral turpitude and wholesale dishonesty in connection with the Equitable Assurance Company have not only served to confirm Mr. Lawson's charges in regard to the insurance companies, but have also revealed depths of infamy to which men in high places in commercial, financial and political life have descended that, but for the unimpeachable character of the testimony elicited, would have been considered incredible. Every recent revelation of the methods of the Wall-street stock-gamblers and "high financiers" of America has served to show that Mr. Lawson is an expert diagnostician and that his tale is simply the history of a condition as fatal to pure government and national integrity as it is oppressive and unjust in its operations on America's millions of producers and consumers—a condition which enables a few men to acquire millions upon millions of unearned money and with it to corrupt until they control the machinery of city, state and national government, to such a degree that they are practically above the law. It is impossible to estimate the value of such a revelation as has been made by Mr. Lawson. If the republic is rescued from the reactionary rule of the money-controlled machines operated by conscienceless corporate wealth, Mr. Lawson will have been a prominent factor in this splendid result. Hence it is far from us to desire to minify the service rendered by him in his authoritative exposure of the moral degradation of the powerful "system."

II. Mr. Lawson's Mistake.

It is a fact that has been frequently pointed out in the medical world, that the most eminent and accurate diagnosticians are often poor prescribers. Their attention has been centered on pathological conditions rather than on the action of therapeutic agents, and they are therefore far less happy or certain in the remedies prescribed than are those physicians who have spent long years in practicing the healing art. So with Mr. Lawson: valuable and necessary as are his services as an expert diagnostician, he is singularly superficial and unfortunate in his recommendations, or rather in his attempt to discredit methods of cure that in a republic are necessarily the fundamental remedies for practical application when orderly progress is to mark the unfoldment of free institutions. We refer especially to his effort to belittle the ballot-box as an agent for the overthrow of present unjust and corrupt conditions that have been rendered possible by political privileges and protection.

Nothing is clearer than that the present gigantic "system" which Mr. Lawson has so graphically described could not have grown to such overshadowing proportions and remained the most sinister and portentous influence in the republic, had it not been for political privilege and protection. The union of the arch-conspirators in the acquisition of wealth by indirection with political bosses and recreant statesmen has been at once the scandal and the chief producing element in the widespread political degradation that prevails to-day. Indeed, the intimate relation between the protected and the protectors, and the dominating influence of the corrupt "system" in political crises, have been impressively portrayed by Mr. Lawson himself. In no instance was this more startlingly emphasized than in his circumstantial and vivid descrip-

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JAMAICA PLAIN BRANCH

AGNES VALENTINE KELLEY, M.D.

tion of the defeat of Mr. Bryan through a five-million-dollar corruption fund. The readers of Mr. Lawson's history will call to mind his description of how Mr. Hanna, after a careful poll of the states, found out to his alarm that the majority of voters in five states, all necessary to the success of Mr. McKinley, were in favor of Mr. Bryan. In his extremity he turned to the "high financiers" and master-spirits in the "system," and the whole brood of acquirers of unearned wealth at the expense of industry, in their alarm lest they should lose some part of their hold on the government, raised five million dollars by which the dominant party was enabled to elect Mr. McKinley.

Does Mr. Lawson suppose for one instant that the corruption that has so long been festering in the Equitable Assurance Company, and which not improbably permeates the other great insurance companies that dominate the politics of New York, would have been possible had it not been for the influence of the insurance system in politics, or that the general demand on Governor Higgins for a searching legislative investigation of the three great companies, in the interests of the millions of policy holders whose money is being used by the "high financiers" to exploit the people and enrich themselves, would have been so long resolutely denied if it were not for the tremendous power of these companies over Governor Higgins and other master-spirits in the dominant party? Does Mr. Lawson suppose that corporations and companies like the Equitable would carry on their pay-roll leading politicians of both parties if it were not for the influence which the political bosses and leaders are able to exert for the shrewd and unscrupulous "high financiers" that are using the policy-holders' money to gamble with?

Now the whole present piratical financial and commercial feudalism—the "system" if you will—depends on privilege and protection from politicians, lawmakers and law-enforcers; and these great aggregations of wealth, including the public-service companies and trusts, are the chief makers and unmakers as well as corruptors of the people's servants. Acting through political bosses and machines and with the liberal bribe of campaign contributions and secret individual bribes and deals, they have become the great power behind the throne, the real masters and rulers in city, state and nation; and this being the case, to try to convince the people that the ballot-box is no remedy for the politico-economic injustice and oppression of the present is to counsel the people against the interests at once of peace with progress and justice and the effective emancipation of the masses from the double thralldom of commercial despotism and robbery and a disintegrating political reaction, chiefly characterized by corruption and subserviency to class interests and corporate wealth.

The gravest peril that republics have to guard against is the indifference of the electors to the priceless privilege of their vote and the solemn duty to exercise their right of franchise conscientiously and as becomes free and honorable men. Whenever privilege or class interests succeed in corrupting the electors or in capturing the master-spirits in political organizations, so that they can dictate the nominations of their own tools, and later, through corrupt practices and a lavish use of wealth, mislead or influence the voters against the highest interests of the commonwealth, then the republic is in the gravest danger, and the hope of its restoration lies in the awakening of the sleeping conscience of the people to the peril of the situation and to the duty of all electors to unite and work with the enthusiasm of lofty patriotism for the restoration of the government to the people, the driving of the money-changers and the unfaithful public-servants from the temple of freedom, and the exaltation again of a noble idealism to the high place from which the base and sordid spirit of materialistic commercialism had driven it. If this is not done, the republic ceases to be a government of the people and becomes a degraded state in which the people are the vassals of corrupt wealth or privileged classes, oppressed, exploited and debauched for the enrichment and power of their corruptors and masters,—a despotism in all but name.

In a republic the people have in the ballot-box their sure and certain remedy whenever they become sufficiently awakened to the peril to unite and act as they have heretofore acted time and again in supreme crises. The ballot-box is not only the redeemer, but it is the only weapon by which political and economic injustice and corruption can be overthrown without the shock of force. With it peace can be maintained, justice vindicated and the republic again made the master moral force or world-power and the supreme conservator of free institutions. Without it there is no sure

remedy for injustice, oppression and corruption but a forcible revolution, which all high-minded men and women rightly shrink from with dread and abhorrence. Now from the Atlantic to the Pacific the people are becoming awakened—morally awakened—as they have not been aroused since the days of the great Revolution. Now they are everywhere preparing to unite and vindicate the high dream and prophecy of the fathers. Everywhere the more earnest and high-minded of all parties are reasoning together and are coming to recognize the importance of uniting irrespective of party creeds, for the restoration of a pure democracy and the overthrow of corrupt corporate despotism and the boss and the machine. Everywhere the people are demanding the right to pass on legislation and to initiate legislation when the majority desires new measures; and everywhere the corruptors and the corrupted are striving to stay the rising tide of true democracy.

The fear—the one great fear—of the corrupt "system" and its hirelings in the political machines and the public opinion-forming agencies, is that the people will unite at the ballot-box and vindicate the rights of free government; and for a man who has the ear and confidence of hundreds of thousands of the people to counsel them against uniting and using the one weapon in their hands that would end at once and effectively the reign of graft and corruption, of exploitation and oppression, is for him to do precisely what every master-spirit in the "system" most desires the opposition leaders to do. Do not understand us as implying that Mr. Lawson is intentionally playing into the hands of the "system" or that he is consciously striking a blow against the only effective action that will rescue the republic and lead to victory without the employment of force; for we believe that he is entirely sincere in his opposition to the "system" and in his convictions. To what extent personal bitterness against the men who had wronged him and betrayed his confidence may have entered as a determining factor into Mr. Lawson's original resolution to expose the corruption of the Wall-street parasite class, we cannot say; but since the people have rallied around him, placing their faith and confidence in his high motives and disinterestedness, we believe he has come to have but one great passion,—or at least we believe the master-passion of the man has come to be a desire to vindicate the faith the people have placed in him and to destroy the sinister power of the "system" that is so rapidly strangling the soul of free institutions, and for this reason we are doubly pained to see him doing precisely what every political boss who is being enriched by the "system," or other privileged interests, most desires to have him do—counsel against union at the ballot-box. Mr. Lawson's advice is not the counsel of a statesman or of a profound student of democratic institutions. He may believe that the ballot-box alone is not the remedy, but to minify the importance of the franchise or to assume that the republic can be redeemed from the spoilers and placed where it was before it became the bond-slave of privileged wealth, without the exercise of the franchise, is to display a very partial or limited appreciation of the basic issues involved. And any remedy that under existing conditions leaves out of consideration the franchise of the people in its effort to cure the crying and crowning evils, must necessarily prove but partial and inadequate rather than thorough and fundamental in character.

Again, in his sneer at popular ownership of public utilities Mr. Lawson betrays the man who has studied one phase of an evil condition at the expense of the well-rounded view of the true statesman. Nothing further is needed to prove the absurdity and inaccuracy of his claim that the "system" desires public ownership, than that every influence controlled by the "system," every great paper, every special-pleader, every corrupt machine-boss and political leader, is the sworn enemy of public ownership. The Ryans, the Dolans, the Belmonts, the Weideners, the Cassatts, the Depews, the Rogerses, the Coxes, the Butlers, the Odells, the Murphys, the Durhams, the Gormans, the Penroses, the Addickses, the Spooners,—in a word, the whole community of interests against which Mr. Lawson is warring directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, are the outspoken and uncompromising enemies of public ownership, and for the very palpable reason that private ownership is one of the chief sources of revenue, power or advancement. Through private ownership of public utilities the Ryans, the Dolans and their ilk are acquiring yearly millions upon millions of dollars that otherwise would go toward reducing the prices of public utilities and lowering taxes. Then again, the political machines and bosses find in the private owners of public utilities the financial backbone that renders their continued

rule and betrayal of the people well-nigh invincible. It is astonishing to see a man of Mr. Lawson's intelligence, discrimination and sincerity taking such a palpably absurd position as he is taking when he assumes that the exploiters of the people, against which the brain and conscience of the nation are in revolt, are favorable to public ownership.

Thus it seems to us that though as a diagnostician of conditions with which he is absolutely familiar Mr. Lawson has proved himself an expert, in seeking to make the people regard the ballot-box as immaterial to any fundamental or permanent victory, and in other respects when he comes to deal with remedies, he has proved himself wanting in the broad, well-rounded vision of the true statesman.

CENTERS OF LIGHT AND LEADING.

I. The Duty of The Hour.

THE PRESENT makes stern demands upon the children of democracy. Grave dangers confront free institutions. The cause of justice and those great fundamentals upon the preservation of which a true democracy depends are in greater peril than at any period since the Civil war, if indeed the threatened evils are not the gravest that have confronted the nation since her birth. Each individual has a duty to perform. It is idle to say that your influence is too insignificant to the cause of human progress to affect results in an appreciable way. Frequently, very frequently, the earnest word and the persistent teachings of those who seem humblest have changed the lives of the destiny-builders of the ages. Socrates was a humble teacher in Athens, derided by the rich, sneered at by the Sophists. One day a youth, richly dowered by nature, who had decided to follow the soldier's calling, was arrested by some chance words spoken by Socrates. His interest aroused, he questioned the master day by day until at last the great teacher convinced him that there was something far nobler than the profession of arms, and as a result the world has been enriched by the matchless wealth of Plato's brain.

But whether small or great, every man and woman is confronted by a sacred duty. No one can be quit of the obligation, and he is recreant to his solemn trust who seeks unworthily to evade the responsibility by the plea that his influence is of little avail. The robe of civilization is spangled by the glories achieved by those born in obscurity and who through lives of consecration to the faithful performance of the work that lay nearest them have nerved the hands, fired the hearts and illumined the brains of those who have moulded the fate of nations and raised the estate of the millions. So it is a duty, a paramount duty, in the present crisis to resolve to do one's utmost for the cause of enlightened and progressive government, for civic righteousness and individual development. But while alone and single-handed one may accomplish much, in association he becomes doubly effective. The world's advance movements have most frequently been carried to the point where the sleeping conscience of church and state has been compelled to take part and make invincible the new reform or advance movement, through the labor of small groups of workers, often apparently insignificant factors in society.

If in every city precinct, every town and hamlet, small centers could be formed in which four, six, eight or ten earnest men and women would covenant to work for mutual benefit—for the better equipping of themselves for the duties of enlightened citizenship and for the purpose of lending their united support to measures proposed for the advancement of civic righteousness and the uplifting of popular ideals, not only would the nation receive a mighty moral and mental upward impulse but the triumph of good government and the cause of justice and democracy would be assured. Few things to-day are more imperatively demanded than such moral and intellectual centers of light and leading.

II. A Typical Center.

Early in 1892 one of New Orleans' most brilliant and intellectual women, Mrs. J. M. Ferguson, a grand-niece of Patrick Henry and a daughter of Colonel William H. Garland, conceived the idea of forming a small club of earnest, truth-loving people for the broadening of the culture of the members, thus better preparing them intelligently to fulfil the mul-

titudinous duties of present-day life, and also for the purpose of increasing their influence in civic affairs by the power that results from association.

Mrs. Ferguson's ancestors on both sides were members of those high-minded Virginia families that, placing character, honor and civic rectitude above all baser considerations, strove through education of brain and culture of heart to nobly fulfil the high demands imposed by a free state upon her children. Dowered with that lofty idealism which is the well-spring of all true progress and strong in moral fiber, Mrs. Ferguson has ever exerted a positive influence for high thinking and fine living. She early became an enthusiastic member of our great ARENA family, feeling that its influence made for breadth of intellectual vision, independent thinking and moral integrity; and partly because of her regard for THE ARENA and partly because it was determined that the club should be an intellectual arena for the thoughtful presentation of widely-differing social, economic, political, ethical and educational views, the organization was christened "THE ARENA CLUB OF NEW ORLEANS."

It was proposed that at the regular meetings of the club a designated member should present an outline of some great social, economic, political or other important theory or philosophy, reading an exposition made by the author of the theory in question or by some master-spirit among its exponents. Thus, for example, we will say that the subject of the Single-Tax was designated for consideration at a certain meeting. A member would present a digest of Mr. George's views as given by the great social philosopher in his own words, and after its presentation the subject would be briefly discussed by members. By this admirable plan the cardinal points in an important subject were brought out, while the remarks and criticisms following tended to touch upon the various objections advanced by critics, and the person who had given the reading would be prepared, through careful previous study, to state how the advocates met many if not all of these objections.

The club was emphatically a truth-seeking body of persons not afraid to think and with strong convictions, but not wedded to any particular "ism." They sought to broaden their culture by the frank searching for truth.

A second purpose of this association was to secure vital messages or lectures and papers from recognized authorities among educators, publicists and authoritative thinkers whose love of truth and holy passion for imparting knowledge would lead them to consent to discuss certain themes with which they were familiar under the auspices of the club, and in this way the members and their friends, and on occasions the public at large, would have the benefit of the well-matured thoughts and conclusions of eminent thinkers. At that time several of the strong and brilliant contributors of THE ARENA staff were freely giving their services in cities which they chanced to visit or which they were passing through, in speaking for the Unions for Practical Progress and other literary and social centers organized at the suggestion of this magazine; and it was rightly believed that several of these workers, as well as other public-spirited thinkers who from time passed through New Orleans, would favor the club with lectures or papers. Something of the service rendered by this phase of the work of The Arena Club may be inferred from the following partial list of lectures and papers delivered before the club and its guests by eminent and authoritative thinkers. The first four names were prominent contributors to THE ARENA.

"The Single-Tax," by James A. Herne, the popular actor and author of "Shore Acres," "Sag Harbor" and other well-known dramas of American life.

"The Ethical View of the Single-Tax," by Hamlin Garland.

"Union for Practical Progress," by Rev. H. C. Vrooman, of Boston.

"Author's Reading from Her Stories," by Will Allen Dromgoole.

"The Drama," by Joseph Jefferson.

"Shakespeare," by Frederick Warde, the tragedian.

"The Single-Tax: Fiscal Point-of-View," by Professor J. H. Dillard, of Tulane University, New Orleans.

"The Dignity of Labor," by Mrs. M. R. Field (Catherine Cole), of the *Times-Democrat.*

"The Parliament of Religions," by Dr. Joseph Holt.

"Shakespeare Studies," by Mrs. Annie L. Pitkin. Four different lectures—"Othello," "Macbeth," "Lear" and "Hamlet."

"The Law and the Lady: The Legal Status of Woman in Louisiana," by Judge J. H. Ferguson, of the Criminal Court of New Orleans.

"Why, How and What to Read," by Rev.

B. Warner, of Trinity (Episcopal) Church of New Orleans.

"Mazzini," by Professor J. H. Dillard.

"Heredity," an illustrated lecture by Dr. Mary A. G. Dight.

"Talk on Japan," by Miss Georgiana Suthon, missionary.

"Hegelian Philosophy," by President B. V. B. Dixon, of Sophie Newcomb College (for girls) of New Orleans.

"The Social Balance," by Bishop (Episcopal) Davis Sessums, of Louisiana.

"An Informal Talk on New Zealand," by the ex-mayor of Wellington and a native of New Zealand.

If the club had done nothing more than secure such a course of lectures, it would have accomplished an important educational work for the community; but this contribution to the real culture of the people was only one of its many achievements. Among other public services was the holding of one of the most important mass-meetings of recent years to protest against trust domination. At this meeting among the speakers were the Rev. Hugh Miller Thompson, Episcopal Bishop of Mississippi; Rev. Dr. Palmer, the Presbyterian divine; Mr. Ashton Phelps, of the *Times-Democrat;* and Judge Clegg, of the New Orleans bar.

Still more important was the successful labor of The Arena Club in its campaign for the raising of the legal age of protection for girls in Louisiana to sixteen years. The enactment of this statute (Act 115) in 1896 was directly due to the work of The Arena Club, and no labor has been achieved in recent years by any individual or association more important to civic morality than the securing of this statute.

The club has also taken a positive position on many occasions when vital issues were at stake. Quite recently it has been doing a noble work in fighting the frightful conditions that, largely through the recreancy of officials, are resulting in the traffic in girls and other horrible forms of immorality.

During the war with Spain The Arena Club contributed to the First Regiment of Louisiana a large tent for the comfort of the soldiers, to be used as a reading-room, a place of rest and an auditorium for preaching. It also contributed a large box of reading-matter, stationery, chess and other games. It has contributed financially to the woman's rescue work of the Salvation Army, to the support of the Garland-Ferguson Library of Long Beach, Mississippi, and to many other important works for the furtherance of education and the elevation of the ideals and morals of the people.

A third object of The Arena Club was to add through association to individual efficiency for civil progress and upliftment. Each individual has his sphere of influence, but in an association or group he becomes doubly influential. In the first place a body of thoughtful, earnest and sincere persons always commands a degree of respect and exerts a measure of influence far greater than the individual could exert on the public mind. In the second place, by association a number of persons act as a unit and strike for the same object at the same moment. Here is a person who can influence a half a dozen friends, and she knows that other members of her society or club are likewise influencing others. What is the result? She is doubly armed, for she feels the strength and presence of her associates. Here is a person who has access to the columns of one of the great dailies, and here is another who as representative of the club can gain a hearing before another powerful constituency. Here is one who can reach a certain influential clergyman and induce him to raise his voice in behalf of civic righteousness or against some crying evil in a crucial moment, and here is another who has an equal influence over some great educator or public-speaker who will address a mass-meeting; and here the entire band also stands ready to circulate petitions and influence many of their friends to do the same. Any thoughtful person can readily understand what a tremendous influence a small band of sincere workers, touched by the fires from the altars of progress, can exercise in any community when its members are ready to consecrate a part of life's efforts to the broadening of their own culture and the cause of civic progress. Now in a very large way The Arena Club of New Orleans has achieved all of these noble objects. Time and again, when great burning questions have been up which affected the morality of the city or the cause of human justice, The Arena Club has through the *Times-Democrat* and the *Picayune* sent forth ringing messages, and it has on many occasions been largely instrumental in creating public sentiment in favor of some great cause or in forcing the public to take cognizance of some crying evil, so that mass-meetings and campaigns of

education have resulted in civic upliftment.

The work of The Arena Club has been widely and favorably commented upon by leading papers in many cities as well as generously recognized by the great dailies of New Orleans. The following extract from an article by Catherine Cole, one of the most brilliant journalists of New Orleans, which appeared in the *Times-Democrat*, the most influential daily of the Gulf States, is typical of the sentiments expressed time and again by the different New Orleans dailies:

"I recall with pride the brilliant and progressive career of our now justly famous Arena Club. The Arena Club had its beginning some years since in the dainty drawing-room of one of the most powerful-minded women this town can boast, whose graces of mind and heart have gathered about her coteries of purely and thoroughly intellectual people—men and women who put Vanity Fair to blush through their earnestness and honesty and the value of their accomplishments. Many most distinguished speakers have had the honor of addressing this club, which has become a distinct educational force in New Orleans and whose doings have inspired other clubs to the same enterprises. The Arena Club has accomplished one beautiful work inasmuch as it has taught many women how to think for themselves. That is a rare gift —that of doing one's own thinking—almost as uncommon as common sense."

The practical service of this little club's work during the past twelve or fourteen years is, we imagine, little realized even by its distinguished president, Mrs. Ferguson; but to one who has followed its work with profound interest during this period the record of its achievements alone forms a glorious page, while the hidden springs of life which it has started flowing, the mental and moral light it has radiated and the benefit to its own members in broadening their intellectual vision and deepening their concern for humanity's weal cannot be measured in time.

We have cited this case at length because it is a palpable illustration of what can be accomplished in every city, town, hamlet and community if six or eight persons will unite, imbued by a passion for truth, a love of civic righteousness and that breadth and tolerance of spirit that will freely grant to others the same right of opinion desired for one's self, and sufficiently impressed with the demands of the present to be willing to devote a little time and energy to the cause of human enlightenment.

III. Let Centers be Started Everywhere.

We believe the time has arrived for the forming of little centers everywhere. They will prove beacon-lights and signal-stations to the hosts of democracy and the champions of pure government and free institutions everywhere, and they can be made centers or rallying-points from which the people can act for civic righteousness in important crises when (as in the recent attempted gas-steal in Philadelphia) privileged interests and the corruptors of the people's servants attempt to further rob the masses and debase the representatives of the electors. If the readers of The Arena who recognize the grave duties and responsibilities of the present will organize into small groups or clubs for systematic work along lines similar to those laid down by The Arena Club of New Orleans, in less than a year we shall have a chain of centers extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific which will exert a nation-wide influence for the basic principles of democracy and pure government and which will insure that general awakening of the public conscience that will render the downfall of reactionary, unrepublican and privileged rule inevitable.

Such organizations should have a few settled rules, and though they should be governed largely by the circumstances of their environment, certain things should be practically uniform.

1. Meetings should be held either weekly or twice a month.

2. The members of the organization should pledge themselves to attend and to faithfully strive to do their part.

3. Small dues should be paid, sufficient to cover the actual expense of the meetings, which, if held in school-buildings, churches or halls, should be comparatively slight.

4. The secretary of each club should agree to answer letters from other secretaries and in so far as possible the secretaries of the clubs throughout each state should correspond once a month with each other.

5. Papers should be prepared, as was done by The Arena Club, for each meeting, and a brief paper should be prepared by some member noting the most important civic, political, social and economic advance movements of the land and of the world during the

month. Friendly discussions should follow.

6. As the most pressing need of the hour is the wresting of the government by the people from the rule of corrupt party-machines acting in concert with privileged interests, we would suggest that each club be made a working-center for direct-legislation. Let that be a rallying issue, because upon the success of direct-legislation depends the salvation of democracy from the reactionary mastership of corporate wealth or plutocracy and class-rule, and with direct-legislation the people can settle all questions and secure for themselves precisely what they hold to be most indispensable for the public weal. No friend of pure democracy or free institutions can consistently oppose majority-rule, and with this one common issue all the clubs will be bound together and inspired by a community of interests—a vital point in a movement of this kind.

Beyond this let discussions be wide and varying as the club desires. Let political, social, economic, educational and ethical questions be considered, but let the club insist, as one of its working-rules, upon the recognition of the right of every member to the same tolerance for his views as the others claim for theirs. Hold to this idea, and breadth of thought and true culture will come to the workers. They will become popular educators in a very real way, while their union will greatly add to the vital civic growth of the land.

THE ARENA stands ready to actively second and aid such clubs and when a sufficient number are formed will publish a directory in each issue giving the names of the principal officers and the addresses. It will also publish brief news-notes of the movement in various centers, so that a common bond may be established and all clubs can be kept in sympathetic touch.

We urge the establishment of such centers of light and leading at once, for we know how helpful they will prove to all the members in broadening the culture, quickening the sense of moral and civic duty and raising the ideal of life and action; and we also believe they will prove powerful factors in the great forward movement now assuming commanding proportions which will eventuate in the restoration of the government to the people and in the establishment of equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people.

We solicit correspondence from all members of THE ARENA family on this subject and shall be pleased to give suggestive topics and programmes to those desiring help in the establishment of clubs.

THE SCHOOL-CITY MOVEMENT AS A FACTOR IN CIVIC DEVELOPMENT.

IN THE May issue of THE ARENA we published an extended description of the School City, organized by Mr. Wilson L. Gill, —something which we believe to be the most important contribution of the New World to the educational advance of self-governing lands and unquestionably the most vital advance step in practical popular education since the advent of free schools. The fact that a movement so fundamental in character and which without interfering with the regular school curriculum introduces new and important elements into school management, and fosters self-government and the higher educational activities is receiving the sympathetic and favorable consideration of the most thoughtful and progressive educators wherever it is presented, affords strong proof that the night-time of moral and intellectual inertia is rapidly giving place to another of those periodical ethical awakenings that revive and rejuvenate nations and carry civilization to higher vantage-grounds. Wherever the School City has been introduced by intelligent and sympathetic educators alive to its immense potential value, it has proved a positive success, in most instances far exceeding the sanguine expectations of its friends; and when the system has been explained to practical educators and thought-moulders who are awake to the importance of public education and who also realize the painful limitations of our present system, especially in its failure to turn out young men and women habituated to the practical exercise of the functions of free citizenship, the School City has called forth enthusiastic and hearty support. The following words on the subject, given by the Rev. Charles Wood of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia at a banquet

given by the Franklin Institute, afford a fair example of the way in which the new movement appeals to the more scholarly and thoughtful of our people:

"The School City is the boldest, the strongest, the simplest attempt yet made to solve the municipal problem. Thus far the American theory has been that the American citizen inherits with citizenship all the knowledge necessary for the performance of his duties. Without any instruction or practice, he is expected at twenty-one years to exercise properly the prerogatives of a sovereign. . . . To play our national game we should consider years of training necessary, but to enter on all the privileges of a ruler in the republic nothing is demanded but a proper spirit of subserviency to a party, which, translated, means a boss.

"The School City attempts to clear up all this, not by the slaughter of bosses or the disintegration of parties, but by the education of the citizen. The whole effort is in line with a great movement by which the seat of authority has been slowly shifted in the state from the monarch to the people, and in the church from an ecclesiastical hierarchy to a book, and from a book to the individual soul. Westward the course of empire takes its way, but the course of authority takes its way inward to reason and conscience. Spontaneous activity replaces compulsory obedience. The Golden Rule on which it is founded is accepted as the best of precepts, and the only reasonable and practical rule of life for civilized human beings."

It is not surprising that the movement appeals with compelling force to the best minds of our age when its merits and practicability are shown. To use the words of the organizing committee of the National School-City League, it affords a "system of moral and civic training by means of self-government under instruction," and wherever it has been sympathetically and intelligently introduced it has accomplished "excellent results in the moral and educational development of the students" and has released "for constructive work much of the teacher's energy formerly used in police duty."

If this system afforded no other advantage than the stimulating of a sense of moral responsibility and duty in the child, thus adding greatly to the development of his character and also teaching the young to think for themselves and to reason rather than to blindly obey the commands of others, it would be worthy of the favorable consideration of all popular educators. But in addition to these things it gives to the children of the republic that which good men and women everywhere recognize as the most imperative need of the nation to-day—minds trained from early years to practice the duties of citizenship in a free state. It habituates the child to be a self-governing factor and impresses in the most effective possible manner the sacred duty devolving upon every sovereign voter in a democracy. Children who are thus instructed will not go forth indifferent to the grave duties of citizenship, on the one hand, nor will they fall the easy prey of bosses. In other words, they will be independent, alert citizens, impressed with the moral responsibilities imposed upon them.

The results that have followed the introduction of this movement have demonstrated that it is as practical as it is democratic. Whenever it has been intelligently and sympathetically introduced it has proved so successful that its employment has rapidly extended. Thus, for example, Mr. Gill organized the system in 1897 and brought it before the most successful educators of the Quaker City. It was tentatively and experimentally tried and proved so positively satisfactory that to-day it is in active operation in over thirty schools in Philadelphia. Mr. Gill came to New England during the past winter, where his presentation of the plan of the School City before educational and other bodies has resulted in a general and rapidly growing interest in the movement. One of the fruits of this visit is seen in the arrangement that has been perfected by which Mr. Gill is to be present at the installation of the School City in one of the districts of Lowell, Massachusetts, where there is a large grammar-school fed by a number of primary schools. In this instance a School City will be formed in each school, under a School State, which will govern all the schools in the district. Thus the children in this group of schools will be familiarized in a most practical way with the principles of republican government, by daily participation in a miniature municipal and state government.

Happily for America, we are at the present time in a period of civic awakening such as from time to time rescues the city and the state, partially at least, from the grasp of greed

and sordid selfishness after periods of general civic lethargy. But such awakenings are in the nature of the case largely temporary or transient in their influence, so long as the great bulk of the voters have no definite concept of self-government or the sacred duty which every voter owes to a democratic government. On this subject Mr. Gill recently observed:

"Civic awakenings such as that brought about by Dr. Parkhurst in New York some years since, and the successful opposition to the 'Gas Steal' in Philadelphia, in May, 1905, are of great value, but as they do not rest upon the fixed habit of attending to the ordinary civic duties by the more highly educated part of the community, who bring them about, soon afterward the civic conditions decline, eternal vigilance, the price of liberty, is not paid, a new monarch arises, and after a series of years of robbery, protected vice and oppression by the new 'boss,' a new crusade is preached and there is another temporary manifestation of virtue.

"Permanent right civic conditions must rest on right civic habits of educated people. Such habits, if established at all, must be in the character-building, habit-making part of one's life, in childhood and early youth. The schools have not attended to this, yet they are the only extensive, practical means for this purpose, and this is the special reason for their existence. The School City is designed for this very purpose. It is a reasonable apprenticeship in the art of citizenship or right living. If you wish to help build a permanent and good civic foundation, give your moral and financial support to the School-City movement. One thousand dollars spent on this preventive, constructive work will produce larger and more permanent results than many times that amount spent on the symptoms and in counteracting the results of bad government."

Believing as we do that these observations are sound and that the School City is one of the most, if not the most, important fundamental movements for preserving democracy in its purity, for elevating civic standards and ideals, and for developing the character and mental independence of the individual, it affords us pleasure to know that recently a number of prominent thoughtful and high-minded citizens have formed a National School-City League, which we trust will prove an important auxiliary in hastening the general success of the movement. The following are among the reasons which led to its formation:

"The School-City System of moral and civic training by means of self-government under instruction was originated in 1897 and has been established in a number of schools, accomplishing excellent results in the moral and educational development of the students and releasing for constructive work much of the teacher's energy formerly used in police duty.

"The best results from these School Cities can only be obtained where they are intelligently organized and supervised in the light of the widest experience.

"The effort to establish this system in our public-schools has depended almost entirely upon the personal work and resources of Mr. Gill, the originator, and the work of extending the system cannot become generally and speedily effective except as it is aided and supported by the organized coöperation of public-spirited citizens."

The organization holds that the movement will necessarily do much to conserve a government of the people, by the people and for the people, while giving the pupils in our educational institutions a better system of moral and civic training.

In order that the movement shall become general and that earnest patriots everywhere may actively coöperate in the work, arrangements have been made for the formation of chapters of the League which may be formed "by ten or more persons in any locality. National, state and local organizations of all kinds are invited to appoint School-City Committees to form chapters of this League, the membership of which may be restricted to members of the organizing society or not. Children may form junior chapters of ten or more members and receive a charter."

Both men and women are eligible to membership. The annual membership dues have been placed at one dollar for adults and fifty cents for children. Persons interested in the League work should address the National Secretary, Ralph Albertson, Jamaica Plain, Boston, Massachusetts, enclosing stamp for reply.

Elsewhere we have urged the formation of centers of light and leading, suggesting that direct-legislation be made the common bond for the organizations. In communities where people are specially interested in an education that shall promote the highest type of manhood

and womanhood and also foster noble civic ideals, it is probable that chapters of the School-City League could be more readily formed than the societies of which we have written, while in other communities direct-legislation and the School City could be made the basis for progressive organizations, as the two movements necessarily complement each other. One aims to bring the government back to the people, and the other to preserve democratic government in its purity. There are hundreds of thousands of Americans who will willingly contribute from one dollar to five dollars a year for works that will in a positive way bulwark and preserve free government and make for civic justice and righteousness; and we know of no method better than the formation and successful carrying forward of such organizations to achieve these glorious ends.

A MACEDONIAN CRY FROM THE SOUTH TO THE FATHERS AND MOTHERS OF THE NORTHLAND.

IN THIS issue of THE ARENA we publish a paper from the pen of Dr. Agnes Valentine Kelley, a high-minded Southern woman who has consecrated her life and the means at her command to the erecting of school buildings in the rural districts of Louisiana and Alabama. We have recently read letters to Dr. Kelley from the governors of these two commonwealths and also from the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Louisiana, all earnestly commending her great work.*

If ever there was a true Macedonian cry for help, it is that which to-day is coming from the country districts of the war-impoverished states of the South. From no source does the commonwealth and the nation receive such rich returns in noble and useful manhood as from the money expended in teaching the children of the farming districts, for the reason that their lives are simple, uncorrupted and uncontaminated. They have little to divert the mind from serious study or to feed the imagination, and as a rule they are eager to learn. In the cities there are always multitudinous agencies and influences which dis-

* The following extracts from letters written by the Governor of Louisiana, and by State Superintendent of Public Instruction Aswell, of Louisiana, indicate how deeply interested are the leaders of the new movement for popular education in these commonwealths in Dr. Kelley's effort to build one hundred schoolhouses for white children in the rural districts.

Governor Newton C. Blanchard, of Louisiana, writing under date of May 1, 1905, to Dr. Kelley, says: "I am very glad to know that you propose to build one hundred schoolhouses in the country places and villages of the South. In doing this you will have my hearty coöperation and good-will, and I promise you to be present at and lay the corner-stone of the first building, making an address suitable to the occasion. I will also see to it that the corner-stones of other buildings will be laid with appropriate ceremonies. The people of Louisiana will rise up and call you blessed if you do this great work among them. We need all the assistance we can possibly get in the great cause of public education. I am making the cause of public education the chief feature of my administration."

And under date of May 25, 1905, Governor Blanchard writes again: "I shall be pleased to meet and confer with you when you come to Louisiana as proposed in August or September next. You ask me to make a statement of just what is needed in the way of schoolhouses in our state. Replying to this would say that a great effort is being made by the State of Louisiana and by the local school-authorities throughout the state to push the cause of common-school education so as to give to every child in the state a training that would fit him or her for the life that he or she has to live. All money raised by state taxation, and country and district taxation, for school purposes is needed for the maintenance of the schools. That is, to keep them going for seven or eight months in the year. To take any part of this money to build schoolhouses would be to curtail the length of the school term. All over the rural portions of the state we are greatly in need of schoolhouses in which to conduct the public schools. The state is deficient in this regard. You and those associated with you could do no greater philanthropic work than to assist the children of the state in obtaining an education, by contributing to the construction of substantial school-buildings. The Superintendent of Public Education, Hon. J. B. Aswell, whom I look upon as one of the leading educators of the South, will also write you touching the need of schoolhouses."

Hon. J. B. Aswell, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Louisiana, writes: "If you could know anything personally of the widespread interest in the state just now in educational matters, and if you could see the great need of school-buildings, I am sure you would be happy in the contemplation of the great work you have in mind."

Governor William D. Jelks, of Alabama, has written letters to Dr. Kelley very similar in import to those of Governor Blanchard.

tract the attention of the children so that the education received leaves a far less indelible impress than it leaves upon the mind of the country child. Then there are also so many corrupting influences and so much that strangles and destroys high idealism and lowers the standard of morals, that the return in education is less satisfactory than with the child of the soil. The fact that a large proportion of the moral leaders and the really noble and great men were raised in the country or in small towns has been too often dwelt upon to call for comment here, but it is a fact worthy of mention in the present connection.

We are far enough away from the Civil war to be rational and just. The brave sons and daughters of the South who in a former generation warred to uphold State sovereignty and to maintain the possession of the slaves were of our bone, blood and brain. Like us they were the children of their environment, and like us they fought for what they believed to be right. If they were in error—and we would be the last to uphold the cause of chattel-slavery or any other form of slavery for that matter—they paid most terribly for their error in the destruction of their property, the laying waste of their homes and the general devastation that ensued during the reconstruction period. From the awful paralysis that followed the war the white population of many portions of the Gulf states has not been able as yet to recover sufficiently to incur the double expense of building and maintaining public-schools. Here thousands of children, eager boys and girls, thirsting for knowledge, longing to learn to read and write, are denied this absolutely essential safeguard of democracy through the force of adverse circumstances. Here are vast tracts of land where the children of old American families—the stock that can and will if given a chance give us noble, safe, high-minded leaders, councillors and guides in political and social crises—are to-day crying for the opportunity to learn to read and write,—crying for that priceless boon which a democracy if it is to live must guarantee to all her children. And here is a noble-minded Southern woman intelligently consecrating her life to the work of supplying one hundred schools in the schoolless rural districts of two of the great Gulf states. The work is as practical as it is noble. It is a labor that must appeal to every parent and to all lovers of free institutions and of humanity.

We urge our readers to aid in this important work—become helpers in the erection of the enduring temple of progress, even if it be only by the contribution of a mite, the bringing, as it were, of a single brick to the builders.

Early in the nineties, as many of our readers will remember, after publishing the results of our extended investigations in the slums of Boston, we made a personal appeal to the readers of THE ARENA, asking for funds to aid in relieving the great distress. Between three and four thousand dollars were contributed in response to this appeal and was disbursed under the personal direction of Rev. Dr. Swaffield, of the Baptist Bethel Mission, and Rev. Mr. Deming, of the Bowdoin Square Baptist Mission. One banker in Illinois, who requested his name withheld, after reading our appeal sent his check for one thousand dollars. Others sent sums varying in amount down to ten cents; but the aggregate, as we have stated, was between three and four thousand dollars.

In that appeal we asked for money to be used as a palliative measure to relieve for an hour those in dire distress. Now we appeal to the noble-hearted readers of the ARENA family to help in a cause that is basic and fundamental—a work that will bring the most important kind of assistance to those most in need of help—a work that will exalt, enrich and ennoble life and at the same time aid in the preservation and exaltation of democracy. Can any reader refuse his mite in this noble cause?*

We seldom urge our readers to contribute to any special cause, but this work is of exceptional value and promise, and the need is very great. Moreover, we believe that those who are moved to make personal sacrifice for such a cause as this will receive a rich return in consciousness of the good done, and in the years to come the funds thus given will blossom into rich fruition in well-dowered brains and noble lives whose development was rendered possible through these little schools. Fathers and mothers whose children are enjoying the fine advantages of our splendid public-school system in the North, will you not one and all extend a helping hand to the unfortunate children of the Southland?

*Contributions may be sent to Dr. Agnes V. Kelley, Meadville, Pa.; or those readers desiring to do so can send direct to the Editor of THE ARENA, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass., where all contributions will be acknowledged and forwarded to Dr. Kelley.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

PROGRESS AND BENEFICENT RESULTS OF MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP.

What Municipal Car-Service Meant to Manchester and Her Citizens Last Year.

THE REPORTS of the past year of the Manchester, England, Street Railway were given to the public the last week in June. The following items from the report will prove of interest to thoughtful Americans as affording another illustration of the wisdom and practicality of municipal operation:

Passengers carried	126,900,874
Total revenue earned	$3,159,775
Increase of revenue over last year	100,000
Increase of expenses over last year	98,720
Net profit realized	505,000
Above profit disposed of as follows:	
Renewals and depreciation account	354,535
Contributions in aid of rates	230,000
Street improvements, interest, etc.	20,215

In addition $25,000 was given to the rates from the reserve fund.

Over seventy per cent. of the passengers carried paid a penny or two-cent fare only. It will be observed that $230,000 of the earnings last year were applied to the reduction of rates. This, with the $300,000 paid by the municipal gas-company, makes over half a million dollars applied by these two municipal monopolies to the relief of the burden of taxation; while, as noted above, seventy per cent. of the passengers on the street-cars paid but two-cent fares and the citizens enjoyed gas at fifty-five cents per thousand cubic feet instead of being taxed ninety cents to $1.25 per thousand feet, as is the case under the Dolans, the Ryans and other heads of the various corrupt and graft-breeding gas-companies of America.

Gas at 55 Cents Gives Manchester $300,000 a Year in Profits.

ONE OF the Boston *Herald's* staff contributors has been making a personal investigation of the results of municipal-ownership in the cities of Great Britain. In his report on municipal gas in Manchester, published in the *Herald* of July 11th, he makes the following admissions that must prove highly interesting and valuable to friends of municipal-ownership in America. Manchester furnishes her citizens with gas at fifty-five cents per thousand cubic feet within the city, and at sixty-one cents in the suburbs beyond the limits of the corporation. The price of gas used exclusively for power is forty-nine cents within the city and fifty-five cents beyond the municipal boundaries.

These prices, it will be noted, are about one-half the average price charged by the great illuminating corporations to our citizens. In most American cities a rate of one dollar per thousand cubic feet prevails. Thus a man in the New World who annually pays forty dollars for gas contributes eighteen dollars to the corruption funds and the private purses of the public-service corporation, more than the citizen of Manchester pays into the treasury of the municipal corporation. Yet this is but half the story of the benefits of municipal-ownership as found in Manchester.

Last year the public gas-corporation turned over $300,000 to the treasury of Manchester to reduce the rates and taxes. The year before the gas department also turned $300,000 into the city treasury, and three years ago the city received $350,000. Thus in three years the city government of Manchester has realized $950,000 on fifty-five-cent gas.

It is easy to understand why the gas corporations, every political boss, the newspapers and other special-pleaders who hold briefs for public-service corporations and those interested in the corrupt political machines in our city governments are so solicitous lest the American people shall exercise that degree of wisdom and common-sense that will lead them to imitate the splendid examples of the mother-country; for then the millions upon millions of dollars that are now diverted into a few scores of pockets and the vast sums used to debauch the people's misrepresentatives would go toward reducing the cost of gas and also the rates of taxes; while what is far more important to free institutions, the enormous wealth now being paid by public-service cor-

porations for the control of our cities, by debauching the people's servants, would be withdrawn, and the corrupt ring, invincible so long as the millions of the public-service companies are behind the bosses and machines, would be as Samson shorn of his locks before the aroused electorate. Take the public utilities out of the hands of the public-service corporations which have been the chief sources of the carnival of graft and corruption in city, state and nation, and give the people the democratic safeguards of the initiative, referendum and right of recall, and not only will the knell of the corrupt public-service rule be sounded, but the best instead of the worst element will be placed as custodians of the public weal, and the standard of public morals will be more quickly elevated than would be possible under any other proposed remedies.

The *Herald's* report in reference to Manchester is of special value by reason of the fact that that newspaper has always been hostile to the people enjoying their public utilities under municipal-ownership and operation, and the staff correspondent they have sent over is so clearly antagonistic to public-ownership that the reader finds it difficult to escape the conclusion that he holds a brief for the public-service corporations. Therefore, though he is compelled to give facts showing the enormously beneficial results of municipal-ownership, as above, for example, he is continually intimating that what English cities are doing we could not do because of politics and corruption; as if the fountain-head of corruption were not the public-service companies. And the constant intimation that the American people are too incompetent and corrupt to own and operate their public utilities, continually being urged by the interested friends of private-ownership, is an insult to every self-respecting American, and coming from the apologists for the arch-conspirators it is doubly odious as well as unwarranted by the facts. Cities that from the first have owned their water-plants and other utilities have rarely been disgraced by exposures of corruption save in those cases where the public-service companies have been able practically to gain control of the cities through the exaltation of their dishonest henchmen and tools to positions of bosses and manipulators of the dominating political machines. In such cases the city government soon falls into the hands of grafters, and so long as the corporations practically rule the city, corruption is necessarily fostered and the standard of civic morality is steadily lowered, as in New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere.

London Realizes $1,000,000 in Profits From Municipal Street-Railway Lines.

A CORRESPONDENT writes to know whether London has experimented in municipal operation of street-railways, and another inquirer desires to know if the attempt at municipal-operation of street-cars in London has not proved a disastrous failure.

In reply to the former query we would say that for eight years some of the London electric street-car lines have been under municipal operation, with results that are highly satisfactory to the citizens of London and are only regarded as "disastrous" by the greedy public-service philanthropists who desire to protect the municipality from the "burden" of municipal-ownership for the benefit of their own pocketbooks.

Doubtless our second correspondent has read some of the false statements published a few months since by those who sought to further the scheme of certain public-service magnates. These mendacious statements, which were industriously circulated by those who opposed municipal-ownership, called forth a statement from Chairman Baker of the Committee on Highways of the London County Council, not only completely refuting the falsehoods circulated, but proving how immensely the city has benefited by municipal control and operation. In this report Chairman Baker shows that during the past eight years, since the city has operated certain lines, a sum of almost $1,500,000 has been applied to the reduction of rates and taxes from surplus revenues, after providing for interest and sinking-fund charges.

Mr. Baker gives the following summary of the tramways account during the last eight years:

"Applied in reduction of rates, over.....	£293,000
"Amount paid for sinking-fund charges in reduction of debt (Northern system, which has been in Council's hands for eight years, £117,044; Southern system, which has been in Council's hands six years, £210,195, and general, £6,997)	335,236
"Amount paid for interest on capital.....	414,000
"Amount set aside as a reconstruction renewals reserve fund for Southern system.....	66,000

"Amount paid in rates and taxes on Southern system (six years)	90,000
"Amount paid in reduction of debt from proceeds of sale of horses, rolling stock, surplus property, etc	126,220

"During the four years between 1899 and 1903," says Mr. Baker, "the forty-eight miles of tramways north of the river, which are leased by the Council, earned as profit, after paying interest and sinking-fund charges, £153,700, while the twenty-four miles on the south side of the Thames worked by the Council provided, after paying corresponding charges, £72,000."

In this connection, Mr. Baker points out the following facts regarding the lines worked by the Council:

"Two hundred million passengers were carried at a fare of one cent.

"Workmen's cars were run at even cheaper fares, and the service has continued all night long.

"The Council conceded to its employés a six days' week, and a ten-hour day, etc., representing increased expenditure of over £30,000 a year."

Another Example of the Wisdom of Municipal-Ownership.

THE CITY of Jamestown, N. Y., for many years labored under the popular delusion that a private corporation could best conduct public business or operate natural monopolies. Hence, they let a private company own and operate the water-works of the city,—something which proved excellent for the company but unfortunate for the users of water. About two years ago the city bought the water-works for six hundred thousand dollars from the company. Since then, the water-rate has been reduced twenty-five per cent., and after paying fixed charges and making many improvements, the municipal plant is now accumulating a surplus.

RELIGIOUS PROGRESS.

A Twentieth-Century Church.

IF THE church is to be a great moral power, a mighty civilization-vitalizing center in society in the future, it must become more and more institutional in character. It must reach out its hand and touch all members of society in a practical and helpful manner, and it must purge itself of that element which in the days of the Great Nazarene called from his lips his most severe denunciation: "Those who devour widows' houses and for a pretence make long prayers"; those who builded sepulchres to the martyrs of human progress while striving to destroy the prophets of their own time; those who cried "Lord! Lord!" and gave out of their abundance to be seen of men, while plundering the people by means of indirection. All these classes are present in the church to-day. Moreover, many of them are striving in various ways to bribe the church into silence and they are finding willing voices in the pulpits and the press to uphold them and apologize for their morally criminal methods of business. The church can become no vital power in the community until she has been purged from this class. The conscious and unconscious hypocrites whose influence is serving to destroy the old-time line of demarcation between the religious man and the materialistic epicurean are more than any other influence lessening the power of the church for efficient work.

But it will not be enough for the church to repudiate that class which is dragging her down to the level of the low commercial ideals that dominate the market; she must become a militant force for justice, for freedom, for peace and for brotherhood. These things alone can restore her old-time power over the imagination of the people, and we are glad to note that there are many indications that the religious world is beginning to realize this fact. The tremendous protest on the part of the morally-awakened element of the church against the acceptance of tainted gold or hush-money from men whose wealth has been acquired largely by indirection, is one of the healthiest signs of the time. The growing spirit of fraternity, the tendency of not an inconsiderable number of representative ministers to take a brave stand for the toilers and to engage in an aggressive campaign for international peace, and a willingness to study the fundamental principles that underlie social and economic conditions which are pressing for solution to-day and upon the just solution of which the happiness and well-being of the

people so largely depend presage the advent of another moral renaissance. We believe that during the last year there has been a general realization on the part of an increasing number of clergymen of the fact that if Christianity is to continue to be a vital and helpful influence, it must return to the life, spirit and teachings of the Galilean for its inspiration and example; and this, we are inclined to believe, foreshadows a coming religious revolution. The twentieth-century church, if we read the signs of the times aright, must in a substantial way exemplify the life and spirit of Jesus. Like him, it must be ever about the Father's business and its edifices not merely open to services a few hours in the week.

Recently there has been dedicated in Chicago a new edifice which bears the name of the Abraham Lincoln Center and which is the home of an organization that we think has interpreted the new demand in a more compelling way than has heretofore been witnessed. The Abraham Lincoln Center is the home of the congregation which for almost a quarter of a century, under the able ministry of the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, one of the greatest of the liberal divines, has been striving to live the Golden Rule and to grow to more fully meet the demands of the age and the need of all life that can be reached and helped by its influence. The church is undenominational, but unlike many liberal congregations it is intensely alive, aflame, we may say, with the spirit of the Nazarene.

The new home is a six-story, fire-proof structure. It stands on Oakwood boulevard and Langley avenue. The building is plain in its exterior, which we think is peculiarly unfortunate, as we hold that churches, like the Greek temples of old, should be built with an eye to satisfying the esthetic taste and cultivating a love of the beautiful as well as ministering to the utilitarian side of life. With this exception, however, the building leaves little to be desired. It has been so constructed as to admirably meet the numerous and varied demands of the twentieth-century church. The basement is intended for boys' arts and crafts, for photography and amusements. The first floor contains the publication office, reading-rooms, circulating library, parlors and working-rooms. The second and third floors are given over to the auditorium and Sunday-school rooms. The fourth floor will be largely occupied by the library and social clubs. On the fifth floor, in addition to the pastor's apartments and the rooms for the resident workers, is a guest-chamber. The sixth floor has been set aside for the gymnasium and rooms for the social science classes.

The Center will be the headquarters of the World's Congress of Religions, which was organized at the Chicago World's Fair and has since, under the able presidency of the Rev. H. W. Thomas, been working for the union of all who love for the service of all the children of the Infinite. In speaking of this splendid new edifice, this typical twentieth-century church of the Carpenter, the distinguished pastor, Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, recently said:

"It is hoped that this building may become a center of life and love, towards which will gravitate the needs of head, heart and body, and from which will radiate all forces that will help redeem and elevate the individual and the community. It will be a common meeting-place for those who need and those who will give help—non-sectarian, non-partisan, non-racial—where the distinction between the classes and the masses will not appear."

DEMOCRACY IN OTHER LANDS.

Cuba's Progress Under Freedom.

AFTER the United States had assisted to liberate Cuba from Spanish despotism and misrule, the reactionary and corporate powers and a large section of the imperialistic party in our republic strenuously fought to prevent the island empire from enjoying the freedom that its people had so long and bravely struggled to achieve and which our government had guaranteed. Avarice, cupidity and low ethical ideals usurped the place of the fundamental principles that have been the chief crown and glory of the nation, while the insane cry for world-domination through forcible aggression became a shibboleth in the mouths of many of the unthinking as well as of the interested ones. Happily for the honor

of the republic and the welfare of Cuba, there was still enough of the old spirit in the land to compel the government to keep its faith. Statesmen of the old order, like Senators Hoar and Teller, bravely led the successful fight against the attempt to rob Cuba of the right of self-government, on the hypocritical pretext that the Cubans could not govern themselves.

The progress of the little island-republic has more than justified the faith of the friends of free government. When Spain relinquished her grip on the island, there were but 904 primary public-schools in Cuba. To-day there are 3,605, in which there are 120,000 children being instructed. This illustration of the spirit of free Cuba speaks volumes for her people and the promise of a prosperous future; for a nation that thus appreciates the importance of popular free education and that holds faithfully and steadfastly to the ideals of democracy, has leagued itself with progress and the dawn.

More than this: the political and industrial records of Cuba are equal to her educational advance. So striking have been her strides that they have attracted the attention of the Spanish papers. One of these journals, published in Madrid, recently commented as follows on the transformation wrought since the misrule of Spain had been overthrown:

"Yellow fever was a chronic reproach to our colonial administration. A few months of hygiene and sanitation during the American intervention did more for the island than the power of Spain had done in four centuries. In 1880, under colonial *régime*, there were in Habana 7,942 deaths, or 39.94 per thousand; 645 deaths were from yellow fever, 446 from smallpox. In 1901, under Yankee intervention, the mortality had been reduced to 5,720, or 22.09 per thousand. There were only 18 deaths from yellow fever and none from smallpox. These comparisons are far from flattering to our colonizing methods and to our public men. In order that Cuba might liken herself to the great modern nations in hygiene, instruction, governmental mechanism, industrial development, etc., she had to escape from our sway. Had she continued subject to Spain she would still be afflicted with the troubles from which she suffered before the revolution."

The same journal shows that the present budget of Cuba is now $23,370,000. This is but little more than the annual budget under Spanish rule, but in the old days, as the Spanish editor observes, $11,000,000 was spent for interest on the debt and $7,000,000 for support of the army. Thus under the old rule $18,000,000 was a dead weight, while now the bulk of the revenue is applied to meet what the people desire and need,—for schools, for wagon-roads, for railways and for other things essential to the moral, intellectual and material well-being of the people. $2,000,000 is now expended annually in building wagon-roads, while since the yoke was thrown off, Cuba has built over four hundred miles of railway.

The splendid record of the island republic in the dawning hours of her independence, after four hundred years of oppressive rule, is inspiring to all friends of democracy and believers in the fundamental doctrines of our Declaration of Independence.

AN IMPORTANT JUDICIAL RULING.

The New York Franchise Decision.

ON THE twenty-ninth of May the United States Supreme Court rendered a decision on the New York special franchise-tax, upholding the validity of the contested law, that is of far-reaching import. Since the passage of the law levying a tax on franchise corporations of the Empire State, the great corporations refused to pay the tax and fought the measure after the manner of the over-rich companies which seek to exploit the people while throwing on the masses the burden of taxation. As usual, they employed the shrewdest and most intellectually acute lawyers to try to invent reasons why the law was not constitutional, and as a result the case has been in the courts ever since President Roosevelt was governor of New York. At last it reached the supreme court of the nation, where Secretary Root brought all the cunning and sophistry of a lawyer trained to plead the cause of the corporations against the people, to bear to try to convince the supreme court that the will of the people as expressed in the law was a violation of the Constitution. In this in-

MRS. JAMES M. FERGUSON

Photo. by Moore, New Orleans

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BRIGHTON BRANCH.

stance, however, the supreme court refused to see the case through the spectacles of the corporation attorney and upheld the law.

The taxes that have accumulated in greater New York alone already amount to twenty-four million dollars, which, unless the would-be tax-dodgers and their lawyers can invent some new excuse for litigation, they will be compelled to turn into the treasury of the city, and from now on they will pay at least four million dollars a year to the city's treasury.

There is no sound reason why the corporations should seek to evade the tax. Indeed, there is excellent reason why, so long as they enjoy public franchises, they should pay a far greater rate into the public treasuries than the present law requires; but during recent years the over-rich individuals and the public-service companies have resorted to every known device, even to taking up a nominal residence in another state, in order to avoid paying their just proportion of the taxes, and thus a terrible burden has been placed on the masses of the wealth-creators. Moreover, this action has contributed largely toward destroying the ideal of moral integrity upon which the preservation of good government, high-minded citizenship and noble manhood depends.

CORRUPTION AND REACTION IN HIGH PLACES.

Bribery By Railway Passes.

ONE OF the significant illustrations of the change in public sentiment since the people began to awaken to the extent and influence of bribery by the railway and express companies, through passes and courtesies, is seen in the changed attitude of the press in the treatment accorded to Congressman Robert Baker when he refused all railroad passes and courtesies, and that which has greeted the recent refusal of Secretary Bonaparte to accept similar favors. When Mr. Baker refused the courtesies tendered him it had become the almost universal custom of the people's representatives and servants to accept this kind of bribe. Mr. Baker's high ideal of a statesman's duty led him to positively refuse all such favors, and for this he was ridiculed, sneered at and attacked by a large proportion of the daily press and treated as a freak by the shallow wags among the paragraphers. At that time and for some time subsequent, President Roosevelt was the beneficiary of the railways to the extent of tens of thousands of dollars for himself and his family, but we are glad to say that recently the president has come to see the impropriety of his accepting favors from the railways, and he has of late, we are informed, insisted on paying his fare. Mr. Bonaparte's stand, following the recent action of the president, is an admirable example which will materially aid the cause of political morality and is especially valuable at a time when the railways are dominating politics largely through the free-pass and courtesy bribes. It is stated that all the members of the cabinet, excepting Mr. Bonaparte, are the recipients of free passes.

It will be remembered that C. P. Huntington, as far back as 1876, pointed out the fact that the free pass was one of the railway's most effective weapons in controlling legislation, as in a letter to General Colton, written on March 4, 1876, Mr. Huntington said: "Scott is making a terrible effort to pass his bill, and he has many advantages, with his railways running out from Washington in almost every direction, on which he gives free passes to everyone that he thinks can help him ever so little."

From those days, now thirty years back, to the present, the railway companies have exerted a steadily increasing influence in state and national government, until it is practically impossible for the people to secure any redress from their wrongs and oppression through their lawmakers or law-enforcers. And this intolerable condition has in a large measure been rendered possible by the petty bribes through passes and courtesies extended to the public servants; though it is, of course, not impossible that the railways may have been secretly and systematically fortifying themselves as did the exploiters of the Equitable Assurance Company, when they silenced with princely fees and retainers political leaders of both parties. If this is true, it would serve to explain the pernicious activity of several United States Senators and Representatives in the battle for the railways against the people whose interests they have sworn to uphold. But be this as it may, the senators or representatives whose pockets are filled with rail-

way passes are not going to place the interests of the people above those of their patrons, unless they are alarmed at the general indignation and impatience of the electors. That the railways regard the giving of passes as pay for the people's servants to betray their constituents was clearly brought out by the Chicago *Record-Herald* on July 1st, in the following statement:

"One of the most prominent Eastern railroads has refused all requests for free transportation which have come from the Senators and Congressmen who were either in favor of the Esch-Townsend bill or were lukewarm in their advocacy of the railroad side of the legislation. It is also understood that other Eastern roads are taking similar action, and in consequence there is consternation in the ranks of the United States legislators. There is no mistaking the reason for the 'turning down' which the members of Congress are receiving. To every request that comes from legislators who have been placed on the black-list a stereotyped letter is sent by the president of the road. This letter says that for years that particular railroad has submitted without a murmur to the petty system of blackmail levied upon it by legislators who had no claim to free rides. This was done on the theory that when the time came the railroads would have friends who would at least give the railroad side of legislation a careful and fair study. On the contrary, it is said, when the opportunity presented itself the legislator in question broke his neck getting on record as being in favor of the Esch-Townsend bill. The president's letter then declares that so long as favors do not seem to bring even a fair consideration of the railroad's rights he has decided that favors shall cease, and that if the person in question wants to ride over the road in question he had better buy a ticket."

Either the people must take over the public utilities or they must abandon the government to the corruptors of the public servants and the oppressors of the wealth-producing and consuming masses. It is idle to hope for any really efficient legislation so long as the legislative halls are packed with men who by the acceptance of passes, courtesies or larger bribes are retained by the railways to betray the people. It is idle to expect the present carnival of political corruption and debauchery to be abated so long as the tools of corporate interests are elevated to the most responsible positions through the united efforts of corporate wealth, political bosses and partisan machines. Now these evils are beginning to be recognized as never before, and with this recognition we believe a popular uprising will be inevitable.

The Conviction of Senator Mitchell.

THE RECENT conviction of United States Senator Mitchell of Oregon, for complicity in land-frauds, on evidence which according to the leading Republican organ of his state, the Portland *Oregonian*, is based "on incontestable proof," is another hopeful sign which indicates that we are entering a period of moral awakening wherein the people will drive the thieves and betrayers of the nation and its citizens from the temple of government and the mastership in the vital centers of business life. Senator Mitchell's conviction, following that of Senator Burton of Kansas, makes an auspicious beginning in the new attempt to clean the senatorial Augean stables; and while we think there is doubtless much truth in the claim of Senator Mitchell's apologists, that he is far less a moral criminal than numbers of other members of the Senate, we do not consider that that is a valid reason why justice should not be meted out to him as swiftly and certainly as to a poor man. It is the duty of every true citizen to insist that whenever and wherever the false servants of the people are caught red-handed in the commission of crimes against the state or society, they be punished with swiftness and severity. The fact that, to use the language of the New York *Evening Post*, "he (Mitchell) merely did what dozens of other senators and congressmen are doing all the time," in no wise makes his crime the less heinous. And had it not been that the highly respectable rich and influential lawbreakers have long felt secure, believing that their wealth and position, or that rich and powerful corporations in whose employ many of them have long waxed fat, would shield and protect them from the punishment that would surely overtake a poor man without such influence, such a reign of graft and corruption as now disgraces city, state and nation would have been impossible.

The hope of the republic lies in the hunting down and adequate punishment of every criminal with the unerring and inescapable justice of the British courts. We believe we are in the gray dawn of a moral renaissance. All that is needed is that every man who has the

interests, the integrity and the honor of the nation at heart shall unite in a relentless and ceaseless warfare against all grafters and exploiters of the people, all "high financiers" and all the official Judases and Arnolds that, actuated by lust for gain or greed for power, have subordinated the interests of the nation to selfish motives and have violated the criminal statutes. The hour has struck for every true man to become a voice and a strong arm for justice and civic righteousness in the warfare for the redemption of the republic from the grip of the spoilers.

How Government by The Corporations Prevented The Citizens of Connecticut from Enjoying Independent Telephone Service.

THE FOLLOWING dispatch from Hartford to the Boston *Herald* affords one more of the many instances that disgrace the legislative records of almost every commonwealth, revealing how the rights and interests of the people are systematically betrayed by recreant legislators since the rule of the corporations through the reign of graft and corruption has been inaugurated:

"Hartford, Ct., July 6, 1905.—By a vote of 105 to 99, the bill to admit independent telephone companies to do business in this state was rejected in the House to-day. This is regarded as a victory for the Southern New England Telephone Company, as the bill would have allowed seven or more persons to have formed a telephone company, and various independent interests were supposed to be behind the measure."

The independent telephone companies have proved a great boon to the rural peoples through the West and in various other sections of the nation. There is no valid reason why the people should not enjoy the benefit and convenience of this invention without having to pay extortionate tariffs to corporations rich and immoral enough to be able to prevent the people from enjoying their rights, by infamously tampering with the people's representatives. One thing is clearly needed, and that is the formation of committees of public safety and welfare who will keep tally on every legislator and record and make public in each community the names of all representatives who as tools of corrupt corporations betray the people they are supposed to represent.

The Moral Contagion in The Arkansas Legislature.

A NUMBER of Arkansas legislators, including the president of the senate, have been indicted for receiving or offering bribes, for conspiracy or perjury. It is stated that at the recent legislature one hundred thousand dollars was corruptly used in the state senate alone, and almost this amount was used in the house. Prosecuting Attorney Lewis Rhoton conducted the investigation and is carrying forward the prosecution. In this case all the indicted lawmakers as well as the prosecuting attorney and the grand jury that indicted them are Democrats. Wherever one party is long in power, political machines and public-service corporations secure venal misrepresentatives in public office and a reign of corruption ensues. In St. Louis and in Missouri the majority of criminals as well as the prosecutor who brought them to justice were Democrats. In Arkansas the same is true, while in Pennsylvania and Philadelphia the corruptors are Republicans who owe their position to the corrupt Republican machine and the public-service corporations; and here we find the most powerful exposer or unmasker of the iniquity to be a life-long Republican—Rudolph Blankenburg, while the present Mayor of Philadelphia who is doing such valiant service for civic purity is also a Republican.

THE RAILROAD CORPORATIONS' CAMPAIGN OF EDUCATION.

THE NEW YORK *World* for June 2d makes the following comments in an editorial on the elaborate educational programme of the over-rich and criminal railroad corporations by which these companies, which have proved themselves to be the greatest commercial anarchists of our time, propose to expend a little of their ill-gotten wealth to educate the people to longer tolerate their reign of extortion, discrimination and lawlessness:

"Alarmed at the agitation in favor of government control of rates, the railroad interests of the country have planned to establish two bureaux from which they will conduct a national campaign of education.

"Campaigns of education are always to be encouraged, but the distribution of statistics is not the best way to overwhelm the movement in favor of government rate-making. Instead of establishing bureaux, suppose the railroads were to agree not to violate the Interstate Commerce law, not to give rebates, not to tolerate discriminations, to make their rates reasonable on the basis of the actual investment, to remedy the abuses of private terminals and private car-lines—in short, to give all shippers and all sections fair treatment. . . . About all the railroads need do is to get out of politics, stop bribing legislatures, stop trying to send corporation lawyers to the United States Senate and stop trying to put railway attorneys on the bench. The agitation in favor of government ownership of railroads would cease at once."

The above comments are of especial value coming as they do from a great metropolitan paper that for some time—certainly since the Hearst papers declared for public-ownership—has been the bitter enemy of public-ownership. Its black beast is socialism and it is accustomed to frown upon everything that looks toward the whole people taking over and enjoying the benefits of those great monopolies that by right belong to the community and without the public control of which the people are placed at the mercy of cunning and greed. Though the *World* has been the outspoken enemy of the people enjoying the benefits accruing from the enormously valuable public franchises, it is only fair to state in passing that it has been none the less the outspoken foe of the corruption and extortion of the privileged few. Its *exposé* of the Cleveland bond-deal and the prompt action taken by its proprietor prevented the carrying out of the second attempt to enrich Morgan and Belmont to the extent of several millions at the expense of the United States treasury under the Cleveland régime. Its recent *exposé* of the corruption of the Equitable Assurance Company was so circumstantial and convincing in character that it made all attempts to smother the scandal in its early stages impossible. Indeed, we think it is safe to say that it was the New York *World* more than any other single agency that made the Frick report inevitable. And these are but two examples of scores of instances wherein the *World* has performed great public service through its exposure of corruption among the pillars of society and those who seem to imagine themselves to be superior to law.

The implied warning of the *World* in the above editorial should serve to put the American people on their guard. The two railroad bureaux of education will be in fact lobbies for the furtherance of the railways' plan for the continued enslavement of the people. All that their ill-gotten millions can do will be done to deceive and mislead the people, and we may now expect that that portion of the American press that is ever ready to be "convinced," to use the significant phrase of the late C. P. Huntington, will lend its editorial and news-columns to this railroad educational bureau in its effort to flood the country with the special-pleadings of those who have corrupted the people's servants, defied the law and oppressed both producers and consumers. We believe, however, that the American people are too thoroughly alive to the facts in the case to be misled by sophistry, misrepresentation, fake editorials and pretended newsletters and items. The promoters of private-ownership of public utilities in England a few years ago tried through certain journals, notably the London *Times*, to check the rising current in favor of municipal-ownership through a campaign of misrepresentation. This, however, only resulted in an increased educational agitation and in a rapid growth of public sentiment in favor of public-ownership. So, we believe, it will be in this country. We doubt if the people can longer be deceived by the falsehoods, sophistry and ingenious juggling with figures by the keenest of hired special-pleaders. The revelations of the criminality of the railways, their systematic violation of civil and criminal statutes, their cruel discrimination in favor of trusts and monopolies, their crushing of competition, their oppressive freight-rates, their secret rebates and discriminations, and their conspiracies with such notable criminal corporations as the Armour Refrigerator-Car Company have been so glaring, and the disclosures have been so authentic in character that we believe that as soon as the newspapers begin their old tricks of apologizing for and pleading the cause of these arch-enemies of free government, the people will readily recognize the cloven foot, will quickly understand that they are in the presence of purchased agents of confessed law-breakers and exploiters of the people. The exposures of the methods of the public-service corporations which appeared in our editorial department in July should further serve to put the public on its guard against this enormously rich bureau of education for the further enrichment of the railway interests at the expense of the people.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AT THE DAWN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.*

A Book-Study.

THIS WORK by James H. Hyslop, formerly professor of ethics and logic in Columbia University, is the most important critical book relating to psychical research that has appeared during the present year. It cannot, of course, compare with the monumental contribution of the late F. W. H. Myers of Cambridge, England, entitled *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*, for that work is encyclopedic in character, embracing the results of eighteen years of tireless investigation on the part of Mr. Myers and his illustrious *confréres* of the English Society for Psychical Research. The work by the great English scholar, however, is beyond the reach of many, owing to its price—twelve dollars net; while absorbing and alluring as the subject becomes under Mr. Myers' fascinating treatment, only those deeply interested in psychic science can be expected to peruse its more than twelve hundred pages. Professor Hyslop's treatise, though somewhat different in character, is intended for the general reading public who whether deeply interested in the subject or not desire to possess a general knowledge of the work that has been carried on under the rigid rules of modern scientific investigation by one of the most eminent bodies of scientists in the world.

Psychology, as we have before observed, has made less satisfactory advance than most other branches of scientific research since the dawn of our wonderful new age. It is still the dark continent in the wonder-world of modern science. Only the outer fringes of its coast line have been imperfectly explored; yet thanks to the painstaking labor of the members of the Society for Psychical Research and of certain independent critical investigators, comparatively great strides have been taken in recent years, while, what is still more important in the initial stages of such an investigation, a vast amount of phenomena has been examined, sifted and classified. This kind of preliminary work is as necessary to sound scientific advance as it is prosaic in character and wanting in the spectacular elements that attract superficial minds. But as years pass the results of this work will become more and more appreciated by the thinking world. Nothing, in our judgment, can so effectively meet the rising tide of materialism that is so markedly present in church and society in general, due in part to the widespread skepticism born of the scientific temper of the age and reinforced by the artificiality, the feverish haste and the superficiality of the present, as the slowly accumulating facts relating to psychic science that are of evidential value to the most critical among candid investigators and that cannot be explained by the hypotheses of fraud, illusion or telepathy. We are living in an age dominated by the commercial and materialistic spirit, fatal at once to introspection, meditation or the calm that fosters the philosophic attitude of mind and to that idealism that lifts men on the wings of a lofty faith and makes the spiritual verities or ethics the dominating or overmastering influence of life.

Few people not conversant with the subject have any idea of the extent or scope of the work that has been carried forward during the past two decades by the Society for Psychical Research or the character of those engaged in this work. A short time before his death Mr. Gladstone, in a conversation with Mr. F. W. H. Myers, said of the work being accomplished by the Society for Psychical Research: "It is the most important work being done in the world to-day—by far the most important."

While shallow, ignorant and superficial minds sneer at this work, many of the foremost of the world's living scientists and thinkers are actively engaged in prosecuting the investigations of this society. Take, for example, the presidents, vice-presidents and general council of the society for the present year. Any one at all conversant with the scientific and educational world of critical thinkers will recognize in the following list a large number of the very flower of our present-day authoritative thinkers:

President, Professor Charles Richet. *Vice-Presidents*, Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P., F. R.S.; Professor W. F. Barrett, F.R.S.; Sir William Crookes, F.R.S.; Professor J. H.

* *Science and a Future Life.* By James H. Hyslop, Ph. D., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 372. Price, $1.50 net. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Company.

Hyslop, Ph.D.; Professor W. James, Harvard, U. S. A.; Professor S. P. Langley, Washington, U. S. A.; Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., D. Sc.; Lord Rayleigh, F.R.S.; The Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Ripon. *Council*, W. W. Baggally; The Rt. Hon. G. W. Balfour, M.P.; Professor W. F. Barrett, F.R.S.; Ernest N. Bennett; J. Milne Bramwell, M.B.; The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, K.T., F.R.S.; G. Lowes Dickinson; Hon. Everard Feilding; The Rev. A. T. Fryer; F. N. Hales; Richard Hodgson, LL.D.; Sir Lawrence J. Jones, Bart.; Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S.; W. M'Dougall, M.Sc., M.B.; J. G. Piddington; St. George Lane Fox Pitt; Frank Podmore; Lord Rayleigh, F.R.S.; F. C. S. Schiller; Sydney C. Scott; A. F. Shand; Mrs. H. Sidgwick, Litt.D.; H. Arthur Smith; Lieut.-Col. G. L. LeM. Taylor; Professor J. J. Thomson, F.R.S.; Charles Lloyd Tuckey, M.D.; Mrs. A. W. Verrall.

Among the list of distinguished corresponding members are the following names:

Professor H. Beaunis, Villa Printemps, Le Cannet (Alpes-Maritimes) France; Professor Bernheim, Hôpital Civil, Nancy, France; Professor H. P. Bowditch, M.D., Harvard Medical School, Boston, U. S. A.; Professor Nicholas Murray Butler, Columbia University, New York, U. S. A.; Professor Th. Flournoy, The University, Geneva; Professor Stanley Hall, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, U. S. A.; Professor C. Lombroso, Turin, Italy; Dr. Romaine Newbold, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U. S. A.; Professor E. C. Pickering, The Observatory, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U. S. A.; Professor Th. Ribot, Office of the *Revue Philosophique*, Paris; Professor N. Wagner, Imperial University, St. Petersburg; Dr. Otto G. Wetterstrand, Stockholm.

Professor Hyslop's book is unique in some respects. It is the work of a man who for many years was an agnostic with a strong bias toward materialism—a man who had come so completely under the influence of modern materialistic scientific theories that not only were the claims of religion that demanded faith without demonstrable proof valueless to him, but he was rather impatient with those who claimed the possible existence of evidence that pointed toward a probable life beyond the crisis of death. His personal investigations were long and rigidly scientific in character. Step by step he was led to accept the different claims made by those advanced psychologists who have investigated enough to know that there is far more to be learned in the psychic realm than the old-time psychologists had recognized. Telepathy was at length frankly accepted, and the theory of the subliminal self next gained credence. But at length the investigators came to groups of facts that were clearly not due to legerdemain or any kind of fraud and which could not be explained by telepathy or the over-worked hypothesis of the subliminal self, without stretching those hypotheses to absurd lengths. The presence of these well-attested facts has compelled a large number of former skeptics, including the late Mr. Myers, Professor Hyslop, Dr. Hodgson and Sir Oliver Lodge, to accept as warranted by evidence the fact that the discarnate spirit may communicate with the embodied.

This work is the product of a brain trained in the school of modern materialism, of a rigid logician and scientist who approached the subject with all preconceived bias against rather than in favor of the claims of those who believed that human personality survived death. Moreover, it is the work of a well-known scholar who as teacher of ethics and logic earned an honorable place among our leading educators; and therefore it is a volume that merits the earnest consideration of the more thoughtful of our people.

Science and a Future Life is divided into thirteen chapters, in which the following subjects are discussed: "Origin of Psychic Research," "General Problems and Results," "The Problem of a Future Life," "History of the Piper Case," "Incidents from the English Report," "Dr. Hodgson's First Report," "Dr. Hodgson's Second Report," "Personal Experiments and Results," "The Telepathic Hypothesis," "The Spiritistic Hypothesis," "Difficulties and Objections," "Conditions Affecting the 'Communications,'" and "Ethical Meaning and Results."

The chapter on "The Problem of a Future Life" is one of the strongest and most thought-compelling arguments on the subject that has been written in recent years. It is by no means a special plea. On the contrary, seldom if ever have the objections to the theory of a future life as advanced by leading materialists been so succinctly or forcibly stated in the same space as in this discussion. With all the power of one who has once held the ma-

terialistic theory to be impregnable and with the force of a true logician, he states the case and presents the arguments of the materialists. This chapter should be read by all clergymen, as it would reveal to them one of the reasons why so many thousands of thoughtful people to-day, even though nominally members of the church on the theory that it is well to be on the safe side, nevertheless live and act as no sane people would live and act if they had an overmastering faith in the actuality of another life.

The chapters relating to the work of the English Society for Psychical Research and the history of the Piper case are extremely interesting, yet hardly so thought-arresting, perhaps, as Professor Hyslop's story of his own investigations; for here the personality of the author adds something to the interest owing to the confidence he has inspired in his readers both as to the sincerity of the man and his competence to judge evidence and weigh conclusions. The chapters on "The Telepathic Hypothesis," "Difficulties and Objections," and "Conditions Affecting the 'Communications'" are particularly thought-stimulating and rich in suggestions; while the concluding chapter, devoted to the "Ethical Meaning and Results" is the most profoundly thoughtful discussion of this subject we have perused. This chapter alone is worth many times the price of the book to any earnest, thoughtful man, and we heartily wish every clergyman in America could be induced to read it. In it our author in a lucid and masterful manner shows how when philosophical skepticism obtained mastery in Greece, the old-time belief in the gods was destroyed and the Greek mind turned with passionate love to the worship of art, but morals declined and aristocratic and imperialistic concepts replaced the old idealism.

"When Christianity came it was a revolt against both the philosophy and the politics of Greece. Its philosophy was theistic and its politics were democratic. It asserted the created nature of the material world and placed an infinite spirit behind the phenomenal world, and in man it placed a finite spirit which survived death, and associated this belief with a morality that involved the brotherhood of man. But in this revolt, like all reactions, Christianity laid such stress upon a future life and upon an ascetic morality for the present existence that its whole history has been infected with an unnatural disease. It even forgot the brotherhood of man with which it started and concentrated all its interests in the life beyond the grave, and subordinated all its social, moral, ecclesiastical and political machinery to the end of personal salvation in another world. . . . The selfish instincts of ancient individual life became an absorbing and passionate personal interest in individual salvation; and the social life of the community, whose regeneration it started to effect by the moral reformation of the individual, was abandoned for personal happiness beyond the grave. To purchase this the earthly life had to be made ascetic and external social duties were the price of this trans-mortal salvation. The outcome of this movement was the social, political and moral orgies of the middle ages when every principle of Christianity was sacrificed to persecution, bad government, hypocrisy, superstition, barbarism, and such debaucheries as a low economic development would permit. Among the lower strata of society the original conceptions prevailed sufficiently to preserve the social system; but for this the anarchy of Greco-Roman civilization at its end would have repeated history. But it maintained itself in poverty, ignorance and superstition, while the intellectuals played the game of tyranny and hypocrisy.

"The Renaissance put an end to this. It released from bondage the three most potent forces in modern civilization, political liberty, industrial development, and scientific method. They only slowly followed the reformation, but their efficiency was sure and irresistible. They revived culture after ancient models while they preserved some of the humanitarian enthusiasm which had been the teaching but not the practice of so many centuries. The consequence has been the application of morals to the improvement of the present life. The movement was accompanied by the growth of skepticism and materialism, which have permeated all the strata of cultivated and intellectual society."

We to-day have reached a period when the people have so far come under the influence of the skepticism and materialistic concepts of the age that while millions hold perfunctorily to the tenets of creeds and dogmas and contribute liberally to the exchequer of the church, it has lost its old-time hold upon the imagination to such a degree that the life of

the masses is no longer dominated by the moral ideals of duty and service which are the supreme excellencies of Christian ethics. Professor Hyslop, in pointing out why the present age demands positive evidence of a future life in order to exalt the ideals of the nation, shows most clearly the power and glory of Primitive Christianity when it aroused the antagonism of ancient Roman civilization:

"Morality to be effective must have some certainties in the casual series of events or it will be largely inoperative. Hence if we are to use a future life as a motive power in conduct at all we must assure ourselves that it is a fact and that it represents some degree of progress as the result of effort in the present life.

"In spite of all the evils that have been associated with the abuses of Christian thought the belief in immortality has had an important influence and it is worth remarking. In a discussion elsewhere of ancient political institutions and their sacrifice of the individual, I said: 'Christianity created a revolution in this respect. It was a direct assault upon ancient morality and an indirect assault upon its politics. This was effected by changing the content and the direction, but not the point-of-view of the individualism that regulated ancient private life. I have said that ancient morality was confined to civic ends. But private conduct was under the dominion of personal interest, and this was materialistic, being sensuous satisfaction and wealth based upon slavery. Christian civilization was spiritualistic and its individualism was not only concentrated upon immaterial ideas, but also required the sacrifice of the present to the future and the subordination of self to the welfare of others. This change in content and direction of conduct was accomplished by its doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Usually this belief is assumed to represent a purely religious conception with no political importance whatever. But it was in fact the profoundest political force in history, and with its associated social and moral conceptions was both a revolutionizing and a regenerating influence for higher civilization. The more we examine into the nature of this doctrine, the motives to which it appealed, the moral equality which it proclaimed even between master and slave, the promises and hopes which it held out to the poor, its contempt for riches and abandonment of ancient political ideals and ends, the more we must recognize the natural antagonism which it aroused in pagan Rome with the prevailing devotion to the secular and military ideal. Patriotism and the virtues of soldiers and citizens directed only toward material happiness and national glory were not likely to characterize men whose aspirations were occupied with a spiritual world beyond the grave. Hence antiquity showed a perfectly natural and logical instinct when it endeavored by all the means in its power to crush the new society; for its conception of the brotherhood of man, of human rights, its indifference to politics, and the firmness and austerity of its conscience were moral forces that sounded the death-knell of a civilization which was based upon mere power.

"'The revolutionary influence which was exerted by the doctrine of immortality was caused by the *value which it put upon the individual.* In Greek thought all moral values were placed in abstract institutions. The only approach to spiritual ideals that Greco-Roman civilization produced was found in the welfare of the state and the sacrifice of individual life and conduct to it. But Christianity put this value in the concrete individual for whom institutions existed, and not he for institutions. . . . Hence it is no wonder that Christianity was so violently attacked by Paganism. This inversion of the ancient political ideal, the substitution of the spiritual kingdom of God for the material splendor of civic grandeur, and the installation of the rights of the individual against the absolute rights of the sovereign were revolutionary forces of incomparable magnitude, and made modern democracy inevitable. Imperialism and military ideals were impossible where citizens sought peace on earth, good-will toward men, and supernal bliss in a transcendental world after death.'"

Our author holds that not only has the belief in immortality proved a powerful factor in advancing and maintaining ethical ideals, but is essential to the triumph of democracy.

"The ideals of democracy will live or die with the belief in immortality. Christianity boasted of its freight of hope to the poor and of its placing men on an equality before the world. It taught us that man shall not live by bread alone, and that riches were not the pathway into the kingdom of God. . . . Wealth brings what is called refinement and culture based upon the exploitation of the un-

favored classes; but the milk of human kindness is not so warm and healthy as in the spontaneous helpfulness of the poor. It makes a virtue of charity, but this is quite as often a sop thrown to Cerberus to prevent him from swallowing us as it is a wise philanthropy. It is all very well for the rich and cultured to tell us we should have no personal interest in a future life and thus appear to be very disinterested in their views of life, when the fact is that this is only a subterfuge to escape the duty to share with labor and suffering the fruits of a selfish exploitation of them."

Professor Hyslop also discusses after the manner of a logician who is dominated by ethical ideals the two concepts of life: the one which conceives the present existence to be all of man's being, and that larger theory of the world that comprehends the present existence as a link in an endless chain or as a stage in an age-long growth. This whole chapter is a masterly treatise; clear, concise, yet lucid, fascinating and convincing; a discussion which no man or woman who thinks should fail to read.

Science and a Future Life is one of the few books of the year that broad-visioned, thinking men should place upon their library shelves.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

American Navigation. By William W. Bates. Cloth. Pp. 466. Price, $3.00 net. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

THIS work, which deals with the political history of the rise and ruin of American navigation and the proper means for its encouragement, is one of the most exhaustive and authoritative histories of this highly important subject that has been written. The author is an ex-United States Commissioner of Navigation and the author of *The American Marine* and other important works on American shipping. He was for some time the editor of *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Journal.*

The work, which is a large volume containing twenty-two chapters, has special interest at the present time when under the cry of "American shipping for American commerce," certain over-rich men among our high financiers are seeking to further tax the American people by securing subsidies that will add enormously to the wealth and power of plutocracy, which has already become the greatest menace to the republic through its corrupting influence exerted for the securing of unfair advantages or special privileges by which the millions have been placed at the mercy of the few. Mr. Bates shows how our navigation was built up by wise and sane laws and how through the removal of the early fostering legislation it was destroyed. Not in subsidies, which are merely an attempt of the few to rob through taxation all the taxpayers, but in a return to the early legal aid lies, according to our author, the hope of a great American commercial marine.

This work is one that should appeal to all true statesmen, though it will doubtless meet with scant favor with the political grafters who are seeking through legislation to further deplete the pockets of all the people, that another vast and oppressive trust may be enabled to further corrupt government and enslave the masses. The author is probably the ablest living authority on this subject, and we cordially recommend the work to all thoughtful people. It is exhaustive in character, but is written in a clear and pleasing style and is fully indexed and admirably arranged, so as to assist busy students in quickly finding any special subject.

Briefs on Public Questions. By R. C. Ringwalt, A.B., LL.B. Cloth. Pp. 230. Price, $1.20 net. New York: Longmans, Green & Company.

IN THIS extremely valuable volume the author presents briefs for and against the following subjects: "Naturalization," "Woman Suffrage," "Negro Suffrage," "An Educational Qualification for Suffrage," "The Restriction of Immigration," "Chinese Immigration," "Direct Legislation," "Proportional Representation," "The Popular Election of Senators," "The Retention of the Philippines," "The Monroe Doctrine," "Protection and

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

Free Trade," "Commercial Reciprocity," "Reciprocity with Canada," "Shipping Subsidies," "Trusts," "An Asset Currency," "Postal Savings Banks," "Government Ownership of Railways," "A Postal Telegraph," "Municipal Transportation," "A Federal Divorce Law," "The Single Tax," "Compulsory Industrial Arbitration," and "Government by Injunction."

Each brief is preceded by a short statement showing the essential facts involved in the question and why it is important. Next follows a brief but admirable bibliography of the works in favor of and opposed to the question under consideration, after which the briefs are given which contain the important arguments that have been advanced for and against the subject under consideration. Great judgment and fairness have been displayed by the author, who has been able to sink personal considerations to a marked degree in his effort to impartially present a brief outline of the principal arguments on each subject discussed. To young men and women in schools, colleges and universities such a work will be invaluable, and it is a book that merits wide general circulation because of the importance and timeliness of the subject-matter presented, the ability and discrimination displayed in its preparation and the extremely valuable bibliographies. Friends of THE ARENA will be pleased to see that this magazine is one of the most frequently cited authorities on the progressive and democratic sides of most of the topics treated, notably such subjects as Direct-Legislation, Proportional Representation, the Single-Tax, the trusts, postal telegraph, governmental ownership of railways, government by injunction and compulsory industrial arbitration.

The Outlook Beautiful. By Lilian Whiting. Cloth. Pp. 182. Price, $1.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THE PRESENT work by the well-known and popular author of the "World Beautiful" books deals with the mystery of death and the relation between the life of to-day and that of the coming day when each shall have passed beyond the vale of death. The volume is inscribed to Archdeacon Wilberforce by the author, who, though a member of the Episcopal Church, is also a strong believer in the central claims of modern spiritualism. Miss Whiting is one of the broadest-visioned and most truly catholic authors among orthodox thinkers with whose writings we are acquainted. She has studied the literature of liberalism, of spiritualism, and the philosophy of the East almost as painstakingly as she has considered the writings of the great churchmen, and in each system of faith or philosophy she has found much that is good, inspiring and uplifting, and this wheat of truth she has freely garnered, refusing to reject that which is high, fine and instinct with potential help because it comes from schools of faith and thought with which she is far from being in full accord. This wise and judicious eclecticism makes all her writings peculiarly rich in vital truth that is especially needed to-day, when the most thoughtful men and women are turning from the husks of creeds, dogmas and profitless theological formulæ and are seeking the living waters that rejuvenate the moral nature and transform the life of man.

The present volume is divided into seven chapters, in which the following subjects are discussed in the happy and suggestive manner peculiar to all Miss Whiting's work: "The Delusion of Death," "Realizing the Ideal," "Friendship as a Divine Relation," "The Ethereal World," "The Supreme Purpose of Jesus," "An Inward Stillness," and "The Miracle Moment May Dawn on Any Hour."

In this work Miss Whiting appears to have reached depths and heights not attained in her earlier works, and though perhaps not so popular in style and presentation as her other books, it is unusually rich in helpful thought for those who enjoy transcendental and broadly religious discussions.

Moral Education. By Edward Howard Griggs. Cloth. Pp. 352. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

THIS volume should be carefully read by every parent and teacher in the land. It is a work at once eminently practical and yet nobly idealistic. Professor Griggs here treats one of the most vital subjects that confronts civilization, from the high plane of the spiritually enlightened thinker. He has considered his subject deeply and treats it as only a man of rare insight, a true philosopher and a practical teacher could present a theme. We have far too few practical idealists, too few men and women who are dominated by the higher concepts and yet who are sanely practical in ideas and methods. Professor Griggs belongs to

this select coterie. The volume contains twenty-five chapters in which are discussed "The Child World," "The Unity of Human Life," "The Uniqueness of Each Personality," "The Growth-Process of Human Life," "The Two Principles of Moral Evolution," "The Relations of Moral Culture to Other Aspects of Education," "The Type of Character Moral Education Should Foster," "Types of Activity," "Moral Education Through Play," "Moral Education Through Work," "The Moral Influence of Environment: Art and Nature," "Moral Influence of the Social Atmosphere," "Principles of Government in Home and School," "The Progressive Application of Democracy in Home and School Government," "The Nature and Function of Corrective Discipline," "The Administration of Corrective Discipline," "Personal Influence of Parent and Teacher in the Government of Children," "Moral Teaching by Example," "Direct Ethical Instruction," "Ethical Instruction Through Other Subjects: History," "The Ethical Value of Mythology and Folk-Lore," "The Value of Literature for Ethical Instruction and Inspiration," "The Practical Use of History and Literature for Ethical Instruction," "Instruction in the Intimate Problems of Human Life," and "The Relation of Moral to Religious Education."

This is a book that all readers of THE ARENA should possess for their libraries.

The Breath of the Gods. By Sidney McCall. Cloth. Pp. 431. Price, $1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

WHETHER considered as a romance or simply as literature, *The Breath of the Gods* is one of the most important novels of recent years by an American. When *Truth Dexter* appeared it was received with pleasure by lovers of pure, sane, wholesome novels, who were surfeited by the flood of swashbuckling and sanguinary so-called historical novels that were crowding the market. The heroine of that novel was one of the finest and most lovable modern heroines of fiction and we imagine that many of the author's admirers have waited somewhat impatiently for another romance from his gifted pen. Yet the novelist has shown commendable wisdom in taking three or four years to create another work, and the result richly justifies the time expended.

The Breath of the Gods is one of the most artistic novels of the year, and yet this and its compelling influence over the mind are minor excellences compared with the keen insight, the strength and power with which the author has seized upon and contrasted the fundamental differences between Oriental and Occidental civilization as represented by the political and social life of Washington and the life of the awakened Japanese. In this story, it seems to us, the author has struck the keynote of Japan's power. He has revealed the secret of her wonderful series of victories over the might of Russia, and in like manner he has hinted at the essential weakness of Occidental civilization. Japan is dominated by idealism. A compelling faith is hers. The children of Nippon are ready to place life without a murmur upon the altar of duty. They see life in a larger way than do we. To them there are things far greater than the little span of three score years allotted to the infinitesimal units who to-day make up the inhabitants of the globe.

Now whenever idealism, whether it centers itself in a noble religious ideal, or a lofty concept of life, or a passionate love of the fatherland or the home, or in some other noble concept that dominates life and subordinates selfish concern for one's own existence, men and nations become invincible. It was this idealism, burning as a living fire in the brain of the forlorn hope of Greece at Marathon that made the relatively small force invincible before the might and power of Persia, and it was this spirit also that won the great marine victory at Salamis. It is the presence of idealism, burning with consuming heat and dazzling light in the heart of the Japanese, that has made the arms of the Mikado on sea and land equally victorious.

With us idealism is on the wane, and in proportion as it has waned have we exalted the golden calf. In proportion as we have ceased to be moral leaders of the world have we clamored for a great navy and an increased armament. In proportion as we have let go of the great fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence have we sought to centralize power and to imitate the effete and reactionary governments of the Old World. In proportion as religion has lost its hold on the heart of man and ethics on the brain of our youth have we reared costly cathedrals and mighty educational edifices, but all the while materialistic commercialism has been steadily becoming more and more the controlling passion in business life, while its deadly in-

fluence has extended to the church, the college and the home. All this time the idealism, the poetry, the simplicity and the fine sincerity and honesty of earlier days has waned, while graft, corruption and venality have flourished on every hand.

What is true of us in regard to the absence of idealism is doubly true of the government in Russia. The reigning house and the bureaucracy have not had the splendid ideals which Americans have had as a pillar of fire before their eyes, and consequently the absence of idealism is even more marked with them than with us, and the successive defeats that have come to Russia, like the defeats of Persia when she warred against the Greeks, are the legitimate results of materialism, artificiality and commercialism attempting by brute force to crush idealism.

Now without any didactic utterances, without the author apparently having these facts in mind, he has written a story that in the telling deals with typical phases of Japanese and Occidental life and typically represents these two worlds in such a manner as to impress these facts.

The Breath of the Gods opens in Washington, and there are some admirably drawn pictures of Washington high life. In time the scene shifts to Japan. The heroine is a beautiful Japanese maiden. She is loved by an emotional young Frenchman. She also possesses many staunch friends among the Americans with whom she has lived and been educated. The daughter of Senator Todd, the American minister to Japan, is her most intimate friend, and the senator is almost a second father to her. Mentally overmastered by the impetuous and poetic Frenchman, the Japanese girl consents to become his bride. This is something that her family will not brook. She is isolated and later marries Prince Hagané, a powerful war-chief of the Mikado's host. From thenceforth the story takes on the atmosphere of tragedy and the reader is carried by its power and a peculiar haunting fascination from page to page toward the somber climax, almost in spite of his will, for at each successive step he is made to feel that he is approaching one of those tragedies which once witnessed can never be forgotten. And yet it is in these pages that are found not only the most powerful passages of the novel, but the revelation of the strength of purpose that a concept or belief will infuse into the life of a beautiful girl, making death for her nation and honor something more to be desired than the bridal robes.

We doubt if any American writer has given us a truer or more intimate insight into the life and the spiritual and intellectual concepts of the Japanese than has the author of *The Breath of the Gods*. It is a novel which though gloomy in some respects is richly worth the reading.

Hesper. A Romance of the Rockies. By Hamlin Garland. Cloth. Pp. 446. Price, $1.50. New York: Harper Brothers.

In the August Arena we made an extended study of Hamlin Garland's latest romance, *The Tyranny of the Dark*. *Hesper* is a novel of an entirely different character. It is first of all a wholesome love story of absorbing interest. Its characters are true to life. There are no manikins or painted dolls in *Hesper*, and what is more, it is a fine study of the development of a splendid type of womanhood who, removed from the moral enervation and artificiality of the life of our over-rich Gothamites and placed among the rugged, true-hearted men of the West, blossoms into full-orbed womanhood. This gives a very real ethical value to the story which opens with Anne Rupert, the heroine, starting west with her invalid brother, Louis, who is threatened with consumption. The boy is an idealist, a poet and an artist by nature. He has a passionate desire to see the West, as he possesses his father's journal containing an account of the trip of the parent in his youth—a glowing account, for the father was also an idealist. He has, however, been dead many years.

Anne, who was christened by her father Hesper, is a spoiled child of wealth, a victim of *ennui*. She has been surfeited on all that wealth and frivolous, fashionable society can give, and has settled into a state of disagreeable cynicism. In going west with her brother she opens the gate to a new life, for she subordinates her selfish desires to the unselfish love for her brother, and this generous act leads her through a long and tortuous pilgrimage to the summit of felicity. For here the artificial life falls away. Here amid the rugged and rough environment and with stirring and often tragic events crowding upon each other, the true or higher nature of the girl responds to the call of love. The romance presents a splendid picture of the steady unfoldment of a naturally fine character who through

self-absorption and wealth had been so isolated from the great Mother that life had become a hollow mockery, so artificial that its victim no longer recognized its artificiality.

This story is a fine companion volume to *The Captain of the Gray Horse Troop*, reviewed some time ago in THE ARENA. Both are robust American tales of love that are wholesome, inspiring and calculated to make for a finer manhood and womanhood.

Whitman: The Poet-Liberator of Woman. By Mabel MacCoy Irwin. Cloth. Pp. 77. Published by the author at 14 West 104th Street, New York City.

WHITMAN has had many fulsome eulogists, some discriminating and just critics and not a few blind and brutal assailants; but among all those who have written favorably of the "good gray poet," we think the Rev. Mabel MacCoy Irwin has come nearest to reaching the heart of the man and his message. Her recently-published little work on *Whitman: The Poet-Liberator of Woman*, is far more than a noble tribute to one of the most fearless, robust and truly democratic poets of the nineteenth century. Whitman had his faults and limitations, as do we all, but to us there seems no shadow of question but what he was a true prophet and in a very large way a fundamental thinker. Few men possess so great a degree of moral courage as did this poet. Indeed, in this respect we think he often went to unnecessary extremes, evincing a recklessness in his handling of the most sacred and delicate subjects that detracted greatly from the efficiency of his protest and message. Doubtless he saw the canker everywhere eating into the vitals of public morality under the robe of smug conventionalism. He saw the holiest function degraded and lust usurping the throne of sacred love to such a degree that sex functions were being shamefully perverted, to the great hurt of the race, and he strove to shock conventionalism out of its fatal lethargy. He believed that by compelling the old order to take cognizance of abuses that flourished under a conspiracy of silence he would inaugurate a wholesome revolution, and in order to do this he went to extremes such as he well knew would awaken a tremendous protest. Mrs. Irwin finds woman's enfranchisement from the domination of man, and especially from the essential sex-slavery of centuries of domination in which woman had no control over her body, to be the keynote of Whitman's message. He is the knight-errant of modern womanhood, and it is to woman, the slave of convention and of the unbridled passion of man, that he calls:

"What place is besieged and vainly tries to raise the siege?
Lo! I send to that place a commander, swift, brave, immortal;
And with him horse and foot—and parks of artillery,
And artillerymen, the deadliest that ever fired gun."

"Whitman, with penetrating vision," says our author, "saw the knot of man's misconception which held woman in bondage, and riveted his own chains, and he set himself to its untying. His was the universal vision, and his a universal work. Wherever humanity lay in the bondage of ignorance; wherever wrongs held men and women captive, he spoke the words to let in the light, and he broke the chains to set the captive free. To all places besieged with errors—hoary with age—he sent a commander—the swift, brave, immortal words of truth. He found woman—the mother of the race—in bondage, crushed under the heel of her self-acknowledged inferiority, with no poet to champion her cause or set her free, and for her he began to sing his immortal songs:

"'Daughter of the lands, did you wait for your poet?
Did you wait for one with a flowing mouth and indicative hand?'
. . . . . .
'I am the poet of the woman the same as the man,
And I say it is as great to be a woman as to be a man,
And I say there is nothing greater than the mother of men.'"

Whitman found everywhere a condition of sex inequality, and against this injustice he raised his protest:

"This false idea Whitman saw could be remedied only by letting in upon it the light of truth, bringing men and women to a primal sanity; and there is no doubt but that this full, wholesome, unveiled admiration and exaltation of sex shall, in the end, prove the precipient that shall order and direct it into channels of purity and health.

"In Whitman's dealing with matters of sex, there is one thing most noticeable: he never dissociates the use of sex-function from parenthood."

The entire essay is carefully reasoned and discriminating. It is the work of a deeply

thoughtful woman who far more than most of our present-day conscience-guided women, reasons fundamentally and who has the courage to bravely discuss one of the greatest questions of the hour from the point-of-view of one who fearlessly goes to the root of the question and who demands that justice obtain and that the holiest functions of life shall not be perverted, and that immorality shall not continue to fester under the cover of silence imposed by conventionalism.

Broadcast. By Ernest Crosby. Cloth. Pp. 126. Price, 75 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

Mr. Crosby is a charming prose writer. When he essays verse he is less felicitous, and though for the most part his writings are instinct with virile thought, there is an absence of the pleasing rhythm and musical cadence that give charm to well-written verse. There is also the absence of that imaginative quality that in Mr. Crosby's great master not unfrequently lifted his verse above the dead level of most of Whitman's contemporaries. We know the arguments advanced for disregarding the laws of versification. We are told that it gives greater freedom for the adequate expression of thought and enables the poet to give his imagination free wings; that the laws of rhyme are artificial and tend to destroy the greatness of a true poet's work. All this may be true and doubtless is measurably true, but we have few great poets, few men of genius or imagination; and much of the writings of Whitman's disciples and imitators has proved highly unsatisfactory in all respects.

Mr. Crosby's work as a whole is redeemed by the value of his message, yet one cannot feel when reading his lines that he is the presence of a poet so much as of a moralist. His thoughts are the fruit of reason rather than the children of imagination. He is the ethical philosopher far more than the poet, and we believe that if he would throw all attempts at versification to the winds and write his lines in straight prose, it would be far more satisfactory.

The present volume, though inferior to *Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable*, contains much that is thought-stimulating and helpful. This is especially true of "Democracy," the opening poem, if we may call it such. The following examples from this writing are instinct with excellent thoughts and well illustrate the style of Mr. Crosby's verse:

"I saw laws and customs and creeds and Bibles rising like emanations from men and women.
I saw the men and women bowing down and worshiping these cloudy shapes, and I saw the shapes turn upon them and rend them.
Nay, but men and women are the supreme facts!

How rarely have men revered the truly reverend, and respected the truly respectable!
How much of reverence has been, and still is, mere fetish-worship!
Reverence for Moloch and Juggernaut, who shall count its victims?
Respect for tyrants and despots, for lying priests and blind teachers, how it has darkened the pages of history!
There is only one true respect, the respect for the conscious life that fulfils its true function.
Revere humanity wherever you find it, in the judge or in the farmhand, but do not revere any institution or office or writing.
As soon as anything outside of divine humanity is revered and respected, it becomes dangerous,—
And every step forward in the annals of man has been over the prostrate corpse of some ancient unmasked reverence.

. . . . . .

A strange lot this, to be dropped down in a world of barbarians,—
Men who see clearly enough the barbarity of all ages except their own,—
Who shudder at the thought of wheel and fagot, of putrid heads displayed not so long ago on Temple Bar,—of stinking corpses hanging in chains along the highways while vultures devoured them,—of mere boys put to death for stealing a shilling,—and who notwithstanding are snugly contented with the survival of gibbets and the happy invention of electrocution chairs,—
Who are outraged at the picture of black priests hovering about the flames of an *auto-da-fé*, but applaud their successors to-day as they encourage with their blessings the butchery of war,—
Who deplore the ancient miseries of the galleys, the torture of witnesses, the agonies of captives crucified or given to the lions, but see nothing wrong in our overcrowded prisons, our vice-breeding jails and our cold, relentless machinery of justice,—
Who look down on the ages when there were no societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, and yet are blind to the horrors of our abattoirs and laboratories, and take pleasure in killing and maiming helpless birds and harmless little brother beasts,—
Who condemn the brutality of the Spanish Inquisition, but sanction the writhing pains of the battlefield, the sabred face, the dynamite gun and the dum-dum bullet,—
Who abhor chattel slavery, but accept the dismal, hopeless enslavement of factory hands and the starvation of thousands out of work as heaven-born arrangements,—
Who sing pæans over the fall of political despotism, while they have scarcely a word of criticism for the industrial tyrants who tread us under foot,

And who—strangest of all—are absolutely ignorant
of the fact that future generations will consider
them just as barbarous as their predecessors.
It is a curious destiny indeed to be planted in the
midst of such a people."

When our author essays straight poetry he is less happy than in his Whitmanesque moods. The following verses from a poem entitled "Wine of Eternity" illustrate this fact:

"God took a vial from its place,
His throne a span beyond,
And spilled into a chalice-glass
Its drops of diamond,
Which sparkled in the light of His face
Like brilliants of Golcond.
. . . . . .
They set it on a step below—
This urn of mystery—
And on it write as angels do,
'Wine of Eternity,'
So that the tiniest cherubs know
What dangerous drink it be."

The more we read Mr. Crosby's writings, the more profoundly are we convinced that he is above all else a moralist and a teacher, and that prose is the field of literature in which he is most effective.

Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster. By Ernest Crosby. Cloth. Pp. 94. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: The Hammersmark Company.

THIS little volume is an excellent companion work to the author's *Tolstoy and His Message.* Both are volumes that sympathetic admirers of the great prophet of Russia will prize. In the study of *Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster* Mr. Crosby has given us the views and practices of the Count when he conducted a school after the liberation of serfs and the results attending his work. It is a highly suggestive and valuable little book for teachers and parents, written in a lucid, direct and engaging style.

An Embarrassing Orphan. By W. E. Norris. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 316. Price, $1.00. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

THIS IS a love story dealing with an orphan, the child of an English gentleman whose life has been spent in the United States and other nations. The orphan is rather unconventional and at times quite embarressing to her staid English uncle. Though for a time the love affairs of the young lady and her English lover are anything but promising, all ends in the conventionally satisfactory way. The hero secures the girl. She turns out to be an heiress, and all are supremely happy.

The story is not particularly well-written and should rank with scores of novels that are now flooding the market and which will serve no better purpose than to aid the reader to while away a few hours of unemployed time. We cannot recommend such books. There are too many really good novels that are at once valuable as literature and also thought-stimulating which should engage the attention of fiction readers, as they have a double educational value while serving the purpose of affording healthful entertainment.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE THEATER OF EDMOND ROSTAND: PROFESSOR HENDERSON'S CHARACTERIZATION OF ROSTAND AND HIS WORK. Professor ARCHIBALD HENDERSON'S series of papers which have been a strong feature of THE ARENA this year have justly attracted general attention, liberal notices having been made of them by certain English and Australian journals as well as by leading American papers. But excellent as have been the preceding papers, his criticism on "The Theater of Edmond Rostand" which appears in this issue is, we think, the strongest and most brilliant essay that has yet come from his gifted pen. Few critics of the present day possess in so eminent a degree as does this author the ability to enter into sympathetic rapport with a subject so completely that for the time being he seems to feel what the poet and dramatist saw and felt so perfectly that he is able to justly and faithfully interpret the message. A critic possessed of this power and who is also discriminating and poised as is our author, cannot fail to illuminate his subject and be helpful to all readers. To be able to enter the holiest of holies of the man of genius and see the workings of his brain requires a certain degree of genius not apparent in the writings of most present-day cynical and oftentimes superficial critics. Our readers will find a rare treat in Professor HENDERSON'S noble pen-picture of the gifted son of France who has in a real way electrified and rejuvenated her theater.

Direct-Legislation: The Chief Objections Examined: In the August ARENA we published a clear and succinct exposition of the initiative and referendum, under the title of "A Vast Educational Scheme," which was prepared for THE ARENA by ELTWEED POMEROY, the president of the National Direct-Legislation League. This month we publish a carefully-prepared paper by Judge CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER, of the Court of First Instance of the Philippine Islands, in which he judicially reviews the leading objections that have been urged against direct-legislation. These two papers are of special value to friends of democracy. If we are to preserve the republic of our fathers in its essential purity we must make the fundamental demands of democracy the object of paramount consideration and meet the changed conditions of the present by the introduction of simple measures that will preserve in purity, simplicity and integrity a government of the people, by the people and for the people—a government in which the people shall be the source and final arbiters of law. And these things so absolutely vital to democracy are all compassed by the introduction and practical operation of the initiative, referendum and the right of recall—measures that have been amply tested and have proved efficient.

An Amazing Revelation of Immense Historical Value: Under the apt title of "The Powers Upon the Throne," the Hon. J. WARNER MILLS in this issue treats the first part of his exhaustive and powerful portrayal of the dominant trusts and corporations of Colorado. The story is far more than an amazing and almost incredible revelation or an impressive and picturesque marshaling of the cold but sinister facts of recent months and years by one of the ablest members of the American bar; for inestimable as is the value of the ominous historical record, its greatest importance for patriotic Americans lies in its vivid description of the new despotism that has grown up in our midst and through lavish expenditure of wealth, through exalting its tools and destroying the incorruptible tribunes of the people, and through corrupt practices and a union in fact even when not in seeming against the people, has become a danger of the first magnitude, as fatal to clean government and free institutions as it is cruelly oppressive to the people and demoralizing to public servants. This disease, which Mr. MILLS is so circumstantially and specifically diagnosing, is no more confined to Colorado than is the evil of Russian bureaucracy confined to St. Petersburg, Moscow or Odessa. All over the republic, in city, state and nation, this blighting curse is rapidly undermining republican institutions and with the tribute wrung from the millions by indirection is debauching government in all its ramifications and bulwarking itself in every department of the state. The concrete example of the spoliation of the people by corporate wealth and the destruction of republican institutions, though more aggravated in Colorado than in most states, is a true pen-picture of the overshadowing peril, the supreme menace, that confronts democracy to-day; and for this reason the careful perusal of this paper should be made a religious duty by every high-minded man and woman in this great nation.

Tainted Money and the Church: We call the special attention of our readers to the masterly paper contributed to this issue of THE ARENA by the Rev. GEORGE FREDERICK PENTECOST, D.D. It is, we think, one of the strongest, if not the strongest defence of the ethics of Christianity against the assaults of the apologists of modern "high finance" and sordid materialistic comercialism that has yet appeared. Dr. PENTECOST takes up, one by one, the shallow sophistries that have been so gilbly circulated by decadent and recreant clergymen and educators, and shows how utterly fallacious they are and how essentially immoral are the claims that have been advanced by those greedy for the acquired wealth of multimillionaires.

Dependent Children and the State: We take special pleasure in publishing this month a paper from the pen of one of the old and popular contributors to THE ARENA. Many members of the THE ARENA family who were its constant readers in its early years will call to mind the original and thoughtful papers contributed by Rabbi SOLOMON SCHINDLER, who at that time was rabbi of the congregation Adath Israel, of Boston. Since then Mr. SCHINDLER has become superintendent of a well-known home of orphan Hebrew children and for infirm and aged members of that race. His work has been eminently successful and satisfactory to the management, and it has also enabled him to make a careful study of the State's obligations to dependent young.

Mr. Powell on the Present Struggle Between Autocracy and Democracy in the Republic: In this issue we publish the last paper in Mr. POWELL'S series dealing with the four great struggles between autocracy and democracy in the United States. The author is a careful historian and a firm believer in the traditions of our fathers. The present paper is as timely as it is important and makes a fine complement to the typical illustrations given by Mr. MILLS in his revelations of the autocratic aggressions of corporate wealth in Colorado.

Birds and Bird-Interpreters: Dr. Charles C. Abbott has never been accused of weakness in expressing his opinions as to a certain type of "Naturalist" whose work is done in other places than nature's own realm. Though one rarely hears of them from the good doctor, or from those of his friends who respect his wishes, enough richly-deserved honors have come to him from the learned bodies and the seats of the mighty to turn the heads of many less absorbed in what is to him the passion of a lifetime. His article will richly repay the reading.

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BRIGHTON BRANCH.

Photo. by Scherer, New York.

JOHN MOODY

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"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

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THE CONSERVATION OF MONOPOLY.

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I.

THE TRUST movement has developed in this country from apparent incipiency twenty-five or thirty years ago, until to-day statisticians estimate that more than $20,000,000,000 of so-called capitalization (par value of stocks and bonds) is in one way or other embraced in that form of corporate organization popularly known as "the trust." And with this onward march of monopoly has developed the conviction, growing stronger year by year, that the trust form of enterprise is essentially injurious to the country at large; that the gains of the community, if real gains there be, are much more than offset by a long string of unmixed evils, most of which are far-reaching and blighting in their effects.

Concurrent with this growth of corporate industry and the resultant public alarm that has been so closely associated with its expansion, innumerable plans have been devised to cope with these new conditions. Beginning with the movements inspired nearly twenty-five years ago by the disclosures of the secret relations existing between the Standard Oil Trust and the railroads, whereby the former was enabled to eliminate competition and establish itself in undisputed control of over ninety per cent. of the oil industry of the country, the popular movement for trust "regulation" has continued uninterruptedly in one form or another down to the present day. In 1887 the Interstate Commerce Commission was established, primarily for the purpose of "regulating" railway rates and preventing discrimination; about the same time and shortly afterwards, the several states began to enact laws of various kinds looking to the "regulation" and "supervision" of corporate enterprise; in 1890 the United States Senate Committee made its elaborate report on prices and wages, this investigation having been started largely for the purpose of determining the effect of combination on industry in general; in 1892, the well-known Sherman Anti-Trust law was passed, also looking in the direction of trust "regulation" and "supervision"; following closely upon this event came an era characterized by the further formation and development of state commissions, Massachusetts particularly making a pronounced move in this direction and establishing, besides its steam-railroad commission, a gas and electric-light commission and a corporation commission; also, in 1897, a special commission made an elaborate investigation of the street-railway industry of the state and submitted a voluminous report. In the meanwhile, public interest in the trust question continued to grow; the literature of trust "regula-

tion" became a special department of economic and political study; the subject was beginning to be discussed by all classes and from every point-of-view; trust conferences began to be formed; further special committees were appointed by legislatures, governors and others in authority, all having in view the "regulation" of the now more apparently menacing trust evil. President McKinley appointed the well-known Industrial Commission, which after several years of investigation submitted a voluminous report of nearly twenty volumes, full of statistics of every kind, and recommending certain measures as remedies, all pointing in the direction of corporate "publicity," "regulation" and "supervision." Following the entry of Theodore Roosevelt into the White House, the anti-trust agitation took on an additional lease of life; the President stirred the country with his notorious move against the Northern Securities merger, and then followed this up with an active campaign for trust "regulation" and "supervision," advocating a constitutional amendment and other measures; a campaign the fruits of which have been the passage of the Elkins law and the establishment of the Bureau of Commerce and Labor.

Such, briefly, has been the scope of accomplishment of the anti-trust crusade in the realm of actual law. But the general agitation has extended much further and has been far more intense. Hundreds of books have been written; scores of political platforms have been framed, and editorial and other articles without number have been served up to the public for a decade or more, all condemning from various points-of-view and for all kinds of reasons the injurious effects of "predatory wealth," of the evils of the trusts, and of the extortions of monopoly. During the same period anti-trust leagues and anti-monopoly societies have been formed by the score; all sorts of clubs, associations and other organized bodies, secular and religious, have declared against the evils of the trust, and hundreds of thousands of dollars have been spent in pushing the anti-trust propaganda and popularizing the various plans for trust "regulation" and "supervision." And latterly, a new line of attack has been pursued. Beginning with the publication of Miss Tarbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company*, the magazine field has given a steadily increasing space to the publication of criticisms, *exposés* and attacks, touching the inner and personal methods of the trust magnates, all in one way or other seeming to prepare the public mind and leading up to the climax (now being witnessed) involved in the exposure of the inner rottenness and rascality of management in one of the largest life-insurance companies of the country. And the end is not yet.

The foregoing glance at the industrial history of the past ten or fifteen years sufficiently shows that during this period the idea of trust domination has not been silently accepted by the people, but that on the contrary, a pronounced and deep-seated aversion has been demonstrated toward trust extortion and the evils of monopoly. And yet, in the face of all this adverse legislation, in spite of this tremendous upheaval of public opinion which has spread from one end of the country to the other with ever increasing breadth and force as the years have gone by; in the face of such facts as these, the trusts have grown steadily, relentlessly, systematically, and one might almost say scientifically. They have grown in scope and purpose; they have grown in strength and method, and where, even as late as three years ago, many of the large industrial trusts were regarded, from the Wall-street point-of-view, as uncertain experiments, mere "inflations of expectancy," these same concerns, with no more real capital invested and no more ability at the head of them, are to-day being pointed to in the financial community as good examples of increasingly staple institutions, with thoroughly assured futures.

In short, the general situation and outlook, from the trust magnates' point-of-

view, is regarded as preëminently stable and sound. With the anti-trust element of the country (backed by a large body of the regular reformers, not to mention the "free-lancers" like Lawson) all predicting dire calamity and a general breaking down of "confidence" within a twelvemonth, the financial and industrial center of the country remains unperturbed and serene, and Wall street, instead of seeing breakers ahead, is looking forward with confidence to the biggest boom of its history during the next two years. It is summer with the trust-kings and no storms are on the horizon.

To the majority of those in the anti-trust camp this situation seems inexplicable. It appears to them like the confidence of imbecility, and they content themselves with explaining it on the theory that the monopolists are blind to the signs of the times because of their entire absorption in their various "nefarious schemes of graft," and hence have come to lose all idea of perspective.

Such reasoning as this is as illogical as it is absurd. It is a grave mistake to belittle the intelligence of America's "men of affairs" and assume that they do not read the signs of the times. For they do read them, and they happen to have a point of vantage which enables them to judge conditions far more intelligently than their adversaries. And their present calmness is due to the fact that they see more safety than danger in the current trend of public opinion in the direction of trust "regulation" and "supervision." It is the view of those who do the careful thinking in the financial community (and the thoughtful men dominate here as thoughtful men do in other walks of life), that, instead of the main current of agitation in any sense undermining their position, it is promising to conserve it to an extent far beyond their fondest hopes of a few years ago. It is unconsciously forming a secure future for monopoly instead of the reverse.

The present writer holds this view completely and ventures to predict that, unless the main current of the anti-trust agitation takes a different angle, monopoly will, in spite of the continued growth of public sentiment in opposition to it, find itself far more firmly intrenched ten years from now than it is to-day. For the real truth is that the so-called "anti-trust movement," which has been responsible for the enactment of so many laws "regulating" and "supervising," and which is to-day using the words "regulation" and "supervision" to conjure with, is proving to be nothing more nor less than a tremendous engine for the conserving of monopoly, and not for the extinction or elimination of it. Regulation does not mean elimination. Regulation implies preservation.

Examine the situation for a moment. What is it that makes the trust obnoxious, be it a steam-railroad, a gas-company, a manufacturing enterprise, or any other money-making aggregation? It is not its size, for many of the smaller trusts are obviously more unpopular than some of the larger ones. It is not the method of management, nor the personnel, nor the location, nor the particular line of business. These are limited and local characteristics only. But there is another general characteristic which all obnoxious trusts possess and which is best described as monopoly-power; that is, the possession of power to extort, in one form or another. Mark you, not the mere *desire* to extort, but the *power*, whether uniformly and to its full extent exercised or not.

But how comes monopoly-power? It is not capital, nor labor, nor land, and these three are agreed upon by political economists as the three factors of production. Is monopoly, then, a fourth factor? In trust parlance it is, for it produces wealth to its possessor where no wealth could be otherwise secured. But, speaking accurately, monopoly is not a wealth-producer, but a wealth-diverter. The "scientific" socialist holds that capital and monopoly are one, but he ought to know better. The capitalists themselves consciously distinguish the

difference every time, and they, possessing, or angling for the real thing, ought to be pretty good judges. And while they call themselves capitalists and not monopolists, yet they know that monopoly-power and capital are essentially different things. They do know, however, that monopoly is an asset of enormous magnitude.

II.

While the majority of trusts possess monopoly-power in one form or another, yet all do not, and it is universally true that where a trust possesses no monopoly-power at all, it cannot be broadly or permanently harmful to the community. To make this point plain I subjoin two illustrations, one of a trust possessing exclusive monopoly-power, and the other of a trust possessing practically no monopoly-power.

A. The Reading Company is a security-holding corporation which controls the Philadelphia and Reading Railway system, the Central Railway of New Jersey, the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, and various allied corporations. In all it controls over 2,140 miles of railroad in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and, besides the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, owns extensive coal-fields in Pennsylvania. It controls, through the New Jersey Central, the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company, and the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company. It thus indirectly controls a large proportion of the anthracite coal-fields. The Pennsylvania law does not permit of railroad companies owning or controlling coal companies, but it will be noted that the Reading Company is not a railroad, but a "holding-company" holding the stocks of railroads, and so forth. A majority of the Reading Company's stock is, however, owned by Pennsylvania Railroad and Vanderbilt interests, which carries virtual control.

The Reading Company possesses several sources for the employment of monopoly-power. Through its railroads it gets the natural monopoly benefits which all railroads have, such as its rights of way, terminal sites, and the like. Through its coal companies it gets another monopoly benefit of enormous extent. Through its control of a large majority of the coal mines it dominates the Pennsylvania coal-fields, and is thus enabled, jointly with the other large mine-owners, to set practically its own figure for the sale of coal. It also through its possession of the railroad outlets is enabled to fix its own terms with independent owners, who have no outlets of their own. The result is that its strategic position is of the strongest. It is enabled to derive full benefit from those two sources of monopoly-power and the enormous earnings of the company during the past two years sufficiently attest that it is using this power.

In 1896 the Philadelphia and Reading Railway was reorganized, and the Reading Company was capitalized at $140,000,000 of stock, and, including subsidiary mortgages, over $80,000,000 of bonds. In this stock capitalization the monopoly-power of the future was largely anticipated. At that time there was no coal combine and the country was just beginning to recover from a long period of depression, so that the railroad monopoly-rights were not so valuable as they afterward became. But, nevertheless, the total stock and bond issues of this company were at that time quoted in the aggregate at only about $110,000,000. The properties represented by this $110,000,000 could easily have been duplicated for $60,000,000 (assuming no monopoly element in the coal-fields and rights of way), so that actually the monopoly-power then was fairly valued commercially at $50,000,000. The net earnings of the Company in the following year were about $9,200,000. This entire amount was more than consumed in payment of interest charges, rents and improvements, etc., leaving a book deficit for the year of over $1,000,000. If, however, we deduct the $2,200,000 which was reported as spent

in payment of improvements we have about $7,000,000 as the net income of the entire property for the year, which, aside from its monopoly features, could probably have been reproduced, as pointed out above, for about $60,000,000.

Nine years later the situation has materially changed for the Reading Company. With practically no more mileage (except the New Jersey Central system), with no more coal lands, and with not more than $60,000,000 new cash invested (including the New Jersey Central system) the told market value of the Reading Company and its subsidiary companies' securities have increased from $110,000,000 to over $300,000,000, and the net earnings from $9,200,000 in 1896 to nearly $24,000,000 in the year ended June 30, 1905. As the actual properties could now fairly be duplicated (excluding monopoly) at $110,000,000, the capitalized value of the combinations' monopoly privileges is therefore to-day commercially valued at about $190,000,000, and the $24,000,000 earned is really equal to nearly 22 per cent. on the replacing cost independent of the monopoly features. A prosperous situation, to say the least.

B. Let us now examine the trust which possesses no monopoly-power.

In 1902 the International Mercantile Marine Company was formed by the consolidation of various transatlantic steamship lines, including the American Line, White Star, Leyland, Atlantic Transport and Dominion lines. These constituted seven of the most important, but not all the Atlantic lines. In forming this combination various ultimate plans were held in view; it was hoped to bring all lines of any importance into the combine sooner or later, and in anticipation of this, and also of the probable passage through Congress of the ship-subsidy bill, the capitalization of the new company was placed at about $167,000,000 par value, with authority to issue over $30,000,000 additional securities for further acquisitions.

But the cherished plans of the promoters were not realized, and the other companies, instead of coming into the combine, proceeded to fight it. Furthermore the ship-subsidy bill was killed As a result the combination was obliged to operate from the start on a competi tive basis, and its securities, instead of commanding values commensurate with the enormous capitalization, quickly sank to a level representing the actual value of the properties and business independent of monopoly, and the earnings, instead of indicating monopoly-extortion sank to a point far below the amount needed for paying interest on the bonds. To-day the par capitalization of $174,000,000 ($6,000,000 bonds having been recently sold), would not bring $60,000,000 at a forced sale, and the net earnings for the year just closed did not equal four per cent. on $50,000,000.

III.

Both of the enterprises described above are stable; both have had ample capital and able management; both are combinations of distinct industries; both possessed at their beginning what was regarded as enormously inflated capitalizations. And yet the one (that on the land) is demonstrably a tremendous success, while the other (that on the water) appears to be a dismal failure.

It may be argued that the Shipping-Trust has suffered a serious rate-war, from which it has hardly recovered; but so did the Reading Company suffer what to the public was a far more serious coal-strike, and yet where are the traces of it in its monopoly-power and its earnings?

In short, the distinction is so plain that even the blind should see. One was built upon the rock of monopoly, which it already possessed; the other on the hope of a monopoly, which did not materialize.

It is this monopoly-power which is at the root of our industrial and social disorders. And it is this monopoly-power that the people are trying to get the legislators not to destroy, but to "regulate"

and "supervise." To regulate apparently with a view to the removal of evils, but in effect to regulate in such a way as to make more secure to the present possessors.

The crux of the whole industrial question is in the treatment of this element of monopoly. The current plans for the "regulation" of it seem bound to make it more secure under governmental control. This in essence is involved in the programme of the socialist; it is in that of the populist in his plans for the "control" or "supervision" of it; and others of every creed and type propose to "regulate" it in one way or other.* The net result of all these plans will be to finally work the element of monopoly into a position where it will be far more arbitrarily regulated by government in a scientific manner for the benefit of its possessors.

The more far-seeing and abler monopolists all recognize that their worst enemies are found in their own class. They do not worry much about the programme of the Socialist or the various other schemes for controlling their powers. They rather look forward with calmness and confidence to the day when government "supervision" will be an actual reality, and when the extreme outrages committed in their own ranks which nowadays so often awaken the resentment of the rank and file and help to keep agitation alive, will be a thing of the past. Paternalism will then be an accomplished fact, whether it takes the outward form of "socialism" or elaborates our present form of "a strong industrial republic."

It is mainly for this reason that the great industrial interests lean more and more toward government regulation, and not away from it, and that they are taking a closer hand in the affairs of government than ever before. They fully realize that the movement must be dual in its nature—if government is to "supervise" or "regulate" monopoly, it will be just as necessary for monopoly to regulate or supervise government to an equal extent. And this is being done to a nicety whereever any actual regulation of monopoly is in vogue.

In view of the foregoing facts, it seems the veriest nonsense, in the eyes of the present writer, for sincere well-wishers of the public happiness and lovers of genuine equality and justice to expend their efforts in promoting the ordinary class of reforms. These aggregations of so-called public movements, liberal programmes, social service societies, public control leagues and the like, are one and all hastening the day when monopoly will be more strongly intrenched than ever, and the rank and file of the public, instead of being half-willing, half-protesting sharers of unjust economic conditions, as now, will be far more helpless victims of an industrial paternalism such as the world has never before known.

The more we examine this situation the clearer it becomes that the monopoly-power is an evil to be eliminated and not conserved. The two illustrations given above stand out in bold relief, and while in the case of one enormous power is possessed for diverting wealth, in the other there is no such power. No cry has gone up for the regulation of the Shipping-Trust, and no complaint is heard regarding extortion in connection with it. But precisely the reverse is true with regard to the Reading Company.

Is a remedy, then, public-ownership of the railroads? This would give the community (it is assumed) full control of rates and thus chain the monopoly-power of the railroad. Other things being equal and with the same ability of management, the same incentives for economy, and

* We think Mr. Moody is in error if we understand his position to be that Socialists and the People's Party favor governmental control of railways. Socialists, as a rule, oppose control no less strenuously than does Mr. Moody. They demand not only public-ownership of the railways, but the extension of public-ownership through the industrial and commercial life of the nation. The People's Party are strongly committed to governmental ownership and operation, but as a party, they are not, we think, in favor of supervision or control, and if any of their leaders favor supervision or control, it is only as a step towards the public-ownership and operation of these and other public utilities.—*Editor of* THE ARENA.

always supposing a government actually controlled by the people and not by special interests (a large assumption), yes. But, controlling the Reading Railway would not be controlling the price of coal, and with the mine-owners in combination the consumers of coal would be practically where they were before. "Then," some will exclaim, "go a step further and socialize the coal-fields." If this plan could be adopted, would the desired result be accomplished? As pointed out above, coëxtensive with the growth of socialist sentiment and the extension of the powers of government in this country, there is growing daily a stronger domination of government itself by the farseeing beneficiaries of monopoly; a class of men, who, whatever programme is followed, must always be figured in as important factors in the carrying out of any plan, and who, because of their great practical ability and disbelief in altruistic attitudes would be found largely dominating any situation where government power was involved.

As the writer has pointed out in another work, monopoly-power is a factor of such moment that it cannot be eliminated by the enactment of restrictive and regulating legislation, such as has recently become so popular, any more than the sunlight can be regulated by statute law, and in conferring on government the right to superintend and supervise the production and distribution of wealth, we do not eliminate monopoly; we only tend to concentrate monopoly-power in the hands of the few—the ultimate goal of which seems to be the ideal of the socialist, to make the government the exclusive possessor of all monopoly, of all wealth, and even of man himself. Socialistic dreamers see in this the advent of equality among men, but practical business men see in it the consummation of complete paternalism. For when the mass of the people have reached that point where they are willing to "pool" all their natural individual rights, their "social commonwealth" will quickly evolve into the private preserve of one or a few forceful and aggressive characters.

It will be asked, what then do you propose? In the first place, a movement, not to "regulate" or "supervise" the workings of monopoly, but a movement by the people to control government, to control their own representatives and their own laws. This can best be done at present through the initiative and referendum, a proposal which will be ridiculed and cried down and pooh-poohed by every monopolist,—and naturally, for this is a programme which the monopolist fears. Fight him along the "control" plan as hard as you please, and he will not seriously oppose you. Propose the referendum plan and he is up in arms at once.

This is the first thing, and until this thing is done, nothing is done. This puts the power to do in the hands of the people as nothing else ever can.

Then, briefly, having once gotten the actual power to do, let the community not seek to preserve, conserve or cherish this element of monopoly, but rather seek measures to eliminate and wipe it out. The socialist thinks you can not do this; but the socialist does not know, he only thinks. The monopolist is the man who knows, and there is absolutely no doubt about his exact knowledge on the subject. By the most practical of tests he can see just how his monopoly-power can be killed, and this killing is the thing he dreads. Juggle with monopoly all you please, make it a "public function"; this does not greatly worry him. He will take his chances at a share of the government, or a slice of the "function." But kill the monopoly-worm and he is done.

How kill it? Repeal the laws that conserve it, and then tax it to death. Take down your tariff-walls; tax the fat out of your franchises, your land privileges and other special benefits. This programme conserves equality and eliminates monopoly; the other conserves monopoly and eliminates equality.

JOHN MOODY.

Cranford, N. J.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN SWITZERLAND.

By Robert Tyson,
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IN THE election of parliamentary or legislative representatives only three civilized nations use systems that accord with justice, fair play and common sense. These nations are Belgium, Japan and Switzerland. There was a fourth—Tasmania; but the selfishness of politicians has temporarily taken her from the front rank of political progress, though they cannot efface her excellent and instructive record.

Let me very briefly refresh your memory as to the proportional principle. It is essential that each electoral district should be "plural"; that is, large enough to return several members. How these plural districts are used can best be explained by the specific instance of a district in which thirty thousand voters elect six representatives. Divide 30,000 by 6 and you get 5,000. When any five thousand voters can freely combine or group themselves together and elect one representative, the final result is that the voters have divided themselves into six approximately equal groups of about 5,000 each; every group has its chosen representative; all the voters are represented and no one is disfranchised. This is what is aimed at, and this is what is got more or less perfectly by the various systems of proportional voting.

In most of these systems the elector has only one vote which finally counts. Such is the case with Belgium and Japan, and was the case with Tasmania. In Switzerland, however, the plan prevails of giving to each elector as many votes as there are members to be elected, and then getting a proportional result by the method of counting. This plan is known as the Free-List System with the Multiple Vote, and my present purpose is to show how the Swiss are using it.*

A Swiss canton is the equivalent of an American state or a Canadian province. Five cantons elect their legislatures by proportional representation, namely Ticino, Neuchatel, Geneva, Zug and Soleure. Besides this, the people of Soleure elect the tax commission proportionally; also all municipal councils which consist of more than seven members. When the number is less than seven, the proportional method of election ceases to be obligatory and becomes optional. In Canton Freiburg there is the option of electing municipal councils proportionally. Canton Berne and Canton Ticino also use proportional representation municipally; this including the large capital city of Berne.

Switzerland's Federal Parliament is elected on the old plan. It consists of two houses: the "Council of States" and the "National Council." In the autumn of 1900 a sufficiently signed initiative petition demanded a referendum on the proposal to use proportional representation in electing the National Council. The proposed law was voted down on November 4, 1900, along with another proposed law for electing members of the Federal Executive by the people direct. I asked Mr. Jamin what he thought was the reason of this and he replied:

"My opinion concerning the rejection of proportional representation for the election of the National Council is that many of the deputies, and with reason, feared that they would not be reëlected under the new plan; whilst other deputies would lose by it a part of their politi-

*In doing so, my chief source of information is Mr. Philip Jamin, of Geneva, Switzerland, who has kindly sent to me full information, including a copy of the organic law of the Canton of Soleure, and an official copy, printed in French, of the organic law of the Canton of Geneva. I am also indebted to McCracken and other writers in the *Proportional Representation Review*, and to Professor Vincent's excellent work on Government in Switzerland.

cal influence. Strong and successful resistance was therefore made."

And he adds:

"The progress of proportional representation is for the present arrested in Switzerland, but the movement will begin again later. Just now other questions take precedence of it and hold public attention."

Some words of that veteran proportionalist, Professor Ernest Naville, of Geneva, are *apropos* in this connection. He said:

"The delay in securing the reform is easy to explain. It has to combat inveterate mental habits. The principle that the majority rules,—that is, that the final decision shall rest with the majority,—is applied by an erroneous process of reasoning to the elections of representatives—which should be proportional to be just. It requires a long time to destroy this grave confusion of ideas and to rend the veil which habit has woven to prevent seeing the truth. The reform has also to fight against the spirit of party, against partisans, and against the sum total of inherited habitual party conditions."

The Swiss are conservative in their methods and make haste slowly. The proposal to nationalize the railroads was rejected the first time it was submitted to a vote of the people; but they approved it the second time.

Mr. Jamin gives the following opinions, based on the Swiss experience:

"Proportional representation diminishes the power of the legislator and places him directly in dependence upon his constituents. On the other hand it confers upon each deputy a greater liberty of action in relation to the political groups numerically more important. Thanks to this reform, it will be difficult for cantonal councils elected by the proportional plan to obstruct the referendum and initiative. Men really elected by their constituents, and not by occult nominating committees, will naturally feel impelled in certain circumstances to seek in the popular vote a confirmation of legislative action.

"In the Canton of Ticino (sometimes called 'Tessin') proportional representation has contributed to the pacification of the public mind.

"In the Canton of Neuchatel, where the proportional plan has worked especially well, the impression produced has been excellent and it is admitted that its results have realized a great progress as compared with the old system.

"With proportional representation in force, the inferior political groups can conserve their autonomy and are no longer obliged to make terms with the superior groups. They are able to introduce their programmes into the deliberative assemblies, and these must examine and discuss them, instead of pigeon-holing them as heretofore. Under the old plan of election those who belonged to neither of the great parties were not represented at all; or, if they succeeded in gaining a few seats, their representatives could only play a humiliating part when they were not mute."

Dramatic and striking circumstances brought about the adoption of proportional representation in the Italian-speaking Canton of Ticino. There were two political parties, the ultramontane conservatives in power and the radicals in opposition. In September, 1890, at an election for the cantonal legislature under the old plan of voting, the Conservatives cast 12,653 votes, and the Radicals 12,018; but the electoral districts had been so arranged that 77 Conservative members were elected and only 35 Radicals. Bitter and desperate after many years of disappointment, the rank and file of the radical party rose in insurrection, drove out the government by violence and possessed themselves of the legislature and state offices. Then the federal government intervened and proportional representation was adopted in the canton.

Now the conservatives elect about 50 and the Radicals about 45 members, which is almost a perfect reflection of their voting power in the canton at large. There has been no violence since the reform was adopted.

I shall conclude by a general description of the Swiss free list. It varies in details in different cantons, but in all of them there are large electoral districts and in all of them the elector casts as many votes as there are members (deputies) to be elected from his district. Canton Zug has a notable variation, because there the voter may "cumulate" all his votes upon one candidate, or upon a few; but with this exception the multiple vote plan prevails pure and simple.

Instead of condensing the provisions of the organic law of Neuchatel or Geneva, I shall sketch the outline of an imaginary election on the Swiss free-list plan, which will be more readable and will give as correct an idea of the general working of the method:

You have your large district, returning say seven members to the legislature. For the purpose of this illustration we will suppose that 21,000 voters cast their ballots at the election of these seven members. I shall use round figures to make the matter easily understood. Then, dividing the votes cast by the number of members wanted, we get the "quota," or number of votes necessary to elect any one man; that is, dividing 21,000 by seven shows that three thousand votes will elect one candidate. This "quota" is the main factor in the process of counting and is sometimes called "the electoral divisor."

Now, suppose that you have four parties in the field—the Conservatives, the Liberals, the Socialists and the Single-Taxers. You take the number of votes of each party in turn and divide it by the quota. That shows the number of representatives to which each party is entitled. Here it is in concrete form:

Conservatives polled	10,000 votes.
Liberals polled	5,600 "
Socialists polled	3,100 votes.
Single-Taxers polled	2,300 "
Total	21,000 "

Dividing the Conservative 10,000 by the quota of 3,000, you get a quotient of three and 1,000 remainder. The Conservatives are therefore entitled to three members. I will deal with the remainders presently. Dividing the Liberal 5,600 by three, shows the Liberals are entitled to one member, but they have the large remainder of 2,600 votes. The Socialist 3,100 entitles them to one member, and they have a hundred votes to spare.

The Single-Taxers have only 2,300 votes, which is not a quota.

So far we have five members elected on full quotas; namely, three Conservatives, one Liberal and one Socialist. But we want two more members. So we give the other two members to those parties which, in their remainder votes, come nearest to a full quota. The Liberals have the highest remainder: namely, 2,600, so they are entitled to another representative. The Single-Taxers have the next largest remainder, or "unfilled quota," so they are also entitled to a member.

This makes the result of the election as follows:

Conservatives, three members.
Liberals, two members.
Socialists, one member.
Single-Taxers, one member.

In order to deal with one thing at a time, I have omitted any reference to that part of the balloting which decides who are the men to represent each party in the proportions above shown. I now deal with that.

Any party included on the official ballot can nominate, as the candidates of its party, as many persons as there are members to be elected. In practice each party usually nominates one or two members more than its estimated voting strength will permit it to elect.

The ballots show the lists of candidates of each party separately, under the respective party headings. Some methods

allow the voter either to cast a vote for his party without designating any particular candidate, or to vote for the candidate he prefers. Then, in counting, when it is found as above that the Conservatives are entitled to three members, the three men who have the highest number of votes on the Conservative list are declared elected. Similarly the two Liberals highest on the Liberal list and the highest Socialist and Single-Taxer are the elected ones.

A petition of a stated number of electors is usually sufficient for nomination and to secure a place on the official ballot.

The rough-and-ready method of using fractions of quotas or "remainders" above sketched is not altogether satisfactory, and a better but more complex method called the d'Hondt quota is coming into use. I mention this because Lieutenant-Colonel Curie, of Versailles, once gently took me to task for allowing the inference that the rough-and-ready plan of remainders was the only one used with the Swiss free list.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

THE WOMAN'S CLUB MOVEMENT: ITS ORIGIN, SIGNIFICANCE AND PRESENT RESULTS.

BY ALMA A. ROGERS.

THE MAN who invented the spinning jenny or the sewing machine never in his wildest vagaries dreamed that he was laying the foundation of the woman's club. A truth it is, notwithstanding. A woman's club in our grandmothers' day was a physical impossibility, even had public sentiment favored it. The busy fingers which carded the wool for the family stockings held as their emblem of authority the slender steels of the knitting needle. The fire-glow from the huge chimney danced upon its clicking rods on long winter evenings, and the hum of social visits was punctuated by its musical staccato.

The spinning wheel occupied the post of honor in the lightest corner of the big kitchen, where we love to picture the pretty Priscilla industriously turning the spindle when her thrifty lover came a-wooing. At the hand-loom the thread was woven into cloth. Then the garments of linen and linsey-woolsey were painfully and tediously put together with the needle. For fancy work our grandmothers traced wonderful patterns of "Rising Sun" and "Fruit Basket" into the squares of calico or worsted scraps which were brought out for rival workmanship at the quilting bees.

Woman's clubs forsooth! Did some whimsical Ariel whisper that the time was fast coming when toil-hardened fingers would feel the needle of every size and kind supplanted by the gavel of the President or the pen of the Secretary? That a race of women would come upon the scene whom mortal eye had never seen to sew? Did the dames dream that their grandchildren would find the garments for paterfamilias, the trousers for Johnny and their own "tailor-made" ready-to-hand garments at the big department stores? The strings of dried apples and barrels of pickled pork, with bunches of curative herbs, which respectively festooned and solidified the ancient attic, are but a savory idyl from the past. Prepared foods, yea, even the gas-stove and the telephone, have solved the problem of domestic supply.

Verily, the march of mechanical invention has been the emancipator of women. The freeing of their hands has led to the freeing of their minds; and

within the last decade the purely material has become curiously intermingled with a psychic aspect. For through the unfoldment of her mind, woman has demanded an area of soul-growth that would have caused the most expansive granddame to contract. The only recognized limit to woman's sphere at the beginning of the twentieth century is the measure of her capacity. Law, medicine, divinity, all the arts and avocations she claims as hers.

Woman has at last made the fateful discovery that she is an individual, not an adjunct. Therefore, she thrills to the pulse of organization; and lo! the woman's club is born. Not full-panoplied does it spring from the forehead of Minerva, but rather like the tiny seed, which, falling into fertile ground, brings forth an hundred and a thousand fold.

The first club was formed strictly for the purpose of self-culture. It is recorded in the chronicles that it had its genesis among the New England hills, where a circle of women sought to improve their minds by delving into encyclopedias, not daring to believe that their own ideas, being feminine, could be worth while. For several years they toiled faithfully at musty accumulations of stolid facts. But nature has a way of nurturing the tender nursling; and so one day the principle of growth induced these women to throw aside the encyclopedias and the quotation marks and essay to think alone, trusting that mental strength could best be secured by putting their ideas upon their own little legs, however weak and uncertain, than to always toddle along under the supporting crutch of authority.

Once having drunk at the wholesome fountain of mental activity, it was characteristic of woman, through the centuries-long evolution of her emotional nature, that she should wish to carry the draught to others. Thus from the fountain-head of self-culture there flowed in due time the healing streams of altruism.

The club movement of to-day tends with a strong current toward work for others. Whereas the purpose of the early clubs was intellectual, social and philanthropic in its nature, the order is now reversed and reads philanthropic, social and intellectual. The study class still holds, not so much an end in itself as a preparation for the wider work which is to follow. Household economics, the Consumers' League and the Civic Improvement associations are topics with which every club-woman is rapidly acquiring familiarity.

It is a strange fact which has often been made to support the theory of woman's inherent unreason, that while man long ago reduced his labor to a system, woman has been content to do as her mother before her, except when the masculine genius added some labor-saving invention to the household menage. But to whatever extent this criticism may have been just in the past, it no longer applies. If women's clubs had done nothing more than awaken a widespread interest in the scientific conduct of the household, their right to exist had been well-proven. There is a close relation between the health of the body and the state of the morals. Scientific cookery, wherein guesswork is eliminated by an understanding of chemical laws, proper ventilation, improved methods of plumbing and drainage, in short, everything that touches upon the welfare of the family, are included in the now popular study of domestic science. Though the movement is yet in its infancy, one need not be gifted with prophetic vision to perceive that it means much for coming generations in healthier bodies, better-ordered homes and a saving of time and expense. In scientific phrase, it is a factor in the placing of the home upon a sounder economic basis.

The Consumers' League is a subject of germinal ramifications. It essays to touch upon the greatest problem before America to-day—that of organized labor. Briefly stated, the Consumers' League has for its object the abolition of the sweat-shop system and the maintenance of a

living wage under sanitary conditions. It was organized about ten years ago by a body of women in New York city to whom the actualities of the sweat-shops had been brought home by ocular demonstration. The human race is a solidarity, not an aggregation of unrelated units; and the time is coming when this truth will be clear to more than the few. Behind the bargain counters of garments at less than cost, the loyal club-woman begins to perceive, ghost-like, the disease-ridden, ghastly slaves of the needle, herded elbow to elbow within the narrow limits of a single room, eating, working, sleeping, living, dying, in a horror of filth and misery. This movement has its practical basis, too, as every well-balanced effort must have. Those who flout the emotional side of the picture as exaggerated hysterics, cannot deny that the germs of contagion, possibly death, are hidden in these garments by the fetid breath of distempered workers. If the purchasers of sweat-shop products could be present at the opening of the packing-cases and inhale the accompanying odors, it is possible that justice to the toilers would be suddenly hastened. The plan followed by the League is to grant a label which is used on all products of "fair" establishments; such label being a guarantee to the consumer that rational conditions of labor prevail.

May the movement expand until it gathers within its sheltering arms the poor little white children of the South, who in the cotton-mills stand tiptoe at the looms from twelve to fourteen hours for a daily pittance of ten to thirty cents! Withheld from recreation, deprived of education, are thousands of children between the ages of six and twelve, not one of whom can read or write; and, it may be added in a corollary for the thoughtful, become incapable of learning after a few years spent in the dizzy roar of the looms. Should there not be pause before the effect of this condition upon the future of our civilization?

The third aim prominently placed before women's clubs is that of civic improvement. The beautifying of private lawns and public parks, the surrounding of mills and factories with grass and flowers and shading vines, the cleaning of city streets and the care of driveways all have a part in this municipal housecleaning. The example of well-kept premises is infectious; a truth which the history of this movement, now already beyond its experimental stage, has seldom failed to prove.

All these interests give vitality to the atmosphere which the up-to-date club-woman breathes. The club is a little world in itself. Women of varied types, temperaments and purposes meet in democratic equality in the club-room. Here is an opportunity for the study of human nature—and its consequent enrichment of the life of the student—never before offered to woman. Has she a talent which has long laid wrapped in a napkin? Here is the place to develop it. The old notions of feminine jealousy and spite do not hold in the modern club. On the contrary, the women are helpful and appreciative of one another. Of course there exists, now and then, the exception which proves the rule. But please remember it is only the exception. Here may be found the woman of broad faith in humanity, the woman whose pure ideals and unflinching courage make for higher living and thinking. The young woman comes, and comes also the grandmother. The busy mother, who by reason of family ties can take no active part in the work, finds time to spend a restful hour listening to the programme, weekly, fortnightly, or monthly as it may chance to be, and carries back a change of thought with the resulting stimulation that puts a fresh joy into domesticity. The collegian brings her culture, the musician her songs, the artist her art, the wise woman her counsel, the woman-of-affairs her energy, and the commonplace woman what she hath. Each lays her gift upon the club altar, and each in turn partakes of the composite incense and is the better therefor. Of

course, there is a reverse side to the presentment. The female politician, the foolish woman who knoweth not when her quiver of offices is full, yes—candor forces the admission—even the slanderer and the busybody are sometimes in the midst. But it is through observing the unfoldment of these varied types and, perchance, being stung by the stinger, that the aforesaid lessons in human nature become valuable.

We live to grow. Conversely, if we are not growing we are not truly living. Growth comes through the lessons gained by experience. Let no woman join a club who wishes to shun such experience and consequent growth. They are as inevitable as the glint of starshine on a frosty night, or the radiance of dawn's flaunting streamers in the east.

With all its lights and shades, the woman's club is here to stay until it fulfills its present mission as one of the potent factors in the development of the woman of to-day. To-morrow will care for its own. Mayhap the club as we know it will pass away, but only that the spirit of progress which it embodies may take the particular form called forth by the needs of a particular age.

The stirring of woman's unrest may be heard down the ages by the ear placed close to the heart of hidden things. Woman by reason of her environment has developed to excess on the emotional side. Now the infinite law of equilibrium demands a reaction to the neglected intellect. Through the interaction of these two—between the impulses of the heart and the reason of the mind—woman will acquire the perfect poise of noble womanhood.

Alma A. Rogers.
Portland, Oregon.

"MART."

By F. Edwin Elwell.

IT IS rare indeed that one finds a desire on the part of a woman to wish to learn the brutal strength of thought in a man, despite the fact that it is this very quality, so despised by the dilettante and feeble art-worker, that is the essential element in the make-up of a great female artist. There is really no sex in art, except that which has been forced upon it by man. When the woman works with vigor and strength, she is capable of wonderful productions because of her intuitive reception of those forces which are called genius. We are apt to feel, because of the soft roundness of the forms of women and the feeble attitude taken by reason of countless generations of slavery to man, that they possess no dominant powers of physique and mind.

An interesting experiment has been going on for three years, between a sculptor, somewhat known, and a pupil—a woman. When the young lady first entered his studio for actual work, he was standing at the door, and as she stepped over the threshold he remarked: "There is no sex in this studio. The moment you fall in love with me or try any feminine tricks, out you go." There was no Judas politeness about this remark, but it has placed a woman on the right road for our consideration and esteem. Coupled with this remark was another that perhaps has done as much good in establishing a right attitude toward art.

"There is no reason to fear anything in this world, least of all the clay you are working with. See with your own eyes, and make what is in your own mind, regardless of what others have made. Fear is the beginning of the end in an artist's career, and the cause of woman's

mediocrity. Do not fear your master, do not set him up on a pinnacle to worship in a stupid, feminine way. If he speaks the truth to you and you feel that it is the truth, then work out this truth in your own mind and into the clay; if he speaks falsely to you, to pose as a great master or great sculptor, do not be guided by his faults, but by his virtues, and try to see the virtue of his truth without connecting his personality with it.

"When you chop clay or wash the floor, remember that it is to be as well done as your modeling, so that you get into the habit of doing work thoroughly, and not shifting your real hard work on to some assistant, and letting him do both the brain and the labor work.

"It is easy to tumble into the factory methods of the modern merchant sculptor, but you, 'Mart.,' be strong, and remember that no great work of art was made by delegating your own honest work to some one else. Do not let your master do your work for you. It is better that it should be bad, but honestly yours, than to have it made by another for your vain self to believe that it is yours."

Among the first things taught this slip of a girl was to say something forceful with all the power of her soul; to break up her bad work as regardless of it as though it had been some evil thing, and straightway to forget it.

It was wonderful how this teaching of courage and animal power, instead of weak politeness of attitude toward one's art, lifted this young woman out of the commonplace, and made her as interesting to teach as a man.

It was very hard work at first to teach such brutal things to a refined nature, and yet, well as the master knew that it was possible to be misunderstood and even disliked, the temptation to try and strengthen the side apparently lacking in all art work by woman, was too great to let pass, and each day she was "rough-housed" much as one would a boy. She finally saw what was intended, and though she said nothing she set to work—hard work—to try and drive away feminine timidity, and to attack her clay with a boldness and vigor that was truly delightful to one who had regarded women as a nuisance in studio life. Two other women from Washington fell down under this brutal attack on their minds and they are to-day doing nothing, having been absorbed in an art-school where the clever men who have invested in this enterprise find it a paying investment, but as yet have not turned out a single artist of note. "Mart." soon found that there was nothing in the ordinary art-school for her, that she must become an apprentice in the studio of some man who was actually doing sculpture that had a big quality about it, and one who loved to work because it was part of the life of art. Then, too, she wanted to get nearer to the real artist, to feel his daily life, and to take in that something one cannot teach, cannot impart to another human soul; and yet that something can be gained from the mental atmosphere of any one who is truly honest and sincere in his work.

It was hard for "Mart." to get rid of her innate mother-nature and that beautiful loyalty to anything a woman may create, whether it is a full, strong, powerful son, or a wretched cripple. Her mother-love will fondle and cuddle the weaker thing, and be entirely oblivious of the whole world. But in art the woman may become as brutal as a man, and immediately destroy all that is not well-formed and great in character. She may rise to the strong moments of a man when he says something forceful and destroys and forgets a work that he has labored on without success. Only a great mind in a woman can see the absolute necessity for this brutality of attitude.

"Mart." had watched with keen eye the studied politeness and petty manner of some others who were teaching, and she saw that what they gave had no force in it, no truth, nothing but a cunning appeal to their pupil for adoration. "This," she said, "does not give me anything. I cannot work, there is nothing to inspire me. But

you, Master, are so original and strong, so full of the wonder of your profession and the truth of it all, that I feel stirred up like a storm and equal to accomplish anything when you come in; and then a calm comes over me when you are gone, and I feel that you have been honest with me, have taught me some great principle."

The teacher knew that it would be impossible to destroy the eternal woman in one so well born, and no attempt was made to do this. But he also knew that if this woman was let alone and not strengthened on the sides most necessary to her profession, she would become one of the thousands who are of little use in the art life of America. He did not want her to continually push her sex into the arena of the studio life and there demand protection for her own faults. He wanted her to to see her faults herself and to be her own best critic, and to love only that which was strong, not pretty; for pretty art is well enough for a department store, or for those who are eternally commonplace, but great art is strong vital, pure, ennobling, and lifting the race far higher than creeds or ethics,—both being intangible things—while a great statue can be set up where the world can see it and one may sit in contemplation of a work of genius.

One of the greatest sonnet-writers that this country ever had, was a student in the same studio for several weeks, after she was seventy-five years old; she, too, had tried the popular school method, and the politeness of the insincere teacher who wanted her money far more than to teach her to rely on her own talent for that power to work one must have to accomplish anything good in art.

The same brutality of attitude was taken by the teacher, and the same feminine resentment was observed at first, until one day, with much force and vigor, she, at seventy-five, made a most astonishing result in a copy of a head exposed in the Paris Salon. Some time after she wrote a friend: "Oh, I am so happy! I am in love again! I have learned to work better in three weeks than in all my long life, because, dear friend, I have found some one to tell me the brutal truth, and it is so refreshing; it gives one such a broad outlook and destroys fear, that awful thing in woman's nature."

Until the hour of her death this grand character never forgot the lesson taught by this brutal, yet art-loving master.

The washing of the floor and the pounding of the clay was to break the conceit of this girl; for man or woman is given conceit for but one purpose, and that is that it shall be broken so that the mental eyes may be open to great truths. Some students are so fond of their vanity that they will not listen to aught against the feeble things that they have made. These never become artists, but are often found as members of art clubs and societies for the reform of art, the easy dupes of some clever art critic who knows how to organize and to take away this kind of art student's money.

"Mart.'s" hands, when she first appeared at the studio, were much like those jelly-fish arrangements that are of so little use in society, and are so expensive to maintain in idleness, but now her hands are strong and fine tools with which she can master the clay and put up great masses so that she can interpret her inspirations in a big way. They are the hands of a woman who is doing her own thinking and can destroy as well as create. They are the servants of a brain that sees clearly the larger forms in art, and they do not tire in the search for those forms.

And now, at nineteen, she makes a statue called "Motherhood," and no other hand has touched it. None but her own strong hands have labored on that clay, have torn and demolished part after part, to rebuild in better form, with greater meaning, with more vitality.

It is a wonderful statue, not unlike Rodin in treatment, but yet thoroughly original, and her own: it has the stamp of her own individuality.

It is not difficult to feel the intensity of

Photo. by H. E. Lawson, New York.

"MOTHERHOOD" "MART." "A LIFE STUDY"

the mother-love in the way the woman holds to her breast the infant babe. Her left hand is drawn away by a serpent, as though an evil tendency had for a moment taken possession of her; but the mighty mother struggle is seen in the head thrown back and the eager intensity of expression, as she tries to cover with her body the infant from the harm of the world.

What a lesson for humanity, for those weak, useless women who deliberately murder their young, or consign them to the care of inferior or immoral servants so that they can have time for those useless things of society. Is it not a wonderful statue that teaches, without words, the grandest truths of the universe, "Motherhood"? And yet a weak female artist, assisting a weaker teacher, said, "What a silly subject!"

The experiment has succeeded, and the brutal, strong master is now known to be the kind and affectionate friend, who by a longer life could see further into the future of the pupil than she or her friends.

That apparently natural fear in the mind of woman is the result of countless years of slavery to man's mind and superior brute force. He, the more powerful, has been the more conceited about his attainments; and she, the mother of us all, in her mother-love has forgotten to be brutal in her strength, to see things in masses; and in the crushing process she may have forgotten to love greatness more than prettiness, character more than politeness, the powerful and the true more than soft and useless. Many a great soul has been lost to usefulness in this life by always forcing the moral code in front of the spiritual life.

Virtue is as much a mental attitude as one of the body. The person who is virtuous only in body has not gone very far, but he or she who is virtuous in thought has the key to all true greatness, for the mind can then grasp the good and the great in all mankind.

And so "Mart." has taught us a lesson, both by her own sweet, strong, pure life, and in her statue of "Motherhood." Think you that she is any the less a lady because she has learned to use the strength and handling of the man, or that she will the more easily be led to the evil of life? She has risen to the plane of mental virtue through the "rough-housing" of the masculine mind, she has a wider view of life and is in no fear of man or of her clay. Are not these great qualities for one so young? Is it not a priceless virtue to have conquered fear of her bodily nature, and to have found out that not all men regard woman as a common prey? Greater sculpture would come into this world, and greater souls, if woman could set aside her fear, her morals, and see with wide open eyes the great truth that has been blazed by those who know that there is no sex in art; that it is as universal as is truth, and as broad as the rays of the rising sun; that it belongs not to man alone, but to the two natures in man—the female in the masculine and the masculine in the feminine,—the twin children of the universe. Not one above the other, but hand in hand they support and comfort each other, in the work of this life, the man giving of his strength and force, and she giving that priceless "Motherhood" of ideas and inspirations.

F. Edwin Elwell.

New York, N. Y.

Michael Angelo, Pinx.

ADAM (DETAIL OF "THE CREATION").

USES AND ABUSES OF ITALIAN TRAVEL.

By Carl S. Vrooman.

THE READING public is growing somewhat restive under the ever increasing output by litterateurs and artists of rhapsodies on Italy. The world of these gifted creatures is so little our world and their language so unlike our language, that we doubt sometimes whether they are sincere, whether all the words they so skilfully marshal represent definite realities or are used merely to produce a certain hazy literary effect.

What, that is real and valuable, has Italy to give to the average man, to the artistically uninitiated, to those of us who are neither professionally enthusiastic over such matters, nor constitutionally liable to those emotions which we are told we ought to feel?

To the average traveler who in a few short months toils painfully and ignorantly through the galleries of Europe, there comes little but a weariness to the flesh and a drying of the bones. There is no sadder sight even in Italy than to watch a horde of exhausted fellow-countrymen spending time, money and splendid American nervous force at this comparatively valueless, pleasureless and soulless grind. The greatest benefit to be derived from such a trip is the sloughing off of that awestruck sense of inferiority and incompleteness which some of us are feeble enough to feel until we can say to ourselves: "At last I have seen and touched the wonders of the world!"

It is contended, and with much force,

that one's first trip abroad is well-spent in getting a bird's-eye view of the leading European countries. However, the qualifying fact must not be overlooked, that the less a traveler tries to crowd into such a trip the more he will get out of it. How infinitely better to receive a few distinct, delightful impressions than a blurred kaleidoscopic mental phantasmagoria of as nearly as possible everything that can be hurriedly scanned in every European country. Moreover, while practically every one can be interested in London and amused in Paris, in the words of George William Curtis: "I begin to suspect that a man must have Italy and Greece in his heart and mind, if he would see them with his eyes."

Upon entering Italy every traveler is confronted by a soul-searching question, on his answer to which depends in large measure the success or failure of his trip: that question is, "What are you willing to omit?" Not in a lifetime can he see everything, and if his stay be limited to a few short months he must be wisely discriminating during those months or greatly disappointed at the end of them. In order to learn to know intimately, at least one small portion of Italy, the most rational plan is to settle down for half the allotted time in one city. With the insight into Italian life and the sympathy with the Italian spirit thus gained, the rest of Italy will prove an open book and can be glanced through, even though hurriedly, with both delight and profit.

Of course, when it comes to deciding which city shall be thus studied at leisure and made the key to the rest of Italy, one can only say as Schopenhauer did when told that the Jews were God's favorite race: "Tastes differ." Venice rising from the sea clad in mystery and beauty, Venice with her unrivaled school of colorists, truly is a name to conjure with. On the other hand, from the standpoint of universal history, present-day politics and comparative art, Rome's advantages are incomparable. And then there is Florence, the home of Giotto and Dante, of Petrarch and Boccaccio, of Savonarola and Michael Angelo; Florence, whose language, history and art are more truly and consistently Italian than those of any other center of Italian life—Florence, the "Athens of Italy." Undoubtedly it is to Florence one should go to find the nearest approach to a satisfactory expression of the soul of Italy.

On arriving in Florence one is apt at first to be not so much inspired as dazzled and bewildered by the art treasures on all sides. Every church, hospital, orphanage, monastery or municipal building is crowded with priceless frescoes and adorned with inimitable creations in marble and bronze. On every crumbling wall or ceiling where there were a few square yards of available space, one is amazed to find a complete history of Israel, the life of St. Francis, or an entire system of philosophy given with a dramatic power, an emotional intensity and a beauty of coloring which ought to make a direct appeal to the profoundest depths of one's being. As a rule, however, during the first few days this appeal touches no responsive chord in the majority of people. The ideas expressed and the mental attitude involved belong to a bygone age. Before the average man can come to have any real and proper appreciation of Mark Twain's "squint-eyed Madonnas," those primitive yet quaintly charming creations of the Byzantine and early Sienese schools, or even of the poetic productions of the Renaissance, he must rebuild in his imagination the mental world of those mysterious and romantic epochs. This can be done best by dwelling at one's leisure on the annals of old Florence, the legends of her saints, the tales of her warriors and statesmen, the wild and bohemian lives of her artists, the marvelous history of her workmen guilds, the endless discussions of her various schools of philosophy, and the story of the life and death of that greatest of the Florentines, the reformer-prophet, Savonarola.

The most valuable guide-books as sup-

plements to Baedeker are those of the late Grant Allen. Mr. Allen had a strongly developed historical sense and a contagious love of the beautiful. It is easy to forgive and overlook his pet foible —the desire to identify all the saints in each picture. As a hand-book, Kugler's *Italian Schools of Painting*, having no competitors, is a necessary evil. But travelers to-day are particularly fortunate, in having the illumining little series of volumes on the *Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, by Mr. Bernhard Berenson,—the greatest living connoisseur of Italian art. His books are of unique value, in that they help one to understand the significance of pictures,—to enjoy esthetically their artistic beauties. Lastly there is Ruskin, the poet-pioneer in the study of Italian art. In spite of the small minds who rail at him, because, coming before the development of modern scientific connoisseurship his writings are full of technical errors, any one who voluntarily goes through Italy without the benefit of the flood of light he sheds on Italian art, is practically on a par with a man who would refuse to utilize the light of day because there are spots on the sun. With these four writers as cicerones and as much collateral reading as one has time and inclination for, one has no excuse for getting mixed up with the ignorant herd of misinformation dispensers calling themselves guides. To speak of guides is to broach the saddest part of the subject of travel. The hordes of these creatures who haunt the museums, churches and galleries of Europe are made up for the most part of the refuse of the more difficult or more crowded professions—disabled day-laborers, hotel-waiters out of a job, retired cab-drivers, or other unfortunates who live not by their wits, but by the traveling public's lack of wits.

Botticelli, Pinx.

MADONNA AND CHILD.

One morning a young American art student was enjoying a quiet hour in salon 3 of the Tuscan School in the Ufizzi Gallery, which is more attractive to many people than the famous "Tribuna" itself, when suddenly, with much clatter and chatter, a party of Americans surged in,

with a greasy guide at their back. He lined them up, and pointing to Fra Angelico's "Coronation of the Virgin," said in barbarous English: "Zat ees all you need to luke at heere." Instantly the young student sprang to her feet and with blazing eyes said: "What is that you are telling them? Are there not in this room a Lorenzo di Credi, a Pietro della Francesca, a Leonardo da Vinci, some Botticellis and other priceless pictures?" He coughed and assented dubiously but said that they had no time for them. Just then a man in the party, who, up to this point, had kept his eyes glued on his Baedeker, demanded: "What do you say is the number of what-you-may-call-him's 'Coronation of the Virgin'?" As the guide gave the number he checked it off with a pencil in his Baedeker to remind

Giotto, Pinx.

THE ENTHRONED VIRGIN.

him on his arrival home that he had seen it and with barely a glance at this one picture, hurried out to "do" the rest of the gallery in the remainder of the alloted hour,—or perhaps half-hour,—it is to be hoped he did n't waste a whole hour in this way.

A guide of a well-known tourist company at Paris, after having conducted a party two-thirds through one of the rooms of the Louvre, explaining about every fifth picture as he went, suddenly stopped, consulted some notes and said: "I beg pardon—you 'll please retrace your steps—I 've—er—made a slight mistake—I 've explained the other side of the room!"

Raphael, Pinx.

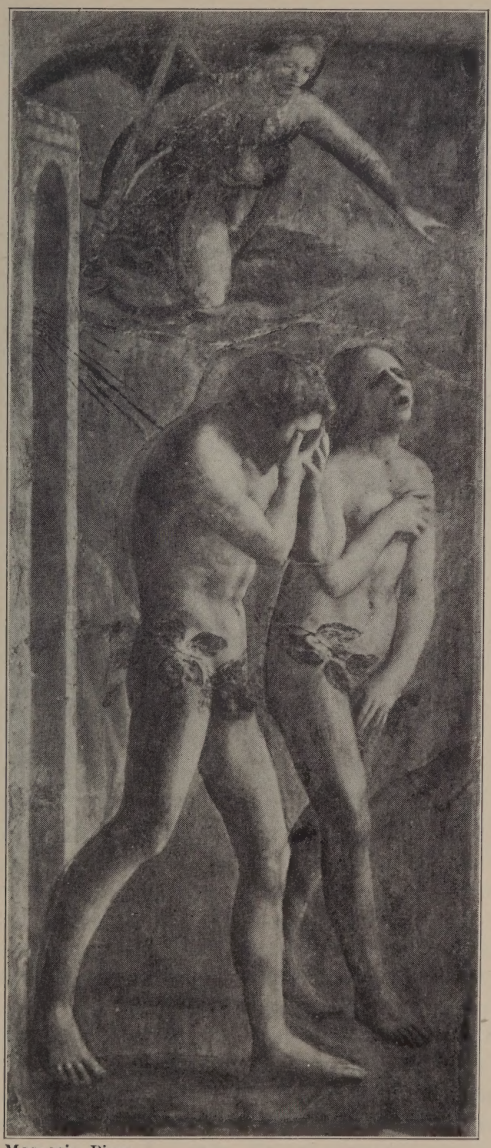
PLATO AND ARISTOTLE.

I once heard a guide in the church of Santa Croce at Florence filling a party of tourists with art history, of his own special brew. He told them that Donatello's "Annunciation" was a masterpiece of Mino da Fiesole; Giotto's glorious frescoes were announced as the work of the school of Fra Angelico, and some dilapidated, almost effaced works of an unknown artist were declared to be the product of Dante Alighieri. At this point, be it said in their honor, the party struck, and with difficulty refrained from laying violent hands on the ignorant if not innocent offender.

There are several American and English art lecturers in Italy, however, who, in glaring contrast with this race of guides, are entirely competent and more interesting and stimulating to the novice than any book can be.

One afternoon after about a six months' stay in Florence, I took great pleasure in rescuing a friend from the clutches of a guide and pouring into his ears all my newly-acquired information. In briefest outline I traced the slow development of Florentine art from the grotesque imitations of the stiff Byzantine up to the marvels of Michael Angelo, illustrating each step with the masterpieces of its epoch. It was amusing to see the look of sullen boredom and confused fatigue gradually giving way to manifestations of delight. From the monstrous caricatures of the earliest Italian artists—to the "Cimabue Madonna" at the Church of Santa Maria Novella, was a great stride—but the advent of Giotto was more; it was a revo-

lution. His work marked the commencement of unimitative Italian art. Next, in the supremely brilliant and tragically short career of Masaccio came the dawn of the Florentine scientific school, with its steady development in the works of his successors, Paolo Uccello, Verrocchio, the Pollaiuolos, Castagno, Veneziano, Baldovinetti and Botticelli, and its maturity and consummate flower in the matchless creations of Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo. After a somewhat careful examination of these great masters we went back to enjoy the charming products of Fra Angelico, the Lippis, Benozzo Gozzoli and others whose works are full of gladness and subtile witchery, but which differ from those of the first-named in not constituting necessary links in the development of the Florentine school. While the story of this development is as simple as a nursery tale, it is many times more full of interest and value than the accounts of wars, murders and intrigues which form the warp and woof of so much meaningless "history." This record reveals the human soul searching, struggling and slowly achieving a fuller and more beautiful expression of its deepest emotions and highest aspirations.



Masaccio, Pinx

ADAM AND EVE EXPELLED FROM EDEN.

"I do n't know anything about art but I know what I like," is a phrase which automatically comes to the lips of nearly every traveler when he finds himself discussing pictures with an artist or an art critic. These knowing creatures dread this little prefatory remark as much as a sea captain does that much-abused question of passengers: "Captain, how many times have you crossed?" The story is related of a famous Scotch artist who, on hearing this artistic credo for about the four-hundredth time, said to the charming lady who had last offended: "Dinna say thot, Maam! Dinna say thot—the beasts o' the field ken as mooch!" Whatever professionals may say to the contrary, however, the attitude involved in this phrase,—"I do n't know much about art but I know what I like,"—is the only rational attitude for a beginner. It is a form of that mental honesty without which any real intellectual, spiritual or esthetic

Botticelli, Pinx.

ALLEGORY.

development is an utter impossibility. If one has even bad taste to start with and will work honestly, that taste can be cultivated. If on the other hand one merely goes into "mechanical raptures over known masterpieces," one can remain a life-time in Italy and memorize the names of all the great artists, together with the points of beauty of all the great pictures, without ever feeling one thrill of genuine esthetic delight or receiving the slighest emotional uplift. The only possibility of real growth lies in being true to the highest that is in us, however low that may be. The best advice to a novice is: "If Ghirlandajo's work is more beautiful to you than that of Botticelli, say so. Do not, however, stop at that; study the criticisms of the world's great experts; try to look at Botticelli and Raphael and Michael Angelo from their standpoint; try to see the world of beauty they see and to feel the emotional stimulus they feel. Eventually in this way you are certain to succeed in perceiving the beauties to which your nature is capable of becoming responsive. Study Ghirlandajo also from their point-of-view, and it is probable that soon his shortcomings will become apparent. By knowing and enjoying without shame what you really like, yet ever striving to learn to like the best, and in no other way under heaven, is the development of your esthetic nature possible."

While standing one day before Botticelli's "Birth of Venus," one of the most beautiful creations of the human imagination, a young American tourist and his wife came in. After a moment's inspection of the picture, the young woman made some remark about the "shameless" nude figure of Venus, whereupon they turned on their heels and stalked out. I could scarcely believe my senses. They had totally overlooked all the positive qualities of the picture. The fascinating expression of renaissance feeling, of moral yearning, the stimulating movement of the figures and the marvelous decorative effect of color and line were totally lost on them. One thing and one

alone they saw, a purely negative point —one of the figures had no clothes on. Their conception of art was on a par with that far too common conception of religion which holds up, as a model, the man who does not murder, nor commit adultery, nor steal illegally, nor get drunk, nor smoke, nor read the Sunday papers. Many of us, unfortunately, have forgotten the fine virile religion of David, who committed all these crimes except the last

Botticelli, Pinx.

BIRTH OF VENUS.

yet was called "a man after God's own heart," because his aim was always pure and high and his repentance sincere when he fell, and because of his dominant positive qualities of courage, heroism and self-sacrifice. In a virile art or a virile religion the positive qualities always assume a supreme importance. Both are in their decadence when the voice of the critic rises above that of the artist.

Right here the question arises,—after one has studied and enjoyed Italian art for a few months, what of it? Will a man be a better and more successful citizen, a young girl a better wife and mother, for having seen and loved and partly understood this bewitching expression of the soul of these past centuries? Will not such study put one out of sympathy with American life? Is it not something foreign to our spirit and injurious in its influence? A little analogy can help us to decide this question. Why do men who never intend to make any possible practical use of higher mathematics, logic or experimental physics, devote years of study to them and to kindred subjects at the university? Because such studies develop the powers of the mind, forming certain mental habits of exactness and consecutiveness of thought without which any real culture or great intellectual power is entirely impossible. Such studies permeate and transform one's entire mental life—giving one gradually and unconsciously the scientific spirit and method. Just so the fine arts, when truly loved and studied, saturate and transfuse one's entire personality, awaken within one and

gradually develop the esthetic and emotional nature, and give to one's thoughts and work a new aroma, a new potency—the persuasive potency of artistic feeling. When once this sense, sometimes called taste, this feeling for beauty, is developed in a human soul, life is no longer the same—it has a new charm and power of fundamental importance. This development in one's nature, like the development in the mind of the scientific spirit or the awakening in the soul of the spiritual nature, henceforth manifests itself, of necessity, in every manifestation of that personality. If one be a writer, it will gradually suffuse his work with a new and subtile power. If one be a farmer, it will transform his surroundings more and more into habitations worthy of a human being. If one be an artisan, it will seek expression in work that rises above the ugly and the commonplace. If one be a wife and mother, it will give to the home an attractiveness, a restfulness, a domestic charm the value of which can scarcely be overestimated. In this way, far from unfitting one for life in America, it can but give to those who have really felt its influence a new and mysterious force which, as it permeates more and more our national life, must dignify and exalt it.

Here it must be acknowledged that some people on returning home from a trip abroad, proceed at once to show their artistic attainments by carping at everything American and ostentatiously writhing in supersensitive horror at our art industry and life in general. It is their misfortune that travel has developed in them, not a sensitiveness to see and enjoy whatever is most picturesque and beautiful about them, but an abnormal ability to search out and suffer from everything that is ugly or crude. Their education has been entirely negative, their development has been one-sided and ludicrous. This is not through any fault of Europe. These same people have doubtless read the Bible and heard it expounded with the very similar result, that they have arrived at a religious state of exaggerated sanctimonious compunction over the sins of their neighbors. They look at everything in a shallow, egoistic way which makes it impossible for them to appreciate or imbibe the spirit which animates all great art—the spirit of truth and goodness expressed in terms of beauty.

One fact of peculiar significance to Americans stands out large and luminous in the lives and work of all the great masters of Italy,—the fact that supreme greatness is incompatible with hurry and fret. It took Orcagna ten years to make the incomparable marble canopy in the church of Or San Michele, and it took Ghiberti twenty-one years to make the gates of the Baptistery which Michael Angelo declared fit to be the "gates of Paradise." These men only demanded a living and a chance to do their best work, but that alone was immortality. The highest work never has been and never will be done by men who do their work primarily for the money they can get out of it, rather than for the message they can breathe into it. Men whose time is too valuable to work and work over and wait for an inspiration, must turn out hack-work, a loveless unnatural product of hands and brain which, however perfect in technique, is yet a monstrosity. None but messengers from the heart have ever touched and inspired the hearts of men.

One other thing we can learn from Europe, which unfortunately Europe has not yet learned for herself, and that is the uselessness and utter absurdity of seeking lasting satisfaction or happiness in even the highest esthetic delights, *except as infused into and made a part of one's serious duties and labors as a human being.* Beauty is the expression of one's love for one's work. What we love we instinctively adorn. A decoration is an embodied caress. But no art can replace ethical purposes, no skill can sanctify a selfish or impure impulse. The center

and core of life is a love for truth, for goodness and for that beauty which is their radiant garment. Art exercises an influence which is beneficent and can be replaced by nothing else, but when, as among the believers in "art for art's sake" the attempt is made to make of art a religion—it would be disgusting if it were not so ridiculous, and yet one can hardly say it is ridiculous, it is so supremely pitiful.

CARL VROOMAN.

Geneva, Switzerland.

THE AMERICAN DOCTRINE OF SHIPPING-RIGHTS.

BY WILLIAM W. BATES,
Ex-United States Commissioner of Navigation.

IT IS the teaching of history that contact with the ocean has been highly influential in forming the character of nations—increasing their courage and love of freedom and developing the means of their wealth and power. This is why in every enlightened country the benefits of navigation are fully appreciated. Every people whose territory touches the ocean, its rivers and harbors furnishing sites for towns and cities and abodes of civilization, are naturally blessed in great degree. To other industries they may add shipbuilding, transportation and trade with foreign countries. If well-governed, they may grow rich and powerful on land and sea, and exert much influence on the progress of mankind. But native skill must be applied; shipping must be home-built and home-employed and commerce conducted by citizens, or its natural advantages will do the nation little good. Alien merchants using foreign shipping will not aid very much in developing industries away from home—they work for their own country and flag everywhere they go.

Only one of the larger nations of the earth—the United States of America—has failed for some time to prize and protect a large part of its navigation—that engaged in foreign trade. This part, by a mistaken policy, virtually thrust upon the government by a rival, has long been unprotected and consequently is now an almost vanished industry. It is hoped, however, that this policy will be soon corrected and that once more the American ship will win her way and enjoy her *rights*.

In February, 1904, a joint commission of Congress was appointed to investigate the situation of the American merchant marine during the recess and to prepare a bill to meet its demands in a constitutional manner. It was developed that the view of the country favored the re-establishment of our early policy. This called for discriminating duties of *tonnage* and of *tariff*, as regulations of foreign commerce, the constitution not sanctioning the payment of "bounties" or "subsidies" to the marine in general. Contrary to expectation, the commission reported a "subvention" or subsidy bill, which, however, was not put upon passage, the report in its favor by a majority of the commission being weak and unsatisfactory. It is possible that this measure may be offered at the next session, but is by no means certain of enactment; for ample discussion must show that *its principle is false*, and that unless our present policy shall be *discontinued* there can be no hope for an American marine, no matter how much treasure may be squandered on the experiment.

ADVANTAGE OF SHIPPING POWER.

The relations of national advancement to navigation and commerce are naturally such, that the nations accomplishing their improvement and extension have ever

developed a power of controlling the circumstances of others. An intelligent observation of Sir Walter Raleigh was grounded on this fact:

"Whosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself."

The riches of the world do not all reside in traffic, though it is the idea of some commercial countries that, *for them*, the marts of trade are the indispensable possession. Raleigh's nation has paid great attention to his maxim. The mastery of navigation and the command of commerce have been uppermost in the mind of its government in every movement made on land or sea for two hundred and fifty years. The possession of forty-three colonies or dependencies tells a long story of naval power, conquest and accumulation of wealth. Great Britain's command of the sea now begins with the control of shipbuilding; takes root with sure ascendency in shipowning; branches out with supremacy in underwriting, and is perfected in power by mercantile advantage and the consequent financial rule of debtor nations: *those without shipping.* To her other instrumentalities of domination she adds a great navy.

THE WORK OF SHIP PROTECTION.

The basis for this commanding position—of "Ruler of the Seas"—was laid in a navigation act (1651–60) the most efficacious ever enforced. Its protection to ship employment was absolute. Says a British historian:

"The result of that act transcended the wildest dream of Lombard and Venetian avarice, or the grandest schemes of Spanish and Portuguese conquest. It not only secured to the people who enacted it the greatest share of the world's carrying trade, but the trade also knew its *master* and *followed* with becoming servility."

Following is the principal section of the perfected act which gave England her start as the autocrat of commerce, virtually compelling other countries to follow her example in regard to ship protection:

BRITISH NAVIGATION ACT.

"And it is further enacted, etc., that no goods or commodities whatever of the growth, production or manufacture of Africa, Asia or America, or any part thereof, be imported into England, Ireland, or Wales, islands of Guernsey and Jersey, or town of Berwick-on-Tweed, in any other ship or ships, vessel or vessels whatever, but in such as do truly and without fraud, belong only to the people of England or Ireland, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-on-Tweed, or of the lands, islands, plantations or territories in Asia, Africa or America, to his Majesty belonging, as the proprietors and right owners thereof, and whereof the master and three-fourths at least of the mariners are English, under the penalty of the forfeiture of all such goods and commodities, and of the ship or vessel in which they were imported, with all her guns, tackle, furniture and apparel."

Thus, absolute prohibition protected British carrying with the greater part of the world, while, with the continent of Europe only, differential duties were applied. Necessarily, rival European nations regulated their commerce in view of the English system: prohibitively for their coastwise and colonial trades, as in Spain and Portugal, and discriminatively in duties for foreign traffic. England was not long in following up her navigation law with open warfare on the shipping of the Netherlands, then doing a large share of carriage for other countries. By breaking up these fixed relations, new ones favorable to English trade might be made. In this advancement the navy was the main support. In a few years' warfare the Dutch marine was destroyed. British statesmen said it was to break up

a monopoly of navigation; historians say it was to establish one monopoly in place of another.

ANTI-MONOPOLY OF NAVIGATION.

When the United States of America came into the arena of ocean commerce a new problem confronted England. Under her laws, only her own flag could carry between any of the ports of America, or from them to her ports in Europe. American vessels under the stars and stripes would be excluded from these ports both in America and Europe, if no relaxation were made. This was done, but not by a statute for a number of years. A royal proclamation was issued annually, the ports in Great Britain were declared open, but those in the Provinces and the West Indies were reported closed, *to vessels of the United States.* The governor of the East Indies, then having the power so to do, permitted American vessels to trade there under conditions such as other countries enjoyed.

For the better protection of her shipping, Great Britain refused outright to make any treaty of commerce and navigation with the United States, and to this day *she has made none* except the meager, time-limited convention of 1815, conditioned, at her instance, for the mutual suspension of discriminating duties in *direct trans-Atlantic* trade, securing thus a great advantage. The United States had no difficulty in getting desirable treaties with France, Holland and Sweden, and afterward with other countries, favorable to fair and equitable traffic.

The peculiar course of Great Britain caused a study of the subject of international navigation the world over, especially by American statesmen intent upon securing *the natural rights* of a young and independent maritime nation. What these rights were became matter for serious thought and considerate but determined action. Ambitious schemes, such as ultimately carrying and conducting the commerce of *the world*, were not entertained. Only fair and equitable commerce was wanted—no other appeared desirable.

TRANSPORTATION A PART OF COMMERCE.

Considering the question in its larger aspects, as did Benjamin Franklin and other of our early statesmen, transportation is a part of the commerce between two nations, and in direct trade plainly *belongs* to each country to do; but if one country has not the vessels, and the other has, then the whole transportation manifestly *belongs* to that one and cannot be justly claimed by any other.

While some nations unskilled in navigation have been content to have no shipping and only a *passive* commerce, others qualified to build and sail have been alert to the importance of an *active commerce* carried on by their own vessels. A dependence on foreign shipping, and the payment of freight to vessels of other countries, *creates or increases* balances of commerce against a country. Alexander Hamilton, one of the greatest statesmen of our country, said: "To preserve the balance of trade [commerce] in favor of a nation ought to be a leading aim of its policy." Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, said in 1790: "By permitting foreigners to carry our produce for us, in order to pay for the fine goods they furnish us, we have to raise more from the soil by *one-third* than if we carried it ourselves."

Foreign shipping dependence also encounters the disadvantages of foreign wars, scarcity of vessels, high rates of freight and dear insurance, without certainty of service at any cost; hence a national shipping is an *economic necessity* for a maritime people, and absolutely so, to maintain independence and perfect prosperity. Shipless nations often become a prey to the navigating class, as *trade* is always gained to alien carrying nations, while their profits enlarge and grow unfair. The shipless nation, too, is *always in debt, generally backward* and seldom prosperous.

THE TRUE THEORY OF COMMERCE.

Regarding the true theory of commerce, said Rufus King in 1818:

"As all nations have *equal rights*, and each may claim *equal advantages* in its intercourse with others, the true theory of international commerce is one of *equality* and *reciprocal benefits*. This gives to skill and to capital their just and natural advantages; any other scheme is merely artificial; and so far as it aims at advantages over those who adhere to the open system, it aims at profit at the expense of natural justice."

The British system had the fault thus described. The colonists were treated as subordinate to their fellow-subjects; their industries and the use of their vessels being placed under inferior regulations. It was this denial of equality that really caused the revolution of 1776. It was natural, therefore, that an American system of commerce should look to *protection* of some kind, that should even up disadvantages in the *footing of vessels* and conduce to the conduct of "fair commerce" and a just sharing of transportation with the countries with whom we traded. The first two commercial treaties made after the revolution exhibit the care of our early statesmen in this regard. The *right* to protect against inequalities of *footing* in navigation was reserved in the preambles to these treaties both proclaimed in 1783. We quote from that of the Netherlands.

The contracting parties:

"Desiring to ascertain in a permanent and equitable manner, the rules to be observed relative to the commerce and correspondence which they intend to establish between their respective states, countries, and inhabitants have judged that the said end cannot be better obtained than by establishing the most perfect *equality* and reciprocity for the basis of their agreements, and by avoiding all those burdensome preferences which are usually the sources of debate, embarrassment, and discontent; by leaving also each party *at liberty* to make, respecting commerce and navigation, such *ulterior regulations* as it shall find most convenient to itself, and by founding the advantages of commerce solely upon *reciprocal utility* and the just rules of free intercourse; reserving withal to each party the liberty of admitting at its pleasure other nations to a participation of the same advantages."

OUR CONTENTION FOR FAIR WEST INDIA COMMERCE.

After the above-mentioned treaties were made, nearly all our states enacted regulations of commerce—described as "discriminating duties"—for the protection of their carrying trade, being free so to do. When the constitution was formed a *compact* was necessarily entered into, that the duty and power of such protection should be taken over by the Federal government. That is the significance of clause 3 of section 8 of article I. of the Constitution, providing for the regulation of foreign trade. In conformity with the compact and under the power granted, the first Congress, in 1789, took up its duty towards shipping, and in a short time an American marine was under way encouraged and protected in its *employment*. Great Britain was alone in her opposition and antagonism. Herself the best protected shipping nation on earth, a strong believer in her right to keep down rivalry and to monopolize, if she could, the commerce and carriage of the world, she could not tolerate "fair commerce" with a former rebel colony. For twenty-five years the British ministry watched and worked to coerce the American government into an abandonment of ship protection in the trade between the two countries. Finally this was effected after the close of the war of 1812, the West Indies remaining closed. The alternative was to continue the war. Giving way to Great Britain in 1815 initiated a change of system that should never have been made. A most *unfair* commerce

resulted from it. British shipping brought out such goods as our market would accept; then they took cargo for the West Indies; there they loaded for the United States; discharged cargo here, and loading again they sailed homeward bound, having paid no "discriminating duties" for the protection of "Yankee" ships. American vessels could load and sail for a British European port, take in *ballast* and return home. They could not then load and sail to a British West India port under penalty of confiscation of hull and cargo. They paid no discriminating duties, except for lights in the British ports in Europe, but neither could they get the carriage of foreign-owned cargoes with their discriminating duties off; the British merchant freighted the ship of his own flag, for such were the ethics of his philosophy, and the disregard that he paid to the principle of *reciprocal* benefits. Entitled to *half* the transportation of the commerce with Great Britain, the United States could get but *one-quarter*. Entitled to *half* the transportation of the commerce with the West Indies, they were refused *any of it*.

Finding how the convention operated, Congress was not long in resolving to have the ports of the West Indies opened, or the disadvantage of the convention reduced to a minimum. In 1819 it would terminate, but, having other negotiations pending, England had it in her power to compel an extension of time, and this she did for ten years in 1818. In 1818, Congress passed an act to the effect that American ports were closed to *all vessels* coming from ports which were closed to vessels of the United States. In the Senate the vote was 31 to 2, and in the House, 123 to 16. The British policy was "exclusively directed against us," the vessels of other countries being indulged in a free intercourse. In this wrongful policy Britain stood alone, "American vessels being admitted into the French, Spanish, Dutch and Swedish colonies."

NATURAL RIGHTS SHOULD BE PROTECTED.

James Barbour, of Virginia, in an able speech said:

"Vain, foolish, your resolutions to build ships, unless you *protect* your navigation. It is not to the superior fixtures of your vessels, or the ampleness of their supplies, you are to look for victory, but to the number and experience of your sailors. If you suffer the power who looks with jealousy on your rising commerce and with envy on the glory of your navy, to exclude you from the participation of those advantages which *of right*, as being derived from *nature*, BELONG TO YOU, abandon all thoughts of an efficient marine, and withdraw from the ocean."

It was estimated that 138,000 tons of shipping, manned by 6,000 seamen, sailed annually from our ports to the British West Indies with exports to the value of $6,000,000—a commerce in which we had no participation whatever. Mr. Barbour thus illustrated the case:

"A British ship arrives in the United States direct from Great Britain, with a cargo, unloads in one of our ports, takes in a cargo of lumber, goes to the West Indies, delivers it, and finding freight scarce, she sails to New Orleans, procures a load of tobacco, cotton, etc., and proceeds to Great Britain; here two or three of the freights *belong of right* to the shipping of America, as being *the products* of America. Yet British ships, from the policy complained of, monopolize the whole. An American vessel going from a Northern or an Eastern port with a view to take a cargo for Europe, goes *in ballast* to New Orleans. Even from the colonies in North America vessels are daily entering our ports laden with plaster, fish and the products of their colonies; these are commuted in some of our ports for such cargoes as are wanted in the West Indies, whither they sell or exchange their cargo, and procure a freight in the pro-

duce of the islands. Again, British ships engaged in the West India trade, frequently leave home with cargoes of little value, such as earthenware, coal, salt, etc., come to the United States, procure cargoes for the West Indies, and return home freighted with the productions of the islands; while the American trade is limited to a *direct* trade only with the possessions of Great Britain in Europe. *They return generally in ballast*" [since the convention of 1815].

THE VESSEL'S RIGHT TO CARRY THE CARGO.

It was not the "colonial system" to which Americans objected, but a new development of the monopolistic policy. On this point Rufus King, a member of the constitutional convention, said:

"Our commercial system is an open one—our ports and our commerce are free to all—we neither possess, nor desire to possess, colonies; nor do we object that others should possess them, unless thereby the general commerce of the world be so abridged that we are restrained in our intercourse with foreign commerce wanting our supplies, and furnishing in return those which we need.

"But it is not to the colonial system, but to *a new principle*, which in modern times has been incorporated with those of the navigation act of Great Britain, that we now object. According to this act no direct trade or intercourse can be carried on between a colony and a foreign country; but by the 'free port bill' passed in the present reign, the English contraband trade, which had long been pursued, in violation of Spanish laws, between English and Spanish colonies, was sanctioned and regulated by an act of Parliament; and, since the independence of the United States, England has passed laws opening an intercourse and trade between her West India colonies and the United States, and excluding the shipping of the United States, has confined the same to English ships and seamen; departing by this law not only from the principles of the navigation act, which she was at liberty to do, by opening a *direct* intercourse between the colonies and a foreign country, but controlling, *which she had no authority to do*, the reciprocal *rights* of the United States to employ their own vessels to carry it on.

"Colonies being parts of the nation, are subjected to its regulations; but when an intercourse and trade are opened between colonies and a foreign country, the foreign country becomes *a party*, and has a reciprocal claim to employ its own vessels equally in the intercourse and trade with such colony, as with any other part of the nation to which they belong. Governments owe it to the trust confided to them, carefully to watch over, and by all suitable means to promote, the general welfare; and while on account of a small or doubtful inconvenience they will not disturb a beneficial intercourse between their people and a foreign country, they ought not to omit the interposition of their corrective authority, whenever an important public interest is evaded, or the national reputation affected."

RESULTS OF OUR CONTENTION.

As the islands had to have our supplies, we did not lose the trade, which, under their regulations, was carried on by our vessels through neutral ports, the British carrying between these and their own. There were thus two freights in place of one, much to the cost of the islanders. British commerce, and the subjects of the King, suffered under this state of things for twelve years before his Majesty would recognize the principle that American vessels had a *right* to carry *export* cargoes to any extent. In 1830 the drastic course pursued opened the ports which had been closed in 1783. The ports of the world are open to American shipping to-day, but *ninety* per cent. of them might as well be closed to our vessels as to have to run them under a policy such as now virtually excludes them on peril of ruin to owners. And we are told if we undertake to change

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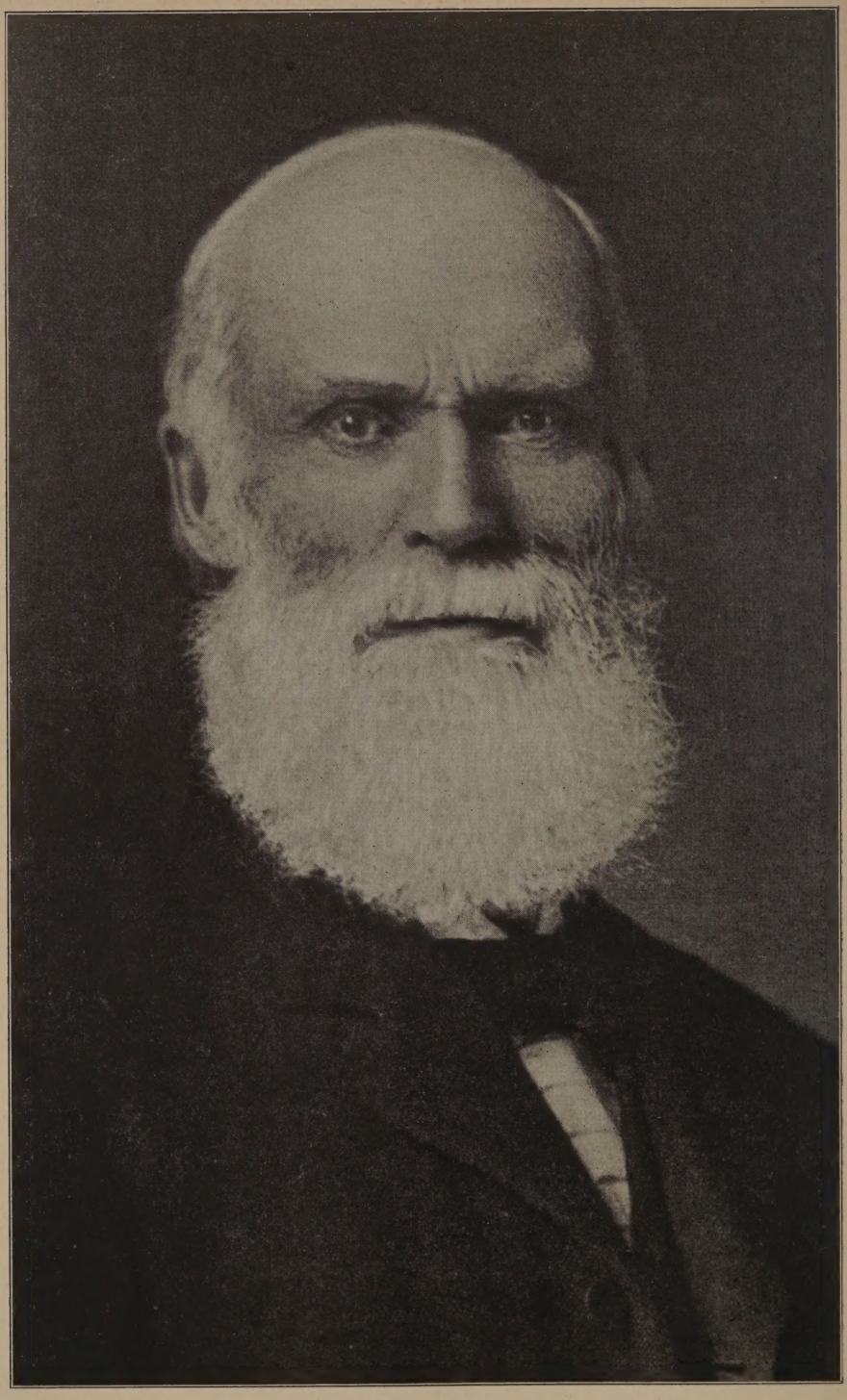


WILLIAM W. BATES

this policy, which but for Great Britain we would never have had, there will be dire retaliation leveled at the interests of American farmers. Sentiment so unworthy did not move the patriotic legislators in 1818, led by a farmer of Virginia, Hon. James Barbour. About this point he said:

"The exports from this country to the dependencies in question may be estimated at $6,000,000 and the question to be discussed is, what will be the influence of this measure upon the price of the article thus exported? If it be necessary to admit that Great Britain can do and will do without them, then it would be in vain to disguise the fact that the price of these articles would diminish, and in so far the value be impaired and by consequence the agricultural interest injured. But if it were revealed from Heaven that this would be the consequence, still he hoped that agriculturists were prepared, when a just regard to the interests and to the character of their country required it, to make the sacrifice which the emergency called for. He represented farmers and agriculturists; his interest was like theirs, and he, therefore, presumed he spoke their sentiments, when he proclaimed his readiness to look across any sacrifice of their interest, when the welfare and dignity of the whole people of the United States demanded it."

ENUMERATION OF SHIPPING RIGHTS.

Thus, as we have seen, and as the writer has elsewhere shown from the proceedings of Congress,* the American doctrine in relation to the foreign carrying trade is this: American shipping has the *natural right* and is entitled,

1. To carry American exports to any country whose *ports are open* to them.

2. To carry American commerce between the states and other countries, their vessels mutually participating in the carriage of imports and exports, to the extent of *one-half*.

3. To carry *all* the commerce between the United States and another country, *if it has no vessels* with which to do its share of carriage.

4. *To carry all American domestic commerce*—coasting, lake and river.

5. The government of the United States has the *natural right*, and is entitled to regulate its foreign trade in a manner to secure and protect all American shipping rights against the adverse footing, or protective policies, of foreign countries.

6. The government of the United States is under a constitutional *compact* with the maritime states to perform its duty in the enactment of proper laws for the encouragement and protection of American navigation and to see that engagements with foreign nations involve no sacrifice of the shipping interest of the United States.

THE PROBABLE ACTION OF CONGRESS.

The foregoing principles should and will undoubtedly prevail in any measure that Congress will enact for the recovery of the foreign carrying trade, which is now done to the extent of *ninety-two* per cent. by the vessels of foreign countries. Of the annual importations, about *fifty-four* per cent. arrive by vessels not belonging to the countries of production, *i. e.*, by indirect carriage. This is in consequence of the act of Congress, of 1828, opening our ports to vessels of all countries, with cargoes the production of any or every country, on the same footing at the customs as our own ships, whenever any foreign country would reciprocate, though reciprocation was of no real value. At the time this act was passed, American ships competed in British ports with British ships; in French ports with French ships; in Chinese ports with Chinese vessels, and so on, for freight to the United States. Now, in these, and in all ports whatever, American vessels have to compete with the vessels of *all nations*—a manifold competition, say, of *tenfold* the extent that is prudent or

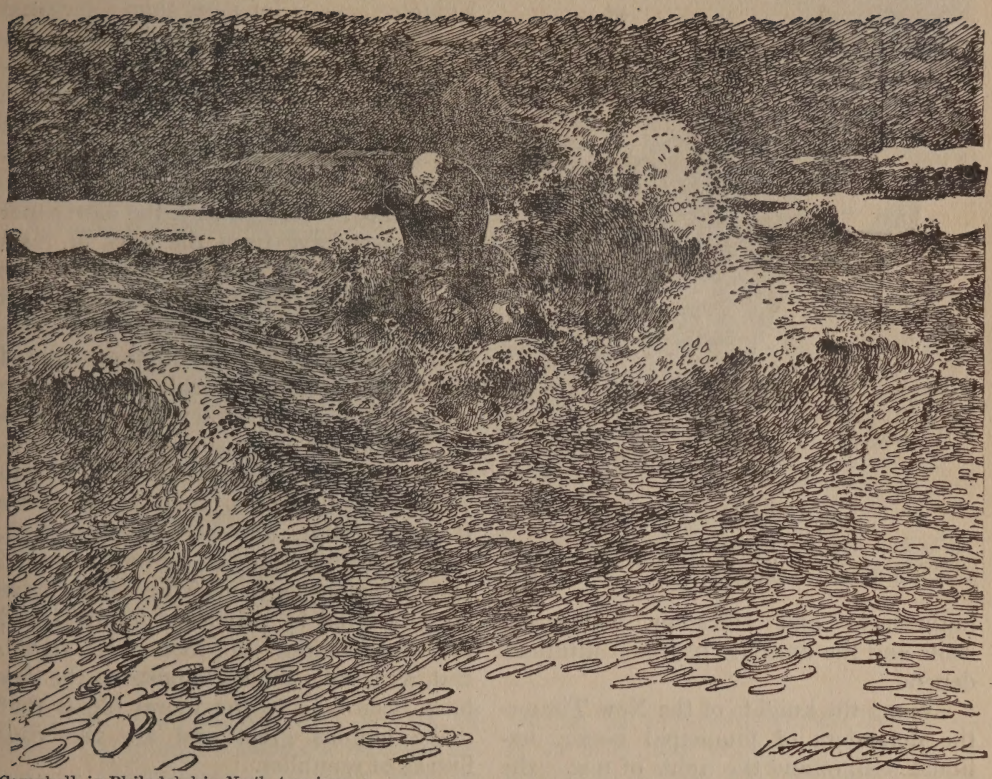
*See *American Navigation*, 1902. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston and New York.

necessary. It is this excess of competition that the forthcoming congressional legislation should seek to set aside. The conventions standing in the way of this course may all be terminated by giving the notice of one year required, if one country or the other came to believe that the convention operated unfairly and was detrimental. It has been to the interest of many countries to let these conventions stand, and several have devised and applied *other protections*—to the damage of the United States. The act should extend far enough to nullify these; and it may follow that other nations will have to adopt the principles of our act, as this article has set them out.

It is not the intention and would not seem to be good policy to lay any extra burdens on *direct trade and transportation*, unless foreign countries take that course, which will not probably happen. Acknowledging the right of all nations to carry their own commerce and standing for the freedom of international intercourse, the United States seeks only justice for her own people in respect to navigation. They are willing to have a fair competition, for instance, between their own vessels and those of Great Britain for the commerce between the two countries and their dependencies, but not for the commerce of the United States with France, Germany, Brazil, China, etc. Moreover, students of the subject have satisfied themselves that there cannot be a *fair* competition with *unequal footing*, and that American vessels cannot survive with *less protection* than others. It is taken as proved in our experience that Great Britain has *advantages* for navigation *in excess* of all other nations, and that the United States have disadvantages beyond all others. If this were not so, British shipping would not be so redundant as it is, nor American shipping so insufficient. Congress should therefore look mainly to a degree of handicapping requisite to equalize conditions for competition with British vessels. The situation was similar in 1789. Our regulations made then and afterward, judging from history, held the scales of competition with tolerable equipoise; that was the reason the British were discontented and endeavored to get our policy changed —protection removed—as they seemed to prefer *advantage* to *equality*. This course might be expected of a rival who believes it is for *him* to carry the commerce of "the world."

The British have no convention with the United States for reciprocity under the act of 1828. Their act of 1849 met the terms of that act. Though they have prospered greatly and much more than others, from its extravagant liberality, they have never left a stone unturned to find and apply advantages, *fair and unfair*, to accomplish the monopoly of our foreign transportation. Great Britain is now the best protected of all nations, as the United States is the least, as to foreign trade, yet it is feared by some that she will "retaliate" if we compel an equalization of advantages. For this there would be no moral justification, and therefore no such action. A nation that is just will not object to American ship-protection at the present day, especially as nothing could be accomplished by exciting the resentment of the American Republic.

WILLIAM W. BATES.
Denver, Colo.



Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American*.

"MAROONED."

"John D. Rockefeller's plight in these mature years is pathetic. He is paying a terrible price for the realization of ambition. He is forced to stand alone. . . . Isolated? His isolation is almost inconceivable. There is no club that opens its doors to him. No banqueters ever invite him to their board. Art, music, literature, science, none of these offers him escape, for he knows them not. . . . Marooned by public opinion, on his island of gold, in a sea of wealth, he is a solitary, terrible figure of isolation."

FLOYD CAMPBELL: A KNIGHT OF MUNICIPAL HONOR.

By B. O. Flower.

I.

THE OLD chivalry arose in the nighttime of savagery, rapine and brutality and strove to guard, protect and conserve that which was pure, true and worthy. It was individualistic and militant. Its weapons were the spear, the sword and the battle-axe.

The new chivalry, conforming to the changed conditions of civilization, which have largely removed the theater of action between the forces of light and darkness from the plane of the physical to that of the mental, finds its most effective weapons in the pen, the brush and the pencil. Its knights are less theatric and dramatic, but far more efficient. It is socialistic rather than individualistic in that it concerns itself with the weal of the community, the state and nation, rather than the interests of the individual. Upon its

MUZZLED!!

A cartoon from the Philadelphia Evening *Telegraph* illustrating Governor Pennypacker's delight over the passage of the Salus-Grady bill.

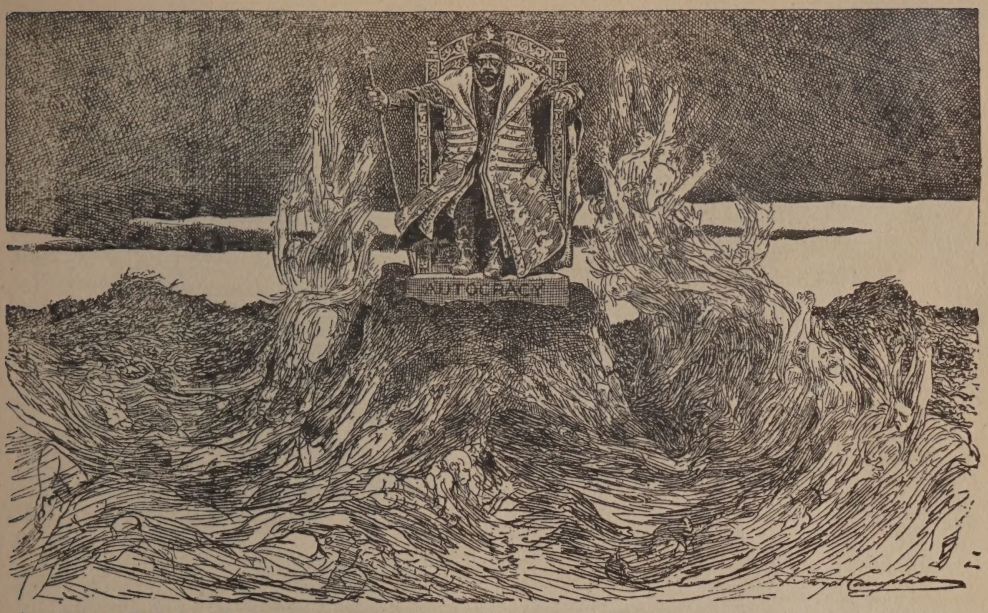
faithfulness and efficiency civilization waits and the destinies of free institutions depend.

Among the knights of the New Time—the defenders of municipal honor, national welfare and the rights of man—the cartoonists, or the knights of the brush and pencil, whose brains are dedicated to righting the wrongs of the age and the merciless unmasking of the enemies of society, are to-day among the foremost influences battling for the overthrow of the ring, the machine and the corruptionists, who have impaired municipal and national integrity, and brought shame and dishonor on the great republic.

We believe that few people, even among the most thoughtful students of human advance, realize the tremendous influence being wielded to-day by the cartoonists in the American daily press. They in a peculiar manner effectively complement the ringing words of the editors and publicists, fixing instantly and indelibly some striking fact on the minds of multitudes and appealing to the brain of the slow-thinking thousands in the most effective possible manner. Truly, in our day and nation the cartoonist, who is loyal to democracy and to the demands of social righteousness, is far more than a pictorial historian of the hour. He is one of the foremost influences in the battle of democracy and civilization in the warfare of national life and civic integrity against corrupt wealth and criminal political rings, and it is a fact that should not be overlooked, that, as a rule, the newspaper cartoonists have from the days of Nast been the ruthless and incorruptible foes of graft, corruption, civic dishonor and those reactionary and unrepublican ideals that privileged interest and short-sighted statesmanship seek to substitute for the old concept of democracy which finds its most luminous expression in the Declaration of Independence. True, in late years, a few papers, such as *Harper's Weekly*, *Judge*, and occasionally *Puck*, have given prominence to undemocratic and obnoxious cartoons which might have been inspired by privileged interests and the beneficiaries of monopoly rights. But, as a rule, the cartoonists of the day have been true to the moral ideals that make nations great and are the vital breath of republics.

Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American*.

AT THE PALACE WINDOW.



Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American.*

THE RISING TIDE.

II.

In the life-struggles and victory of Floyd Campbell we have one of those inspiring illustrations of success through hard labor, manly determination and dauntless perseverence which in a republic so frequently lifts aspiring youth to enviable heights.

Mr. Campbell was born thirty-two years ago at Port Austin, Michigan. Thence in the early sixties his father, a Scotchman of the clan Campbell of Argyle, had come with a kit of ferrier's tools and a bountiful supply of energy as his assets. He had opened a blacksmith's shop which soon expanded into a wagon and carriage manufactory. Floyd was early sent to the public-schools, and out of school-hours, even when quite young, he worked in the machine department of his father's shop, so that he early developed into quite a harvesting-machine expert. His early life's work was, however, wholesomely varied. In the fishing season he "lifted nets with the French Canadians on Saginaw Bay," spending many hard but happy months in this way. During the harvesting season he worked in the fields, and so grew up receiving the ground-work of a good education in the public-schools and having his physical body developed by useful and varied toil. A foundation was thus laid for a useful and serviceable life.

Our public-school system, the glory of the republic, is ever fostering wholesome ambition in the aspiring brain of the child, and young Campbell, in common with thousands of other public-school children, dreamed of making an enviable reputation in life in fields congenial to his taste. From early boyhood he had evinced a passion for drawing, and like Homer Davenport, early began to disfigure every fence and dead-wall he passed with crude attempts at pictures. While at school, he spent much time which the teacher expected to be devoted to studies, in miscellaneous drawings and illustrating a book which a schoolmate had written. In speaking of this juvenile attempt as an illustrator, Mr. Campbell recently said:

Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American.*

"AUTOCRAT OF ALL THE RUSSIAS."

"I remember my first illustrated book, a poetical effusion by my seat-mate, Winfield Adamson, dedicated to the principal of the school. Those marginal sketches were the pride of my life, but that one volume was confiscated by the principal, and what became of it I could not say; I only know that we were expelled from school."

Without any master to teach the rudiments of art, but by the exercise of that sturdy will which rises superior to obstacles and discouragement and by long and tireless practice, the boy advanced rapidly in his drawing. At length, he mustered up courage to address a timid letter to Charles B. Lewis, better known throughout the land as "M. Quad."

Frequently man's most efficient service in life is rendered by silent, loving, unselfish aid extended to the striving and ambitious young. Lewis belongs to that large fraternity of fine natures who thus find one of the chief joys of life in helping with kindly words and suggestions those who are seeking to rise in the world. He examined the boy's drawings, and saw unmistakable signs of talent. He also discerned in the boy the presence of the sturdy Scotch spirit, that dogged determination to hang on in spite of discour-

agements until success is won, and he encouraged, counseled and advised the lad. His help was of inestimable value, and Mr. Campbell in speaking of it, said: "Excepting my father, Mr. Lewis gave me more help than any one else. He was a great support."

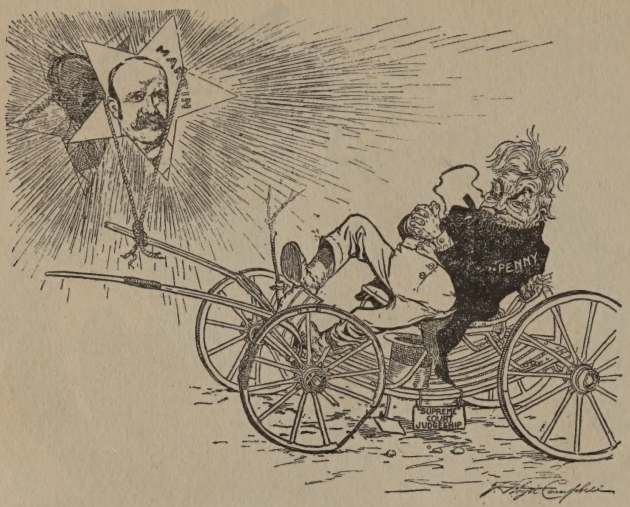
Acting on the advice of Mr. Lewis, Floyd studied under Joseph Gies at the Detroit Museum of Art and the Academy.

But in 1896 the father died, and circumstances at home compelled the young man to make his own living. Having been taught that all worthy work was honorable, and finding no opportunity to earn a living in his chosen profession, he accepted work as a sign and roof painter at six dollars a week. Later, he secured a position with an engraving company at Lansing at six dollars a week. This meager wage, however, was only paid when the firm happened to be in funds, which, unfortunately for the young man, was rarely the case.

THE CAT—"I HAVE EATEN THE CANARIES!"

Mayor Weaver's recent demand for the resignation of four of the gang ward-leaders was one of the most severe blows dealt to gang-protection, and coming at the time when Superintendent Potter was striving to purge the election list of fraudulent voters, proved most salutary in its influence. Mr. Campbell illustrates this event in this humorous cartoon which appeared in the *North American*.

Garnet Warren told us on one occasion that when he first entered the field as cartoonist and illustrator, a fatality seemed to dog his tracks. No sooner would he secure a permanent engagement with a newspaper or journal, and enter his work with the conviction that at last he had a settled position than the publication would suspend or get into financial deep waters. Floyd Campbell had a somewhat similar experience. Finding this small salary at Lansing was only forthcoming at long intervals, he accepted a position at St. Paul, Minnesota, but shortly after reaching his new home, the firm met with financial reverses, and the young artist was compelled to work his passage back to Michigan as a dish-washer on the steamer "Monarch" plying between Duluth and Sarnia. Other struggles and disappointments awaited him, but happily they served to strengthen his determination to succeed, and at length we find him in New York on the pictorial staff of the *Herald*. Five months later he was commissioned by that journal to go to Cuba as war artist, a position which he held to the close of the war. In 1899 he went to Philadelphia where he worked for several papers and did considerable book illustrating and some important serious work for the *Booklover's Magazine*. At length he was employed by the Philadelphia *North American*, where his excellent work has attracted general attention, many of his cartoons having been widely copied. In his present position he has become a veritable terror to Governor Pennypacker, the ridiculous and discredited chief-executive of Pennsyl-



HITCHING HIS WAGON TO A NEW STAR.

When Governor Pennypacker was forced to abandon his friend, Boss Durham, by public opinion and the overwhelming revelation of corrupt practices, he promptly named Dave Martin, another machine politician, for Durham's place. This act suggested the above cartoon which appeared in the Philadelphia *North American*.

at the command of the corrupt Boss Durham by Governor Pennypacker is but one of many shameful acts of this man whose lust for office seems to have obscured any sense of moral proportion he may have possessed in earlier years.

Floyd Campbell has also been a terror to the corrupt ring of Philadelphia. Day after day his telling cartoons, instantly impressing upon the minds of thousands of people some striking fact which the grafters and the gang would give millions to have covered up, have contributed in no small degree to the general moral

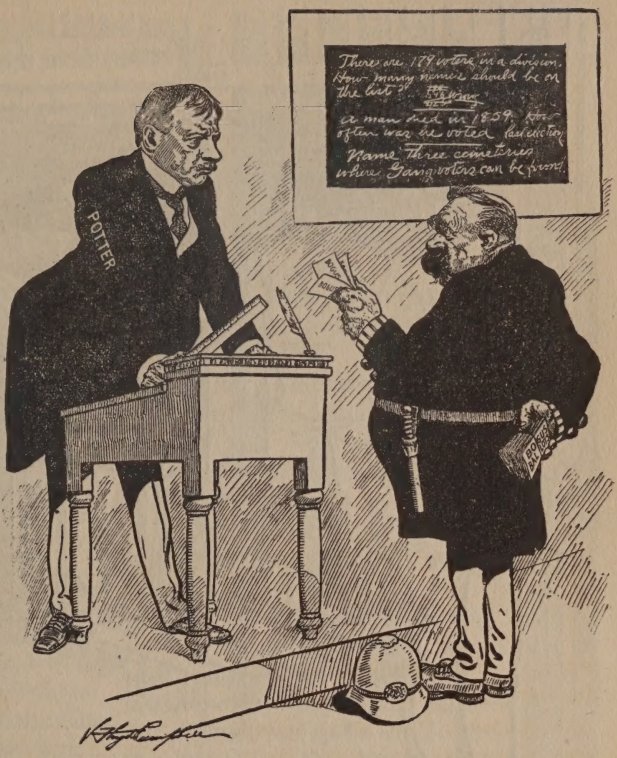
vania. Pennypacker, it will be remembered, declared on one occasion that Boss Quay was a greater statesman than Webster. He has warred incessantly on the cartoonists, making in this respect the corruptionists' cause his own and reminding us of the shrewd remark of a friend who in speaking of the hue and cry raised by Boss Platt and his henchmen against the cartoonists at the time when Davenport was doing such valiant work exposing corruption and grafting in New York. "When you see a public character," said our friend, "who denounces and assails the cartoonists, you may be sure that he has a record that he is ashamed of, or that he is meditating some evil or discreditable act which he does not want to be pictured before the world in its essential infamy." The signing of the recent "ripper-bill"

GOVERNOR HAS NO INSIBILITY FOR AND CAN CISE NO SUPERVISION OVER MANNER OF THE DELIBER- NS OF THE LEGISLATURE."
"WHEN A GOVERNO A BILL WHICH HAS PROPERLY PASSED CERTIFIED TO HIM TH THE LEGISLATURE BECOMES A LAW"
BILL MINER
BILL

Campbell, in Philadelphia Evening *Telegraph*.

VENTRILOQUIST QUAY—"NOW TELL THE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN WHAT THE LAW REALLY IS!"

awakening that promises to redeem the Quaker City. The corruptionists dread the cartoonist's picture more than aught else. He knows that the cartoon will impress his infamy on the minds of tens of thousands who would not read the printed page. "I do not care," exclaimed Boss Tweed on one occasion, "what the papers write about me. My constituents cannot read, but, d—n it, they can see pictures." Then again, some of Mr. Campbell's cartoons cast an ominous shadow before that must prove as disquieting and disagreeable as did Nast's prophetic cartoons picturing Tweed in the striped garb of a felon, arouse the dread and uneasiness of Boss Durham's predecessor in corrupt municipal practices. Take, for example, the picture entitled "The Gang is Committed to Personal Registration," in which the political grafters are represented as signing the prison register. Such cartoons in view of Mayor Weaver's relentless campaign cannot fail to prove extremely distasteful to the evil-doers who have so long shamelessly plundered the city.


There are 179 voters in a division. How many names should be on the list?
Name three cemeteries where Gang voters can be found.
POTTER

Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American*.

THE TEACHER—"IS THAT ALL? SHOW ME YOUR OTHER HAND!"

The most resolute stand made by the corrupt ring of Philadelphia was against the purging of the list of voters of the fraudulent names which have rendered supreme the domination of the grafters. The first police examination under the instructions of Commissioner Potter resulted in their returning *over thirty-one thousand eight hundred* fraudulent names, some of the persons on the voting list having been dead about half a century. Amazing as was this revelation, those who understand the extent of the fraud in Philadelphia knew that the thirty-one thousand only represented a portion of the fraudulent vote. The superintendent immediately gave the police enumerators a severe talking to, and offered them one more opportunity to rectify their lists. The desperate attempt of the police to make the list as small as possible was illustrated by two or three effective cartoons of which the above is a fair example.

The great work that is now being wrought in Philadelphia for civic righteousness under the leadership of Mayor Weaver was, we believe, only rendered possible by the cartoonists of the Quaker City press, and among these knights of the new chivalry Floyd Campbell holds a leading place. His greatest work, however, is not seen in the cartoons of the passing events of the city, but rather in the portrayal of colossal themes that appeal to the imagination of the artist rather than to the peculiar gift of the cartoonist, for Mr. Campbell is, we think, stronger as an illustrator than as a cartoonist in the strict sense of that term. His greatest work shows evidences of real power because it stirs the imagination of the beholder in that strange and subtile way that nature in her beauty and grandeur affect the mind or as music, great oratory and art influence the imagination.

To appreciate this fact, let the reader turn to the drawings, "The Autocrat of All the Russias," "At the Palace Window" and "Marooned." This last pic-

Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American.*

THE GANG IS COMMITTED TO PERSONAL REGISTRATION.

A suggestive cartoon that is not particularly enjoyed by the corrupt ring of Philadelphia.

ture impresses us as one of peculiar power. We instinctively feel ourselves to be in the presence of one of those great soul-catastrophes that appal the imagination by the momentous character of the tragedy that envelopes the victim. As the soul is the finest part of man, the upward impelling influence of life and that which imparts all that is sweetest, finest and most attractive to his being, so to stand in the presence of the lost soul is something far more tragic than to witness the physical death of a shipwrecked man. In this picture Mr. Campbell reveals at once acute moral discrimination and true artistic genius.

Admirable as is the work of the young artist at the present time, we predict much greater things from him in the future, for he is as yet on the threshhold of the thirties and is ambitious, industrious and persevering.

B. O. Flower.

Boston, Mass.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.*

II. DOMINANT TRUSTS AND CORPORATIONS.—(*Continued*).

By Hon. J. Warner Mills.

Part II. The Pageant of the Throne-Powers—The Denver Utility Trust —Municipal-Ownership.

A GLANCE at the table on the following pages will show why the utility companies of Denver are a practical trust. By the last column it is seen there is a synchronism in their expiring franchises and they are all touched with "a fellow-feeling" for renewals and claims to perpetuities. The last column tells the startling tale that within the next five years something must be done with reference to nearly every public utility in the city. Where the interrogation mark is tentatively placed, it shows the date of expiration on a twenty-years' basis, while, as a matter of fact, the easy council at the city hall has placed upon these particular franchises no *express* limit of any kind. The Tramway Company has long been in the courts claiming this non-limitation makes its franchise perpetual. If this claim is good for the Tramway, then every utility except "water" can enrage the citizens and embarrass municipal-ownership with one or more unending grants of perpetuity. This table does not show any franchise expiring after 1912,—only seven years away. And yet in this brief period, nearly every important franchise in the city must be dealt with. The money-value involved in this issue extends to millions upon millions. To win this fight all the politics of Colorado must be concentrated into the politics of Denver. Hence it is that Mr. Evans, as boss of the Utilities, must, in this supreme period, be the boss of the state. Every voter,—in the mountains and on the plains,—upon this issue must be either with the boss or against him. Every street-railway corporation mentioned in the table is now absorbed by "The Denver City Tramway Company," of which he is the president, and every gas and electric corporation is a part of The Denver Gas and Electric Company, usually spoken of as the "Gas Company," for short. The Republican and Democratic machines are both thoroughly under his control. This shrewd general and his allied lieutenants have been preparing for this fight for years. His methods never permit of a postponement of the solution of an important issue until the eleventh hour. He may even press the present council into service in the last days of its sitting prior to the election of next June. The Telephone Company might have waited until July 20, 1909, but it preferred to be under cover before the franchise cataclysm of this magic period of seven years fell upon the people, and accordingly it secured a new franchise in 1901. In the last few days, however, a suit in the district court of this county, brought by private parties, challenges the validity of this new franchise and alleges it was procured by fraud. If this claim is made good, even the franchise of 1901 may not save the Telephone Company from the impending cataclysm. It is thus apparent that the Utility-Trust in this issue can breathe with but a single breath,—and Boss Evans draws that breath. Denver is the seat of seismic strain and the eruption may occur at any moment. For a period of seven years, or some material part of it, it seems that the franchise fight in Denver is bound to be the key to the politics of the state.

In view of the foregoing situation, the Denver Municipal-Ownership League sprang into being none too soon. It was organized last June as the result of the

*The first of this series of articles appeared in the July, 1905, number of The Arena.

NAME OF COMPANY AND KIND OF SERVICE.	ORDINANCE GRANTING FRANCHISE.	DATE OF APPROVAL.	Page of Compiled Ordinances. 1898.	FREE?	ARE STREETS SPECIFIED?	EXPRESS LIMIT.	FRANCHISE EXPIRES—WHEN?
WATER.							
The Denver Water Supply Co.	No. 40, 1881.	Sept. 15, 1881.	752	Yes.	Applies to whole city.	18 years.	Sept. 15, 1899.
The Am. Water Works Co.	So. Denver, No. 133 (lease).	Jan. 29, 1894.	—	—	Applies to former South Denver.	10 "	Jan. 29, 1904.
The Beaver Brook Water Co.	No. 26, 1887.	June 30, 1887.	787	"	Applies to 6th Ward for fire purposes.	20 "	June 30, 1907.
The Citizens' Water Co	" 119, 1889.	Nov. 22, 1889.	826	"	Applies to whole city.	20 "	Nov. 22, 1909.
The Denver Water Co.	" 44, 1890.	Apr. 10, 1890.	845	"	Applies to whole city.	20 "	April 10, 1910.
GAS.							
Denver Gas Co.	———	Jan. 10, 1868.	728	"	No.	20 years?	Jan. 10, 1888? Repealed Sept. 4, 1868.
Colorado Coal & Gas Light Co.	———	Sept. 4, 1868.	729	"	"Any street" desired—not specified.	Life of Co.	
United Gas Improvement Co.	" 15, 1883.	Mar. 28, 1883.	762-3	"	"All streets and alleys"—not specified.	None.	March 28, 1903 (?) No limit.
United Gas Improvement Co.	" 94, 1884.	Aug. 11, 1884.	766	"	"All streets and alleys"—not specified.	"	Aug. 11, 1904 (?) No limit.
Peoples' Gas Light Co.	" 16, 1887.	Apr. 11, 1887.	783	"	"All streets and alleys"—not specified.	"	April 11, 1907 (?) No limit.
Denver Petroleum Co.	" 37, 1891.	Mar. 27, 1891.	900	"	Yes—Applies to whole city.	20 years.	March 27, 1911.
Denver Consolidated Gas Co.	" 128, 1891.	Mar. 16, 1891.	921	"	Yes—Applies to whole city.	20 "	March 16, 1911.
ELECTRIC LIGHTING AND POWER.							
Colo. Edison Electric Light Co.	" 13, 1883.	Mar. 24, 1883.	761	"		None.	March 24, 1903 (?).
Denver Electric Illuminating Co.	" 2, 1887.	Jan. 31, 1887.	779	$5000		"	Jan. 31, 1907 (?).
Peoples' Gas Light Co	" 16, 1887.	Apr. 11, 1887.	800	Yes.		"	April 11, 1907 (?).
Denver Light, Heat & Power Co.	" 33, 1887.	Aug. 13, 1887.	788	No.	Any street in city. In all cases when there is an average of six consumers per block.	"	Aug. 13, 1907 (?).
South Side Electric Co.	" 37, 1888.	June 8, 1888.	793	Yes.	7th Ward.	"	June 8, 1908 (?).
Western Electrical Construction Co.	" 89, 1889.	Sept. 10, 1889.	815	"		20 years.	Sept. 10, 1909.
Western Electrical Construction Co.	" 94, 1890.	June 25, 1890.	872	No.		20 "	June 25, 1910.
Western Electrical Construction Co.	" 95, 1890.	June 25, 1890.	882	Yes.		20 "	June 25, 1910.
Denver Equitable Co	" 30, 1891.	Mar. 26, 1891.	896	"	Yes—17th street and certain alleys.	20 "	March 26, 1911.
Denver Consolidated Electric Co.	" 100, 1891.	Aug. 13, 1891.	918	"	Yes—To conduct water by pipe to their plant from Mill Ditch along 6th and 7th streets.	20 "	Aug. 13, 1911.
TELEPHONES.							
The Colorado Telephone Co.	" 71, 1889.	July 20, 1889.	804	"		20 "	July 20, 1909.
TELEGRAPHS.							
American District Telegraph Co.	" 50, 1890.	Apr. 17, 1890.	859	"	Yes—	20 "	April 17, 1910.
Postal Telegraph Cable Co.	" 110, 1890.	July 14, 1890.	884	"	Yes—	20 "	July 14, 1910.
Postal Telegraph Cable Co.	" 104, 1892.	Dec. 21, 1892.	937	"	Streets and alleys named, ending at Times Bldg., 1551 Lawrence st.	20 "	Dec. 21, 1912.
Western Union Telegraph Co.	" 23, 1893.	Mar. 17, 1893.	940	"	Yes—	20 "	March 17, 1913.
STEAM HEATING.							
Denver Steam Heating Co.	" 2, 1880.	Jan. 5, 1880.	744	"		None.	Jan. 5, 1900 (?).

NAME OF COMPANY AND KIND OF SERVICE.	ORDINANCE GRANTING FRANCHISE.	DATE OF APPROVAL.	Page of Compiled Ordinances. 1898.	FREE?	ARE STREETS SPECIFIED?	EXPRESS LIMIT.	FRANCHISE EXPIRES—WHEN?
STREET RAILWAYS.							
Denver Elect. & Cable Ry. Co.	No. 3, 1885 as am'd by No. 9, 1885, No. 28, 1888.	Feb. 6, 1885.	772	Yes.	No—Blanket franchise.	None—claimed as perpetual.	Feb. 6, 1895.
Denver Cable Ry. Co.	No. 15, 1887.	Apr. 9, 1887.	781	"	No—But cable power only to be used, thus it is now useless.	None	April 9, 1907 (?).
Denver Tramway Co.	" 29, 1888.	May 2, 1888.	791	"	Yes—15th, Colfax and Broadway—refers specifically to First ordinance above, approved Feb. 6, 1885.	Reserved sts. until Jan. 1, 1889 for construction of Cable Rys. thereon.	May 2, 1908 (?).
Denver City Cable Ry. Co.	" 36, 1888.	June 4, 1888.	791	"	No—Blanket, except where excluded from 15th, Colfax and Brdwy.	None.	June 4, 1908 (?).
Colfax Ave Ry. Co.	" 33, 1890.	Feb. 19, 1890.	844	"	Yes—Colfax, east of York street to city limits.	20 years.	Feb. 19, 1910.
Denver Tramway Co.	" 32, 1890.	Feb. 12, 1890.	840	"	Yes—Lawrence, South Water, Univ. Park, Curtis street, 22nd ave. and part of Stout street lines.	20 "	Feb. 12, 1910.
West End Street Ry. Co.	" 67, 1890.	May 14, 1890.	869	"	Yes—Fairview and Goss to Elitche's, Justina street to northern limits and Humphrey to western limits.	20 "	May 14, 1910.
Denver City Elec. Ry. Co.	" 138, 1890.	Nov. 25, 1890.	886	"	Yes—17th st., Stout st., Argo, So. 11th, 11th ave. and Harmon lines.	20 "	Nov. 25, 1910.
Denver Tramway Co.	" 139, 1890.	Nov. 25, 1890.	890	"	Yes—Lower 15th street.	20 "	Nov. 25, 1910.
Denver Tramway Co.	" 45, 1891.	Apr. 9, 1891.	906	"	Yes—Broadway, 15th street to No. Denver Loop, Colfax, 18th ave.	20 "	April 9, 1911.
Denver, Lakewood & Golden R. R. Co.	" 71, 1891.	June 17, 1891.	909	"	Yes—	20 "	June 17, 1911.
Denver Tramway Co.	" 85, 1891.	July 28, 1891.	913	"	Yes—22nd street, between Lawrence and Curtis streets.	None.	July 28, 1911 (?).
Metropolitan Ry. Co.	" 118, 1891.	Oct. 9, 1891.	919	"	Yes—35th ave., Franklin to Williams street.	20 years.	Oct. 9, 1911.
Metropolitan Ry. Co.	" 87, 1891.	July 28, 1891.	914	"	Yes—So. Tremont, 19th ave., 25th ave., and Clarkson street lines.	20 "	July 28, 1911.
Metropolitan Ry. Co.	" 142, 1891.	Dec. 5, 1891.	926	"	Yes—Extension of Harman line to city limits on 3rd ave.	20 "	Dec. 5, 1911.
Frank E. Cook.	" 42, 1892.	June 10, 1892.	928	"	Yes—34th ave. from Franklin to Colorado Boulevard.	20 "	June 10, 1912.
Metropolitan Ry. Co.	" 48, 1892.	July 16, 1892.	932	"	Yes—40th ave from Williams to Josephine and north on Josephine to city limits.	20 "	July 16, 1912.
Metropolitan Ry. Co.	" 62, 1892.	Aug. 31, 1892.	933	"	Yes—Part of Loop on 15th street between Arapahoe and Lawrence.	20 "	Aug. 31, 1912.
Metropolitan Ry. Co.	" 75, 1892.	Oct. 31, 1892.	936	"	Yes—From 15th st. on Platte ave. to Agate ave. line in No. Denver.	20 "	Oct. 31, 1912.
RAILROADS.							
Jno. Monat Lumber Co.	" 123, 1889.	Dec. 6, 1889.	836	"	Yes—Across Blake street at 26th street. Broadgauge.	20 "	Dec. 6, 1909.
Bingham, Teague & Co.	" 11, 1890.	Jan. 18, 1890.	838	—	Requires Railways to build viaduct across tracks on 16th street.	—	—
Denver, Utah & Pacific R. R.	" 31, 1890.	Feb. 11, 1890.	840	"	Yes—Across Market street at 3rd street. Broadgauge.	20 "	Feb. 11, 1910.
	" 80, 1890.	June 7, 1890.	871	"	Yes—Across Lyon and Page streets and across "Sigler's Ditch" street to Depot and to Burl. and Denver tracks.	20 "	June 7, 1910.
Denver & Santa Fé Ry. Co.	" 130, 1890.	Oct. 22, 1890.	885	"	Yes—Across certain streets.	20 "	Oct. 22, 1910.
Denver, Lakewood & Golden Ry. Co.	" 14, 1891.	Feb. 5, 1891.	893	"	Yes—	20 "	Feb. 5, 1911.
Denver, Apex & Western Ry. Co.	" 36, 1891.	Mch, 26, 1891.	897	"	Yes—	20 "	March 26, 1911.
Denver, Leadville & Gunnison Ry. Co.	" 52, 1891.	Apr. 14, 1891.	908	"	Yes—Alley between 5th and 6th sts., and Lawrence and Curtis sts.	20 "	April 14, 1911.
E. J. Binford	" 102, 1891.	Aug. 25, 1891.	919	"	Yes—Switch on 40th ave. connecting with U. P. tracks.	20 "	Aug. 25, 1911.
Denver, Utah & Pacific Ry. Co.	" 44, 1892.	July 6, 1892.	931	"	Yes—Switches to yard on Hartford street.	20 "	July 6, 1912.
U. P., Denver & Gulf Ry. Co.	" 74, 1892.	Oct. 14, 1892.	934	"	Yes—	20 "	Oct. 14, 1912.

union of two voluntary groups of citizens interested in the subject. They appointed a joint committee to unify the movement and to recommend permanent officers.* Its report was unanimously adopted, and the league then became strongly officered as follows: John A. Rush (of "Rush" amendment fame), president; T. B. Stuart, Mrs. A. M. Welles and Otto Thum, vice-presidents; John W. Springer, treasurer; Richard Wolfe, secretary; advisory committee, Ben. B. Lindsey, Charles W. Cochran, Helen L. Grenfell, Edwin Van Cise, Edward Keating, J. B. Belford, J. R. Herman. Its declaration of principles is as follows:

"The municipal-ownership of public utilities, due regard being had at all times for the best interests of the people; the acquisition of the existing plants at a fair compensation, and in case purchase at a fair price cannot be had, then the city shall construct new plants; and we demand the immediate acquisition by the city of the Lacombe electric street-lighting plant."

The president appointed the following judiciary committee for the league: J. Warner Mills, James H. Blood, Horace N. Hawkins and Guy Leroy Stevick. The league is composed of earnest men and women regardless of politics, and the responsibility resting upon it in the impending franchise crisis probably vastly exceeds that of any other voluntary society ever formed in the state. It needs and invites the moral courage of the best citizens we have. In its good beginning there is hope of good stewardship to the end. The still-hunt method of these corporation marauders is now thoroughly exposed, and their cunning effort, through a truckling press, to postpone organized agitation and action until the immediate time of the expiration of the franchises is wholly discredited. The issues are made and the alignment is making and the ferment of these issues in Denver will for years be the political ferment of the state. The sachems of the Democratic party, led by Senators Teller and Patterson, recently met in council in this city and, despite the opposition of Mayor Speer and his diminishing following, resolved in favor of municipal-ownership, for railroad rate-fixing laws for state and nation, and for avenging, at the next election, the recent larcenous transfer of the governorship from Adams to McDonald. It is not hard to guess where at least one wing of the Democrats will stand in this franchise fight. But to win, their leadership and nominations must be so preëminently commanding and fair as to secure the recognition and support of the Independent Republicans and the non-party men, who clearly hold the key to this critical and interesting situation.

In this impending struggle, all who are not partakers of the corporate pie should thoroughly digest the subject of municipal- or public-ownership and constantly keep in view a few fundamental thoughts of controlling importance.

As noted in the preceding chapter, a franchise is a special privilege that in its very essence is inequality before the law, —"it is licensed inequality." It is intended to permit a few persons to have the right to collect tolls for a public service, that should be a service rendered by the public at actual cost, and for the equal benefit of all. It is a governmental service that if any one without special permit would perform, or attempt to perform, he would be a trespasser. In other words, it is government business, and the franchise grant is the technical form of farming it out. There was a time when the accepted method of securing taxes was by "farming out the revenues." But few pages in history are blacker than those containing the wrongs and oppressions of the farmers of the revenue. They were performing a public function for private gain and their only care was to retain their privilege and

*This committee was composed of the following gentlemen: Edwin Van Cise, James B. Belford, J. Warner Mills, Edward Keating, C. W. Cochran, J. D. Merwin and Marshall Jones.

to make their percentage as large as possible. The government can never share its peculiar functions with private initiative without at last forcing the victimized citizen to cry out in vehement protest. The "utility" captain and the corporation he represents is always after profits; but equal service at actual cost and no profits should always be the end of government. With aims so diverse, we need not wonder that when the government's officers come in contact with the officers of its corporate ally, performing public functions, they are so easily inoculated with the dividend virus, as the return for capital invested. Their betrayal of their public trust begins with the innocent admission or assertion that a corporation investing its money in a public utility is entitled to fair compensation, and it ends by official plotting that forgets or defies the patron-people and schemes to make the rates, terms and service whatever the corporation may demand.

We are not unmindful that when a public utility is administered by public officials there *may be* oppression, fraud and graft, but we know there *must be* oppression, fraud and graft when such administration is farmed out to corporate or private hands. In the one case, too, we have but public officers and government to contend with, and in the course of time the officers can be exposed, removed and punished and the government reformed. But in the other case, not only do we have to contend with our public officers and government but also with the officers, agents, attorneys, stockholders, dividend-takers, newspapers, apologists and employés of the franchise corporations. In such an unequal contest the invariable experience of American municipalities seems to be that the cohorts of franchise-graft and greed have essentially absorbed the government; indeed, that they themselves are the government. Invited by sovereignty to partake as guests of the supreme functions of sovereignty, they first ingratiate themselves into favor by profuse promises and servile politeness, and finally end by a complete capture of their unsophisticated host. Such an invitation ought never to be given. For the very reason that such functions are sovereign and pertain to the public and not to individuals, they cannot be sublet to individuals or to companies without consequent greed, graft and abuse. This is true of all public utilities, including telephones, telegraphs and the railroads. Through the monopoly insured by a franchise, we enable a few men to become inordinately rich and powerful, and then we seem stupidly amazed when true to the laws of their own growth and being, they ignore fair terms in rates, service or equipment, venally corrupt legislatures, councils, officers and courts, and finally, in their fierce demand for extensions, renewals or perpetuities, proceed, not as suppliants for a public benefaction, but as imperious masters demanding tribute and dues, and with all officialdom openly or covertly supporting their presumptuous claims. In this wise it is that a fight upon a public-service corporation has come to mean a fight upon the government itself and its recreant officers. That is the situation in Denver to-day, and has been the situation here substantially ever since the fight began, as mentioned below, in 1895. If our experience during the last ten years is to be of any value to ourselves for present or future guidance, or of any value to other communities as a suggestive example, we must not forget that the particular lesson it especially impresses is the most fundamental and unanswerable argument for municipal-ownership.

Denver's experience teaches the Jeffersonian lesson of "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none," which grounds the argument that not a few men nor a set of men should be let into the government business, but that all men should be kept out; that at no time and under no circumstances should a utility-franchise be granted unless the community giving the grant is prepared for future disaster, and that as long as a public fran-

chise must unfortunately be farmed out to private initiative, it should never be done by grant, but always by a license revocable at the community's option or will. Denver's lesson, then, is not the lesson of profits, making an argument for the land-owner's greed. Denver has had no profits from the public operation of any utility. Moreover, if she had, for my part I would not regard it as a strong argument for municipal-ownership. It is a popular argument, of course, for the more profit the city makes, the less it needs to take from the property-owing class in taxes. But if there are to be profits at all, the non-property-owning class, constituting, probably, the vast majority of any city, would sooner see them go to the stockholders of the franchise corporation than to the landlord in the shape of lower taxes. The rent-payer knows that every betterment to landed property, arising from improved environment or government or decreased taxation or otherwise, is at once capitalized by the landlord; that is, it makes his property worth so much more, and hence enables him to raise the rent. To keep the working-classes with the municipal-ownership movement, municipal profits must disappear. If they are turned into lower rates and better service, all classes, whether owning property or not, will enjoy a substantial share of the advantages of the municipal operation of public utilities. Even then, under the present economy, the landlord will still have an appreciable betterment to capitalize. But that must ever be so until the incidence of taxation is materially changed.

Now with thoughts like these in mind, of franchises, public utilities, and municipal-ownership, let us turn to the Utility-Trust of Denver and see these defiant throne-powers in their gorgeous pageant and arrogant parade.

The Denver Union Water Company.

This company is now the sole water-servitor of Denver. Its capital stock is $7,000,000 and its bonds $8,000,000, and it is paying dividends large enough to sustain a capital of $20,000,000 at four per cent. Outside of its franchises, which have less than five years to run and then are worthless, the actual value of its entire plant would probably be less than $7,000,000 at the most liberal appraisement. Its assessed value in 1895 was only $534,300; in 1899, $696,305, and in 1905, $2,500,000. Taking its own or any other valuation, what a monstrous example of lawlessness in tax-dodging it affords.

Its officers are the following well-known Denver citizens: W. S. Cheesman, president; Thomas Hayden, vice-president; D. H. Moffat, treasurer; W. P. Miller, secretary; Charles J. Hughes, Jr., attorney. Most, if not all, of these officers are also on the board of directors along with our fellow-townsmen, D. C. Dodge, E. S. Kassler and W. P. Robinson.

The company was organized under the laws of Colorado for the express purpose of absorbing the corporation water-freebooters, that since 1871 have reveled in this city. Its geneological tree is a big one, but it has borne poor fruit. Some interesting phases of its crooked history are recited *ad nauseam* in the Venner case, now pending in the supreme court as No. 4,742. To understand this and its larger history, however, and its persistent fight with the people, we must know something of the company's ancestry and something of the water conditions when and since the city was founded. Even at the risk of tedium and of the necessity of abridging my notice of the other companies constituting the Utility-Trust of Denver, I feel it incumbent upon me to give this history, in some respects with considerable completeness. It has many and diverse sociological bearings that ought to be preserved in a single picture of the economics of corporate rapacity and madness. Moreover, the water-service of Denver is the one great utility that will brook no delay in its immediate solution. It must be either publicly owned or deliberately abandoned for another twenty years to the corporations. Even the

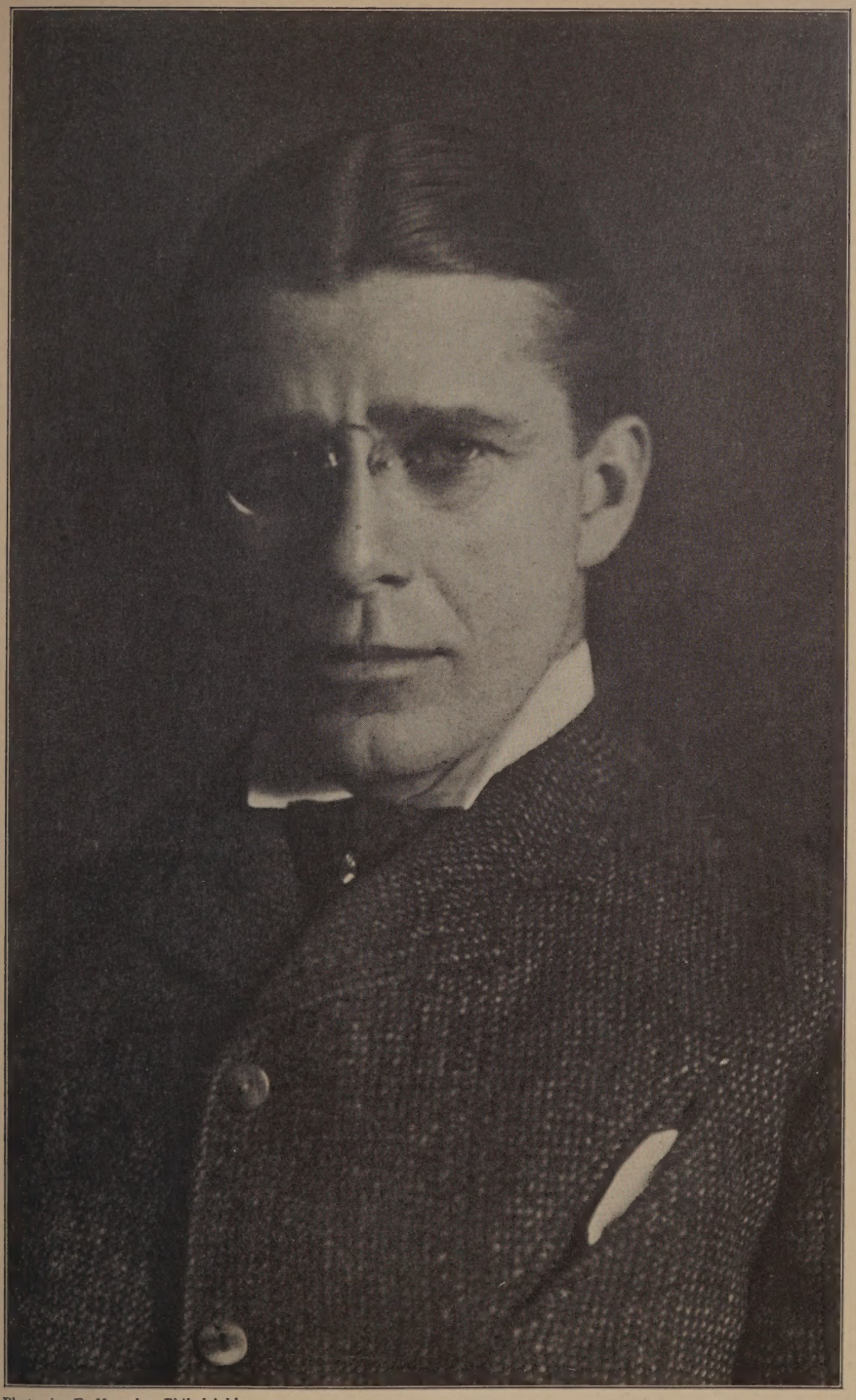


Photo. by F. Haeseler, Philadelphia.

FLOYD CAMPBELL

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aldermen to be elected next June may have a determinative voice in shaping the final decision and policy. This fact must be in the minds of the voters as much, at least, and probably more, than the Lacombe lighting proposition mentioned below, when in the June election they select the officers to serve them at the city hall. Then again, the world at large, as well as the voters, is interested in any true and faithful portrayal that shows economic conditions in a live and ambitious community as they really are. It is no pleasure to me to make this and the other portrayals that occur in this chapter, but in this series of articles I set before me the task of picturing "The economic struggle in Colorado," and I dare not betray my duty because I have hard facts to write of prominent men and companies. I did not make the facts, and those who did cannot expect one who cares more for truth and civic righteousness than for wealth or power, to withhold from the public that which he has conscientiously and laboriously come to believe to be true. Publicity is our readiest, if not our most effective weapon against the corporate aggressions that so seriously threaten to destroy our free institutions. The ostrich method of trying to bury its head in the sand in the face of danger never saved the ostrich, and cannot save society. We have had enough of glittering generalities, and if the people are ever to be spurred to effective action, we must come down from the clouds and let them see the corporation millions in their making, let them see the wrecking process in the concrete and let them have specific instances with figures, names and dates.

This premise is indulged not alone for the water history I am about to give, but as a premise also for much other matter that will appear in this and subsequent articles of this series. I cannot put the "Utilities" and the other throne-powers in their right colors on the canvas of the economic struggle in this state, without taking the reader, as I will in this chapter, into the underground chambers of wealth-hunting and man-hunting, and of corporate buccaneering and piracy. He will see, even to weariness, how the courts are used for sparring and slugging by the players; how the people themselves are drugged and robbed; how the press is subsidized; elections bought and sold; councils corrupted; legislatures debauched; tax-rolls evaded; stocks and bonds watered into millions; and finally how the toiling masses, submitting to it all, trudge and flounder with these oppressive burdens. With this prefatory statement I will now proceed.

Denver started on its course, in 1859, on the banks of Cherry creek, near its confluence with the Platte river. The first hut was on the west bank of the creek, near Blake street, and later in the year a few cabins were built on the east side, where now the principal part of the city extends. Cherry creek was not then, as now, depleted of its water by irrigation, and it was crossed by a ferry-boat on Blake street. This stream afforded sufficient water for domestic purposes, but it ran too low to be available for irrigating trees and lawns. The luxury of such irrigation came later and not earlier than 1866, and by some authorities as late as 1872.* It was accomplished by the Platte Water Ditch, now called the City Ditch, taken out of the South Platte river and running a course of twenty-seven miles to reach the city. In 1871 and before there seems not to have been any very general or adequate service from this ditch. Colonel James Archer, from St. Louis, secured a charter to install the Holly system of water-works. He organized the Denver Water Company and built his pumping-plant near the foot of 15th street. This was the lowest point in the city and subject to all its drainage. From an artificial pool or well about thirteen feet deep and sixteen feet square, and only two hundred feet from the Platte river, he began his pumping. At this time, too, the fight of the people also began. He inveigled the city council to

* See 2 Hall's *History of Colorado*, p. 115.

pay $150 per annum per hydrant, and to increase the number of hydrants from thirty to sixty; but the consumers were not permitted to use the Holly water for irrigating lawns or trees. The historian of those early days draws a picture of corporation methods and achievement which shows us, after a third of a century, that we are still the unfortunate legatees of practically the same fight with the same forces, and are confronted by the same methods. In his picture he shows us a susceptible council, a corporation banquet, flowing champagne and fine Havanas—and the people whipped.*

With the growth of Denver, however, this first water-plant, about 1880, was finally abandoned and Archer lake in the western part of the city, on the banks of the Platte, became the source of supply. In 1881, upon the death of Colonel Archer, his widow and heirs succeeded to his controlling interest in the Denver Water Company. In his death there was a distinct loss to his company. The widow and heirs took no initiative and did little more than to hold on to their investment, while they allowed the company's affairs to be largely controlled by minority stockholders and lawyers. There was still a strain between the company and the public, and its management was slow to comprehend the demand of pure water by gravity from the mountains instead of water pumped from a river contaminated by contact with a great and growing city. In this respect the management was weak and stupid. But there was a designing minority that saw in this stupidity the opportunity of its own triumph, and that was wise enough to also see the vast revenues from a water-system adequate for a city of the prophetic destiny of Denver.

This enterprising minority, led by David H. Moffat and Walter S. Cheesman, seeing the crippled personnel of the company by reason of its proxy-control through a widow and heirs, conceived the brilliant idea of submitting a give-or-take proposition, with figures properly sugar-coated and fixed up to suit themselves. It was put in legal form and its acceptance made binding on both parties. It was expected, of course, that the widow would see the door opened for her to pass out and would jump at the chance, and through the same door the designing banker and his friends would rush in to claim their own. But to their utter chagrin and confusion the widow, through her advisers, evinced that she, too, could see the future millions in owning the Denver water-plant as well as they, and she promptly accepted and paid the trifling sum of $450,000 named in their cunning catch-proposition and drove the plotters, with all their expensive ambitions, entirely out of the water business. This unexpected denouement of the give-or-take transaction was the laugh of the town, exposing the "designers" with their own feet caught in the trap they had set for others. It was stinging to their pride and in seeking to explain it they made the happy discovery that they were martyrs to the people's cause; indeed, that they were simply "frozen out" because they advocated for the public purer water from the mountains.

This was a new and brilliant conception of their status and it naturally gave them partisans and followers. Thus encouraged, and with the dream of the millions that had slipped from them to the widow, and with utter indifference to the moral obloquy that a large part of the people, at least, would attach to their enterprise, they organized a new competing company for public favor. To some this new venture seemed like a search for solace and for millions in revenge. Nevertheless, with the money paid them by the widow and their own contributions, and with the Clayton's money and the money of the Chaffee heirs, they organized, under the laws of the state, in 1889, the Citizens' Water Company. With a great blare of trumpets they were going to do justice to the people, both as to rates and as to pure water from the mountains. These reso-

*See 2 Hall's *History of Colorado*, pp. 115–116.

lute martyrs to the people's cause were David H. Moffat, Walter S. Cheesman and others, who are now the imperious masters of The Denver Union Water Company. The fight between the two companies was sharp and bitter. The pioneer company was put by the widow under the guidance of another banker, Mr. Dennis Sullivan, and he waked matters up by also promising water from the mountains. The people did not realize then, as now, that there can be no such thing as competition in the operation of a public utility, and they were willing that the new company should come in and give them the competition that it promised it would in the water service. Accordingly it soon secured the franchise shown in the table above, by which for twenty years it was allowed to lay its pipes and mains and to sell water at rates not exceeding those then charged by the pioneer company.

From 1871 nearly twenty years have now elapsed and we come to 1890. The Denver Water Company must soon have a new franchise and it wants it now. But to defeat it, the martyrs submitted a schedule of water-rates even lower, as Mayor McMurray had occasion later to remind them in a certain veto message, than the scale in the Flatray ordinance mentioned below, and much lower than the rates then proposed by the pioneer company. But the people naturally distrusted a group of managers that would set a trap for a widow, and when fairly caught themselves would not stay caught. In vain was their cry for mountain-water, and in vain was their self-proclaimed martyrdom of sinking their fortunes for the people's good. The pioneer company stood by its rates, but assured the public that if suffered to collect them for only five years, it would then give the city the advantage of practical public-ownership by making the rates the same as the average rates of the three municipal-owning water-works cities of Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati. This municipal-ownership idea touched a popular chord and despite the opposition of the martyrs, and despite the fact that the five years' scale was high, it carried the widow's ordinance through the council and over the veto of Mayor Londoner and gave the pioneers a new water-franchise good for twenty years. This event, at the time, was heralded as a victory for Dennis Sullivan and the defeat of Moffat and Cheesman. Here, too, was a new *casus belli* and the war-paint was put on thick and fast.

We do not expect to know all the ins and-outs of this vicious warfare, but there are some things about it we are expected not to know that we do know. Not only so, but after a painstaking investigation we believe these things to be true. Our source of information is so high and satisfactory that we feel bound to believe and to state, as a part of this corporation-history, that the fight was carried on even into the halls of the state legislature; that the actual participants are not the only ones who know how the "boodle" was used, nor the only ones who know how ten thousand dollars were pocketed by a certain "go-between" in the plunging and successful effort to defeat an amendment to the then charter of Denver supposed to be in the interest of one of the contending parties. The statute of limitations may make some easier the beds of these corruptors of legislatures and courts, but it cannot make any easier their pricking conscience. Even yet a hundred fingers point in scorn, and whispered scornings mark the way when these bribe-givers and takers, appareled in fine cloth and linen, walk down our city streets or sit in gilded chairs, or parade the aisles of our fashionable churches.

But legislative bribery was not the only "Rockefellian" method adopted by these warring corporations. The new company saw a chance to wreck its rival and deliberately set about to do it. Their pipes and mains were by this time in most of the principal streets of the city and they were able to exert a formidable competition. The widow's company, in order to carry out its alleged programme

and to outstrip its rival in superior service, had gone into the market to borrow. The senior or underlying mortgages given or assumed by it amounted to half a million dollars. Then January 15, 1890, it gave a mortgage to the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company of New York to secure bonds aggregating $2,500,000, and later in the same year, November 12th, under the new corporate name of the Denver City Water-Works Company, that carried its assets and property, it gave a mortgage to the Central Trust Company of New York to secure bonds aggregating $7,000,000, but only about $2,000,000 of which seem ever to have been sold. Later, in sparring for points and financial assistance, Venner & Company, of New York City, became its backer. This company was then on the swelling wave and had a controlling interest in the water-works at Adrian, Ottomwa, Alton and Omaha. At the instance of this New York backer, the American Water-Works Company was organized in New Jersey, and the Omaha and Denver properties were conveyed to it. The Denver conveyance was made April 25, 1891, and within a few days thereafter the New Jersey company took possession of the Denver plant and was in such possession and operating the same when overwhelmed by the receivership mentioned below.

The officers of the New Jersey company were: William A. Underwood, president; Dennis Sullivan and Clarence H. Venner, vice-presidents. The Denver executive committee consisted of Dennis Sullivan, F. P. McManus and William A. Underwood. Governor Grant and H. M. Porter were local directors.

This recital is enough to show the reader that the widow's pioneer company was now loaded down with commercial obligations and uncomfortably bound to new duties and relations. Its interest-charge was large and had to be promptly met, and it had to line up with new acquaintances and to square itself with the necessities of other companies and plants. It was thus an easy mark and our shrewd martyrs were quick to spy it out. They at once made a center-shot by giving water-service free; and for nearly two years consumers fortunate enough to be on the streets containing the pipe-lines of the two rivals enjoyed the questionable bounty of this modern method of competitive destruction. This was a stunning blow, no doubt, to the widow's pioneer company, now linked in fortune with Omaha, New York and New Jersey. Its interest obligations began to waver and some were soon in default. Had there been no perfidy among the new men and companies representing the pioneer interests, perhaps they might have weathered the storm. But in June, 1891, and within sixty days after the conveyance of the Denver property to the New Jersey company, President Underwood and Vice-President Sullivan met in conference at Omaha. There was soon something doing, and in the following July they resigned simultaneously, both as officers and directors of the New Jersey company. At the same time, too, Governor Grant and H. M. Porter, the local directors, were also accommodating enough to resign. These resignations were in writing and it was therein expressed that they should take effect immediately, but Underwood's alone was formally accepted. Vice-President Venner they claimed to be the only executive officer of the company still in commission. It appears that Underwood, previous to the Omaha conference, was Venner's trusted lieutenant, but they had fallen out. It seems he then deliberately confederated with Sullivan to destroy the Venner interests in Denver, and by certain other wrecking schemes he succeeded as well in destroying the Venner interests in all the other cities mentioned above.

Notwithstanding Sullivan's resignation in July, 1891, in the following fall of the same year he brought suits in New York, in the name of the New Jersey company, and still assumed to act as its vice-president, and alleged the insolvency of Venner

& Company, and caused them to suspend. It is the corporation method when a man is in the way to throw him out, and, to give their deed a sympathetic public setting, to revile him from a moral pose so high one is almost persuaded they themselves are the people's guardian angels. This was the fate of Venner. For all I know he may be the financial adventurer his enemies proclaim him. But what of his pursuers? Are wreckers better than adventurers because they have a longer purse? Moreover he does not stand alone in this corporation water-fight. With him is a long list of respectable people, both men and women, who own in the aggregate over five million dollars of the capital stock of the New Jersey company.

Now look at the method pursued in Denver, evidenced in the main by records and documents, and requiring but occasional and light reliance upon the testimony of the several witnesses:

In January, 1892, Sullivan and Underwood met again in conference in Omaha, and in less than thirty days thereafter two suits were begun in the district-court in Denver to foreclose the underlying mortgages mentioned above. The New Jersey company, of course, was the principal defendant. It had absorbed the property and life of the antecedent companies that gave the mortgages. These suits were begun February 2d and were numbered respectively 16,249 and 16,250, and on the same day they were consolidated under the first number and Dennis Sullivan was appointed receiver of the New Jersey company, and had his bond then and there ready for approval, and it was approved, and *instanter*, by virtue of his receivership, he came into the actual and exclusive possession and control of all the water-plant of the old pioneer company in Denver.

Venner's first counter-move was to dismiss, in writing, the Denver attorney close to Sullivan, who had appeared for the company in other matters. This he did February 9, 1892, but the very next day this same attorney, claiming there was no governing body to dismiss him, waived service of summons in both cases and filed a written notice therein of the appearance of the New Jersey company. Within the next sixty days the Sullivan-Underwood combination, first through a suit in the court of chancery of New Jersey, prevented the holding of the annual stockholders' meeting of the New Jersey company, at which vacancies might be filled, and then, on the ground that the company had no "governing body," they procured a restraining order in the same court, which later (July 20th) was made permanent and by which the American Water-Works Company,—that is the New Jersey Company,—its officers, directors, agents and attorneys were compelled to desist from in any manner continuing its business and from exercising any of the privileges or franchises of its charter, and from holding any meeting at which any action should be taken concerning any business, and from attempting to use its name for any purpose.

With the young Samson of New Jersey thus thrown down, bound and gagged, the coast was clear to press the Colorado suits, relieved of the danger of any actual defense by the New Jersey defendant. Even the right of appeal was gone,* and any act done on behalf of the pinioned defendant, except by the discharged attorney, who was always careful to measure his acts by the needs of the foreclosing plaintiffs, was an *ineffective act because in contempt of the New Jersey injunction.*

The main point by Sullivan and Underwood was, of course, to foreclose the above senior or underlying mortgages and to cut off the New Jersey company from any right to redeem. But as the amount involved was comparatively small

* See American Water-Works Co. of New Jersey *vs.* The Farmers' Loan and Trust Co. *et al.*, 20 Colorado, 203 (1894); Venner *vs.* The Denver Union Water Co., 15 Colorado App., 495 (1900). See also Clarence H. Venner *et al. vs.* The Denver Union Water Co. *et al.*, 1 Colorado, Dec. Supp. 372, decided by Judge Dixon, June 2, 1902, and which is now No. 4,742 in the supreme court.

—not exceeding half a million dollars—and the title issuing from such foreclosure would carry all the Denver property of the pioneer company, now worth millions of dollars, the wreckers knew they could not purloin this loot without they did deliberately lie in wait and sand-bag and gag the New Jersey company, as stated above. Now they had it helpless and prostrate at their feet, and proceeded to jump upon it and to crush out its life. The only voice to say nay was the Esau voice of the discharged attorney.

These foreclosure proceedings brought on others, and in a few months The Farmers' Loan and Trust Company and The Central Trust Company of New York had their respective suits pending against the New Jersey company in the district-court in Denver, as Nos. 16,861 and 17,476.

In due time, too, there were the inevitable reorganization committees—the five per cent. committee and the seven per cent. committee. This part of the procedure was important in order to prevent any competitive bids when the water-plant of the former pioneers was sold under the decree of foreclosure. It was not overlooked, however, for the Venner-hating Underwood was attorney for the seven per cent. committee, and despite the mutually conflicting interests of these two committees, he eventually had them working together under the chairmanship of Daniel A. Heald. They were induced in the end, if not in the beginning, to withdraw opposition to the senior foreclosures. This they did, and they all finally united in bringing grist to the mill of Sullivan and Underwood.

In a brief of over 200 pages in the above case, No. 4,742, a large part of it is devoted to showing "there was fraud practiced in procuring the decrees." As the writers, Yeaman and Gove and Babb, are responsible members of the bar, let us listen a moment to their serious arraignment:

"In the forclosure cases, Attorney Hartzell well knew that he had only a general employment and, therefore, no right to waive service of process. . . . He knew that no defense was being made. He did not, in any form, put in issue any allegation of the complaint so as to require proof of it. He conducted himself altogether so as to permit default to be entered against the company, while making it appear to the court that the company was represented by counsel. . . . The record throughout shows that Hartzell's pretended appearance was in aid of the prosecution, that he was acting under the direction of Sullivan. . . . The only direction which Mr. Hartzell had, as appears from his deposition, was from Mr. Sullivan, who was appointed receiver in the cause. . . . Mr. Underwood . . . admitted . . . with evident reluctance, that he remitted Hartzell $2,000. . . . The record further shows that Mr. Hartzell was allowed a fee of $250 for services rendered to the receiver up to September 7, 1892. . . . It thus appears that Mr. Hartzell did not have authority and did not appear for the American Water-Works Company but really acted for its adversaries. This was not merely technical, but actual fraud. . . . The prosecution and pretended defense (were) both conducted by the plaintiffs in the case, (which was) a fraud upon the court so flagrant that all authorities hold that a judgment so entered is void even upon collateral attack. The plaintiff, The Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, through its attorneys, Turner, McClure and Ralston, knew, from the beginning, of the New Jersey injunction and the helpless condition in which it placed the American Water-Works Company. The reorganization committee, from its beginning, knew the same facts through its attorney, William A. Underwood; and long before the final decree of March 29, 1894, when the sweeping amendments were made, the same committee knew the same facts through the knowledge of its Denver counsel. In other words, the corporation plaintiff and its personal beneficiaries

knew that they were as alleged in (our) complaint—falsely and fraudulently imposing upon the court, the belief that the American Water-Works Company had been duly served with process and that all parties in interest were properly represented before the court, and that, in the language of Judge Story, the whole proceeding was 'a solemn mockery,' 'a solemn fraud,' and 'not to be dignified with the name of a judicial proceeding.'"

In the course of this litigation, we are now approaching the spring of 1894, and on or before May 1st our martyrs of the Citizens' Water Company, whom we have left unnoticed for a time, must either announce free water for another season, according to their "Rockefellian" method mentioned above, or receive the welcome tidings of the final success of their savage method, and thus be saved the necessity of bestowing further favors upon the public.

On the 29th of March, after certain material amendments, the decrees of foreclosure on the senior mortgages entered at a previous term of court are finally made to suit the foreclosing plaintiffs, and soon thereafter the sale is advertised to occur on the 21st day of the following April. The suspense for the martyrs is, of course, terrific, but it is exceedingly brief. They have won and the trophies of victory are thrown down at their feet. On the 6th day of April, a written agreement is executed between Daniel A. Heald and others representing the reorganization committees and David H. Moffat and Walter S. Cheesman, representing The Citizens' Water Company, by which the programme at the foreclosure sale is specifically mapped out and the corporate handling of the whole water-works system of Denver is provided for. Here is the scheme:

The Heald party, or its representatives, were to bid the property in at the sale at the amount of the mortgages, costs of court, and of the receivership, etc. A new corporation was to be organized under the laws of Colorado, to be called The Union Water Company, but by supplemental agreement, October 18, 1894, this name was changed to The Denver Union Water Company. It was to have nine directors—four from the Heald party and five from the "Citizens." All property of both parties was to be conveyed to it. Its capital was to be $7,500,000, divided into 75,000 shares of $100 each. It was apportioned as follows:

To the Heald party, embracing the Sullivan, Underwood-Archer interests, (common)	$1,000,000
To the Heald party, embracing the Sullivan, Underwood-Archer interests, (preferred)	1,250,000
To the Citizens' Water Company people, (common)	4,000,000
To the Citizens' Water Company people, (preferred)	1,250,000

It was also provided in this agreement that 8,000 bonds of $1,000 each should be issued by The Denver Union Water Company and disposed of as follows:

To the Heald party as mentioned above, 4,500,	$4,500,000
To the Citizens' Water Company people, 2,500,	2,500,000
To be used in future operations, 1,000,	1,000,000

The Venner interests received nothing and the New Jersey company was wrecked.

The ninth paragraph of this April agreement expressly provides that each party shall cause the water-rates in Denver to be increased for the year beginning with May 1, 1894, to the rates prevailing and charged by the Denver Water Company in the year 1890, *with such exceptions as may be agreed to by Mr. Heald and Mr. Cheesman*, and such rates shall be maintained until the new corporation shall come into possession.

In the face of an iron-clad written agreement like this, as to which it looks as if Receiver Sullivan was as much a party as if he had signed it, what shall we say as to its natural and intended effect upon free bidding at the foreclosure sale? Yet, not out of proper keeping with other proceedings in the case, he went through the form of conducting the

sale under the title of commissioner—strange to Colorado law—and was allowed $16,000 for this invaluable service. Upon this feature of the proceedings, and the way it was reported to the court, let us quote again from the brief:

"As early as November 15, 1893, the correspondence between Underwood, as attorney for the seven per cent. committee, and Sullivan, receiver of the American Water-Works Company, shows that the former had practically brought the committees to an agreement, and at that early day the profits to be made by this receiver from selling the property at one price and reporting the sale at another appear to have been already considered between the correspondents. . . . *The false report* of sale for $1,010,000 was the natural sequence of the consummation of the fraudulent agreement, or, to go back to the beginning, (it) was the lusty development of the embryo from the ill-omened coition of two sinister minds at Omaha, in June, 1891, which commenced with the concerted resignations by them and other directors of the American Water-Works Company."

Let us now see how much Mr. Sullivan made out of his receivership, to be paid eventually by the people of Denver. We read again:

"From February 2, 1892, to September 1894, he received the sum of $1,250 per month, or $37,625. Adding to this the amount allowed by final orders, makes a total of $103,291.66. To this should be added Sullivan's share of the $250,000 paid him and the other Denver stockholders by the reorganization committee, . . . all of which he received for two and one-half years' attention to a property which he reported sold for $1,010,000."

In addition to this, his attorney, at the conclusion of his receivership, was allowed in one sum $18,500.

More than a third of a million dollars for the people to pay was thus absorbed in fees by Mr. Sullivan's extraordinary receivership,—most of which, it appears, stuck to his own fingers.

The perfunctory sale under the foreclosure decree occurred April 21, 1894, and all the property of the pioneer company was bid in, pursuant to the written agreement; but the property was reported by Receiver Sullivan as sold for $1,010,000! The junior foreclosures were now a mere matter of form, and on September 5th the receivership was ended. On October 18th The Denver Union Water Company was incorporated according to programme and in its articles of incorporation it was expressly stated it was organized especially for the purpose of acquiring, and that it did acquire "all the property, franchises, interests and assets of every kind and character lately and on to wit, April 21, 1894, sold under foreclosure decree of the district court, etc."

Enough is now rehearsed of the doings of these flashy magnates of finance to show that in the history of the Denver Water Plant there have been frauds and crimes and overreaching, that if done by poor men or tramps with a peck of pickles or an ordinary hen-roost would have led to stripes and bars, but being done by "respectables" with a public utility running into millions, the perpetrators are enthroned in wealth and power, and the serviceable attorney is made Lieutenant-Governor of Porto Rico. Without paying a cent of cash, and by putting the financial obligations of the "transaction" wholly upon the shoulders of the people, our free-water givers are now in sole possession of the entire plant of the city and their triumph and revenge is sweeping and complete. Like the spider and the web, they had woven to destroy, and they saw their victims writhe and squirm and consume,—and consumed.

Let us now turn to the people. The five years' period of the pioneer franchise is close at hand. It will expire April 10, 1895. The question now is, what will

these old champions of the people's cause, in undisputed control of the water-service of the city, do towards carrying out in good faith the municipal-ownership clause of the pioneer charter of 1890 that they then tried so hard to defeat?

This franchise was embraced in Ordinance No. 44, of the series of 1890, and was approved April 10, 1890. It is the last entry under "Water" in the preceding table. Carrying out the public-ownership idea, section 5 provided as follows:

" . . . That at any time after five years from date, the city council may require said company (The Denver Water Company) to fix schedule rates for private consumers equivalent to the average rate prevailing in the cities of Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati for the same service."

The Denver Union Water Company was now the legal successor to The Denver Water Company of the pioneers and had fallen heir to its above-mentioned valuable franchise, which was so much better than the franchise given to the martyrs when operating the Citizens' Water Company, that the latter from this time on drops out of sight. The new "Union" company was manned by old and familiar hands, with David H. Moffat and Walter S. Cheesman at the helm. They were the special champions of fairer rates to the city than those contained in the franchise they were now required to execute, but which, in 1890, they so far and violently opposed as to submit against it a schedule of rates, as we have seen, materially lower in every particular.

Prior to April 10, 1895, a new mayor and council were to be elected and the local issue involved was whether the water-plant should be condemned or a new one built, or reliance should be placed in the old champions of the new company to give practical public-ownership, at least as to water-rates, by a liberal compliance with the terms above of section 5. The campaign was spirited and the result was not free from doubt, when the new company, through its president, Walter S. Cheesman, sent to the mayor and council a public letter intended to advance, and which did advance, the political success of the ticket standing for the interests of the company. The material and vital part of this letter was as follows:

"The ordinance above referred to contains the contract under which the Denver Union Water Company supplies water to the citizens of Denver. It was signed April 10, A. D. 1890, so that by its terms *The Denver Union Water Company may be required after April* 10, 1895, *to furnish water at the average rate charged in Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati.* Each of these cities owns its own water-plant. The Denver Union Water Company is ready at any time to take this matter up and adjust the rates in accordance with the terms of this contract."

Every candidate upon the company's ticket signed a written pledge to promptly see to it that the provisions of section 5 mentioned in the Cheesman letter should be fairly and faithfully carried out by the company. But even all this was not deemed enough to give the company victory. To accomplish that, it then initiated the contaminating methods that have marked its political manipulations ever since, and with the sum of $6,000 secretly subsidized the then existing *Times-Sun* to support its cause and make the people think such support was upon principle and disinterested. In this and other devious ways the campaign went on. Finally the vote was taken and the company won.

Both branches of the new council were soon organized and the committee on "water" was a conspicuous part of the two houses. Numerous bills were introduced by Aldermen Leet, Young and Lathan, and Supervisors Burpee and Scobey, "requiring the Denver Union Water Company to fix schedule rates for private consumers as provided in section

5 of ordinance No. 44, of the series of 1890." The board of aldermen consisted of fourteen members and the board of supervisors of five. Public hearings were had by the water committee of the supervisors and the people were soon convinced they were swindled by the Cheesman letter. The company's attorney and the "distinguished citizens" who spoke at these meetings announced the startling creed that no average rates could be fixed equivalent to those of the municipal-owning cities of Chicago, Cincinnati and St. Louis and that section 5 was practically inoperative. During the campaign President Cheesman told the people, in writing, that his company could "be required after April 10, 1895, to furnish water at the average rate charged in Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati,"—but now, after the election and after April 10, 1895, he and his company audaciously tell the people that the company cannot "be required to furnish water at such an average rate," because the average itself is a myth.

This deliberate double-dealing with the intelligent people of a whole city fell like a bomb, and its explosion is still heard in every discussion of the water question. The people were up and alert and their ears were open to catch the first echo of this criminal treachery of the company in the proceedings of the council.

June 25, 1895, at 3 P. M., the aldermen were called in special session to consider the Leet, Young and Lathan bills. The people flocked in and it was soon apparent that the corporation measure was the Young bill. Vote after vote was taken on motions of every kind, and each time it was a tie,—7 to 7. A night-session was held, but nothing was done but to go into committee of the whole and report progress.

June 27th, at 1.30 P. M., Mayor McMurray had the aldermen again in special session on the same bills. The public mind was excited, as it was rumored the water company had put its collar on one of the people's men. Again the hall was crowded and, despite the show of force and violence, the rumor was confirmed and one,—Emery,—betrayed the people. The Leet bill was side-tracked by a vote of 8 to 6, and by the same vote the Lathan bill was defeated. The track was now clear for the Young bill,—the corporation measure. Willard L. Ames, leading the people's forces in all these fights, moved to amend by changing the schedule and making it 20 per cent. less than the existing rates. Lost, 8 to 6. Numerous motions and amendments were made, but all lost until the deserter, Emery, moved as a substitute for all pending motions a corporation-prepared amendment containing a schedule of rates. Carried, 8 to 6. Doyle moved that the substitute be incorporated in the bill. Carried, 8 to 6. Doyle moved a recess of five minutes to engross the bill. Carried, 8 to 6. Doyle moved that the bill as amended and engrossed be passed. Lost, 7 to 7! Here Emery must have seen a rope and faltered, for he voted once more with the forces of the people. For a moment hope was revived and it was sought to put the Leet bill on its passage, but Emery slipped again into his collar and the motion was lost,—8 to 6. A night-session was held and the recreant servants and their dutiful masters saw to it that there was ample guard. Doyle then renewed his motion to pass the Young bill, No. 32, as amended by Emery and engrossed. Carried.

Ayes: Doyle, Dunnagan, Emery, Fidel, Flatray, Heister, Hingley, Young,—8.

Nays: Ames, Lathan, Leet, Rogers, Sewall, Bartels,—6.

Thus the deed was done and corporation boodle triumphed. Our space will not permit us to follow the other meetings of the aldermen upon this subject, nor to enter the supervisors' chamber to show how Burpee and Scobey stood with the people and Burton, Phister and Schmidt with the Moffat-Cheesman water-company. We must tarry a moment, however, at the special aldermanic meeting

called by the Mayor, August 13th, to consider the Burpee bill that had come over from the board of supervisors. It was distasteful to the company and that was enough to secure its adverse report. But in that report was written the echo of the post-election betrayal by President Cheesman in the following words: "We are of the opinion that the city council is unable to ascertain the average of the rates prevailing in the cities of Chicago, Cincinnati and St. Louis, item by item, or to arrive at an accurate or even approximately correct conclusion in the attempt." This report further stated that the committee, in the near future, would prepare a bill that would be all right. This bill was soon introduced by Alderman Flatray and numbered 68. The mayor, always crowding this question to the front, required the aldermen to meet in special session on two successive days,—August 16th and 17th,—to consider this newest move of the arrogant corporation. These were exciting times, and the people were there and excited. But the bill passed both the aldermen and the supervisors and went to the mayor for consideration. He sent it back to the aldermen with his disapproval in a well-tempered, well-argued message of considerable length. He reminded the council that at the spring election there were two propositions before the people, one to give city-ownership by constructing competing works, and the other to give practically the same thing by "honestly enforcing" the provisions of section 5. He further said that "all the members of both branches of the city council positively and solemnly agreed, *over their own signatures*, that if elected to office by the people of this city they would honestly and strictly enforce the provisions of that ordinance, . . . and *before the election* the water company publicly announced its willingness to adjust these rates in accordance with the contract." Still further he said that the company threw over the South Denver contract because they did n't like it and claimed they were not bound by it; that the Flatray ordinance before him created a new contract with this new company for fifteen years, and fixed now a schedule of rates to carry throughout the whole period and to be considered in full satisfaction of the provisions of the above section 5; whereas the city was entitled to have a change in schedule whenever the three cities named above made a material change in their rates. He further pointed out that the Flatray ordinance fixed the scale too high and was not a seriatim reduction, but a compromise; and finally, he answered the claim of the company that the Burpee and Scobey bills would bankrupt it, if passed, by recalling that in February, 1890, when Moffat and Cheesman, then of The Citizens' Water Company and the present head of The Denver Union Water Company, in order to defeat the very franchise under which they now were claiming, and which was then being backed by the pioneers, offered a twenty per cent. reduction from the schedule it contains and offered to irrigate lots of twenty-five feet in width for $5.00 each per annum. Moreover he reminded the council that the company never makes a public statement of its financial operations and no one is allowed to see its books.

Let us here stop to remark that that has been the policy of the company ever since. It is the only utility corporation in Denver that does not publish a report for its stockholders, or give them specific information of its doings. What do the people of this city, and of the state and of the world, think of a company operating in a large city so important a *public* function as its water system, holding in imperious secrecy, both from its stockholders and from the people, its receipts and expenditures, its resources and liabilities, —and its profits? Municipal-ownership cannot too soon cut short the grasping career of such incorporated autocracy. But to return to our subject.

The able veto of the mayor struck a strong chord of response in the people, and it soon was noised about that the

corporation collar, lined with the almighty dollar, was to be put upon other necks of the people's servants and that the Flatray bill would be finally passed by the necessary two-thirds majority, despite the mayor's veto. This was the climax of corporate audacity. The *Rocky Mountain News*, always able and fearless in this and other corporation fights, sounded the tocsin, and like the recent popular uprising in Philadelphia, the people were indignant and enraged and poured into the city hall to make a physical demonstration of their determined protest. This time there was no question about the presence of ropes nor the intention to use them.

In silent, somber suspense the roll was called and the question was: "Shall the Flatray bill, No. 68, be passed, the mayor's veto notwithstanding?"

Yeas: Doyle, Dunnagan, Emery, Fidel, Flatray, Heister, Hingley, Young,—8.

Nays: Ames, Lathan, Sewall, Bartels, —4.

Absent: Leet and Ross,—2.

Ten votes were necessary and there were only the usual corporation eight, and the measure was defeated, If the corporation managers had, as asserted, arranged for the two votes they were short, their "arrangement" miscarried in the popular demonstration and they never dared to show up. This was the high-water mark of the water-fight in the council, and we turn now to the fight in the courts.

In the fall of 1895,—October 2d,—a mandamus from the district-court in case No. 22,856 was obtained, requiring the council to compel the water company to fix a new schedule of rates in accordance with section 5, and it obeyed. On the last day of the year, this same plaintiff, suing for himself and all others similarly situated, applied to the same court, in case No. 22,545, for an injunction restraining the company from shutting off its water service to him and others who should tender a sum equivalent to the average rate of the three cities of Chicago, Cincinnati and St. Louis. Here the hopes of the people were dashed, and the court held, to the great delight of the company and to the surprise and confusion of the public, that each individual consumer must sue for himself. That meant a hundred thousand separate suits! Such a monstrous anomoly gave hope for reversal upon appeal. The appeal was taken. The printed abstract was filed November 24, 1896, and the last brief was filed April 22, 1897,—*eight years ago*,—and still the appeal is sleeping undisposed of in the supreme court, and next December this particular case will be *ten years old!* Who will rise to explain—courts, lawyers, or company?

In the spring of 1897 there was another campaign for the election of a mayor and council. The water question was the sole issue, and despite the corporation methods, Mayor McMurray, with the help of the Civic Federation and the vote of the women, was vindicated, and he and his whole ticket elected. The people, by concerted action, then refused to pay the high rates exacted by the water company, and the latter began to cut off the service. The people secured keys and turned on the water as soon as it was turned off. In some wards the aldermen themselves went from house to house with keys and assisted the people in re-establishing their water-service. The mayor, too, was also active in this regard. While the council worked diligently for the passage of effective ordinances, the the district-court was again brought into the struggle, and an injunction suit in the name of the city was begun May 21st against The Denver Union Water Company, enjoining it from turning off the consumers' water and requiring it or the court to fix a schedule of rates in accordance with section 5. The court was tender, however, about interfering with the vested right of the company to pluck the public, and it substantially denied all relief to the people, both temporary and permanent. The trial in this case was prolonged and spectacular. It lasted

more than six months and Chicago, Cincinnati and St. Louis poured out their ex-water-clerks to pose for the company as learned experts and specialists. The practical result of Judge Le Fevre's decision in this case was complained of as actually raising the company's schedule in important particulars, and in the popular mind it was ridiculed as equivalent to finding $3 \div 2 = 4$. The case is still sleeping upon appeal in the supreme court, and is nearly *nine years old!*

In the same year in question, 1897, and while the suit last-mentioned was pending, and while the mayor and the council and the people were pulling together for effective relief against the water company, an interloper from New York, wholly unannounced, suddenly, October 28th, jumped into the juridical arena at the moment when the people's victory seemed to be in sight. This startling litigant was the Continental Trust Company, holding bonds of the Denver Union Water Company, and it went to Judge Thayer of the federal court in St. Louis for its injunction. The city and the whole city administration were made defendants, and along with them The Denver Union Water Company. It was alleged that the city and its officials and the people were in a conspiracy to depreciate the property and franchises of the water company, to harass and oppress it, to prevent the collection of its water-rates, and to destroy its credit, and to ultimately get the water-plant for much less than its value; that certain ordinances of July 1 and 28, 1897, carrying heavy penalties against the water company were a part of the conspiracy, and, finally, that the company, on November 1, 1895, had reduced the rates for water for domestic purposes twenty per cent., and for irrigating purposes forty-five per cent., in an attempted compliance with section 5.

The St. Louis judge issued a restraining order without a hearing, and thus the judicial process of that distant court was made to operate upon the water-rates and the water-fight in Denver. Later a brief contest upon affidavits was had in the case and the allegations of the New York Company were put in issue; still the court directed a preliminary injunction, which is yet in operation, and the enforcement of the above ordinances was suspended and the officers and people were prevented from turning on the water when the company turned it off, and the company was allowed to turn it off unless paid the particular rates it exacted.*

The next occurrence in order worthy of mention was the effort on the part of the mayor and council to ascertain as far as possible the actual value of the entire plant of the water company. This delicate and laborious task was entrusted to City Engineer Hunter. Under date of November 1, 1898, the mayor transmitted to the council Mr. Hunter's report of more than a dozen closely-printed pages, fixing the value at $3,763,617. An effort was then made by the city to buy the company's plant, but the price asked was $9,000,000! All coats were now off for the construction of a rival plant by the city, and in 1899 city bonds for this purpose in the aggregate sum of $4,600,000 were authorized and they carried by a vote of more than two to one. But again the people were tripped, and Judge Riner,† of the federal court, held that the bonds were improperly authorized,

1. Because voted at a special election.

2. Because two propositions were submitted together and not separately, to wit: to buy the company's plant or to construct a new one.

3. Because the city, during the life of the company's franchise, could not construct new and competing works.

So, at last, we have reached a point in our history of the water-service of Denver where the people cannot build, and at the company's figures, they will not buy. At

**Legal Adviser*, 150.

† This decision was given February 4, 1901, in the case of F. Annine Josephine Grant *vs.* City of Denver, No. 4,112, United States Circuit Court for the District of Colorado.

this point, too, it is in order to observe that the most valuable thing to sell in an arid country in connection with a water-plant is that intangible easement called a water-right. It should be noted that in Colorado, by reason of insufficient and infrequent rains, the subject of water-rights and irrigation is of supreme interest to every inhabitant. Here the title to the water flowing in the natural streams is vested in the public, subject to be used by the citizens, however, in the order of their respective appropriations. This is the tender spot of The Denver Union Water Company. All the water of the Platte river, the source of its supply, has long since been appropriated by a myriad of irrigating companies and tillers of the soil. Among the water-decrees required to be filed with the state engineer, there is not one in the name of this company, nor in the name of any of the constituent companies from which it emerged. It owns by purchase, it is true, a few rights to the river's flow, but they are not senior rights and are small in quantity. To supply in fact what it thus lacks in law, it has constructed elaborate galleries in the bed of the river, and in this way it diverts an enormous seepage to its pipes that would otherwise reach the lands and ditches of those to whom it properly belongs by the rule of priority. This larcenous device has been carried to such an extent at the most critical period of the irrigating season, as to create a scarcity of water in the large agricultural sections entitled to the Platte river flow, and the farmers in various districts have held frequent meetings of protest and have vigorously denounced the company for selling to the city of Denver water it had stolen from the ranchmen. They have organized and have already taken the matter both to the legislature and to the courts.

The company has two fine artificial lakes, however, Marsden and Cheesman. The latter was recently completed at the cost of more than a million dollars, and when full, as at present, constitutes a two-years' supply for the city. But this is naturally held in reserve, when the galleries in the river can be so easily worked with no more serious result than the bluster of the farmers in the company's citadel of strength, the legislature and the courts.

When Denver's water-problem is rightly solved, the city and the farmer will find their lot in common,—the farmer wants the market and the city wants the farmer's vegetables, fruits and crops. There then will be no larceny and strife, and the great city of the plains can wisely vie with Uncle Sam in the building of reservoirs, large and small, in every available nook in the foot-hills and the mountains. The farmers' water-rights, when needed, can be bought, or better still, made the subject of exchange for the city's water from its hundred reservoirs. Then will Denver's future be assured; no ditch will parch for water on the rolling plains, and every waiting acre now barren and unused will wear a dress of green and thrift and the prolific parturition of a laboring soil will bear its progeny of agricultural wealth into the prosperous laps of a million people. To this supreme achievement the farmers of the Platte, and through them the farmers of the state, and the undaunted civic forces of every municipality should join hands for mutual aid in the impending and final crisis that is now on with the water-baron and the Utility-Trust of Denver. *They* are in the saddle of state politics, making governors and judges and senators, and those who would oppose must take an active hand in the fight in Denver to dehorse them.

We are now at the politics of the situation. The last year in the order of our story was 1899, but from that time to the present the people, baffled in the courts, have also been baffled at the ballot-box. The returns of that year did not show that Mayor McMurray was reëlected, though I certainly shall not say that he was defeated. The returns at no municipal election since,—that is, 1901,

1903 and 1904,—show that any, save the servants of the corporations, have received a majority of the popular vote. We postpone to our chapter on "The Overthrow of the Ballot" the appalling fraud that explains this apparent abandonment of popular government to the corporations. There has been no abandonment in fact, and what there is in seeming is the silent token of ballot-box stuffing, corruption and fraud. This is the civic wreck wrought by corporation greed, loot and money, and in the perilous debauch of the throne-powers we see the one argument capping all others for public-ownership, that, to save our homes and the republic, the utility corporations must not only be driven out of politics but they must be driven out of the utilities.

(To be continued.)

J. Warner Mills.

Denver, Colo.

A PASTORAL OF THE HILLS.

By Antoinette McKim.

I.

"LOOK! See thet! Jest ez I told you!"

Pulling the horse to a stop where the trees of the forest suddenly halted at the brink of a ravine, he pointed toward the rain-dimpled waters of a pond.

"There 's another! Finest eatin' in the world," he insisted as the glistening fish leaping high swept a graceful curve, leaving widely eddying circles where it plunged beneath the surface.

"Kings an' Emp'rors do n't git the like uv them! Your supper, or dinner, is alwuz swimmin' in thet pond; your'n fer the takin' an' never nuthin' ter pay—Kings an' Emp'rors do n't git the like of them pick'rel!"

"Go 'long!" and at the bidding the sleek, sturdy horse went carefully down the rocky descent, until the wheels with hollow sound crossed the rough plank bridging above a hurrying brook, gaily singing its way through the wooded solitude. As the driver gave rein the obedient creature pulled eagerly up the steep ascent past wide acres of harvested cornfield. Beyond the long rows of stacked sheaves, their tasselled tops answering in soft cadence to the pattering of the raindrops, the crumbling bricks of a chimney-top showed sharply against the drifting storm-clouds of a boundless horizon, and quickly the low, spreading gable of a time-worn, weather-stained house greeted their expectant eyes.

"Th-ir-ty a-cres!" exclaimed the Agent indicating by a wide sweep of his arm the entire woodland country about them.

"Young growin' timber ready fer market—there 's money in holdin' part, there 's money in your pocket ev'ry time you warm yourself to a fire thet grows on your lan'! Ther's acres cleared fer corn thet we jest passed an' ther's your house, built an' planned ter your hand! Seven rooms; barns an' sheds, all waitin' your steppin' in an' livin' in 'em! There 's apple orchards, bearin' crops as you wont often see! The pond 's full uv fish ter be had fer the takin'! There 's game in the woods—ever hunt? No? My son he 's a sure shot; he 's taught some uv the finest shots in the country how ter use their gun. These woods 'bout here are runnin' in game! When you 're choppin' or ploughin' jest hev your gun handy an' pritty soon you see a rabbit—fine eatin' rabbits! Bring a big price in the market! Jest a little snap uv the trigger an' there 's your dinner ready an' waitin' ter take home when noon-hour comes!"

The dull, absorbed gaze of the foreign-born man clung fixedly to the gray land-

scape. A look of halting uncertainty overspread the wide-featured, somewhat doggedly determined face. The solitary dwelling, the lonely field rescued from the once limitless forests, appealed to him with a curious fascination as the fluent discourse of his companion fell with but faint comprehension upon his senses.

"Thet 's strange!" and the Agent assumed a puzzled look as he slowly drew the long key from the door which refused to open. He looked up quickly to his client.

"My wife said ter me when I brought you home ter dinner—you saw my wife?"

"Yaas," assented the foreigner with drawling docility.

"'Thet gen'leman!' said she ter me, speakin' uv you, 'is frum the city'; she knows folks et first sight! 'He 's a bizness man,' sez she, 'an' you must n't be careless er nuthin' ter waste his time; an' now see what I 've done!"

He looked thoughtfully at the weather-beaten door; did the refusal of the key to turn the lock mean that it was broken? The rain-drops from the over-hanging porch-roof splashed steadily on the door-stone in hurrying monotone.

"This," he held out the long iron key, "belongs to a house over the other side the mountain thet I sold day before yesterday to a man from the city. He came here ter derscribe ter me jest such a place ez he wanted. Sez I, 'I 've got thet place, the ve-ry one your 're lookin' fer! It 's right here in this town!' He looked et me kinder queer, an' he sez, 'I 've been lookin' fer this place fer two years, it 's cost me more 'n a hundred dollars, 'cause I aint been treated so gen'rous an' han'-sum ez I hev by you. If you 've got the place I want,' sez he, 'an' then he put his han' inter his pocket an' drew out a roll uv bills; he hunted 'em all over—they wuz all big ones—'till he come ter a twenty-dollar bill—'twuz the smallest uv all! 'Thet twenty-dollar bill,' sez he, 'is your'n ef you 've got the place I want.' 'No, my friend,' sez I, 'put up your money; thet aint the way I do bizness. I 'm a plain countryman; I was raised a farmer; these hills hev alwuz been my home an' I could n't take nuthin' but a plain commission same ez we agreed. Ef I find the place you want it 's so much to me, an' my part 's done.'"

The foreigner nodded assentingly as the Agent paused, his eyes interrogating those of his client.

"The same ez I told you!" emphasized the Agent.

"Yaas," acquiesced the man.

"'An',' sez I, 'ef I do n't find the place you want there 's no charges betwixt us, I give you my time free, my horsepitality, my team!'"

"I say the same to all!" he ejaculated convincingly. "What I 'm doing is to bring the best people ter come an' live in this town thet I can find; I live here myself an' I want good people roun' me. Thet 's why I took 'im to see the place I knew he wanted; thet 's why I 'm bringing you here. When he looked at everything he said ter me, 'Where 's your Justice of the Peace? I want this place an' I want my writin's made and signed before I sleep to-night.' 'Wait till mornin',' sez I, 'bizness aint done best thet 's done in a hurry—an' you 'll pardon me,' I added, 'fer you know more of bizness in a year than we country people in a lifetime!' But he would n't! I could n't stop 'im! We went to the justice an' he hed his papers made an' signed before he would go ter bed thet night!"

"This key!" and again he held it before the dull gaze of his client, "belongs to his house. He 's gone ter bring his wife an' childrun an' he left this with me 'till they get here. It looks the same ez the key ter this house an' I 've been an' made a bungling mistake, jest ez my wife warned me uv not doin'. I 'll give one more turn an' see if 't wont unlock this door."

Trying the key carefully in all possible ways availed nothing; he must come another day with tools for needed repairs before the long-rusted bolt would yield. Was there a fatality of failure following his efforts to sell this lapce? He had

sold many a farm during the time he had held this one.

"Look here!"

He turned from the doorstone and passing to the nearest window raised it.

"Your wife won't hev no fear uv tramps. Look what honest folks we be, winder's free ter all. The doors we lock jest fer lettin' our nebbors know we aint ter hum."

The vacant house gave back their footsteps with careful accuracy as the Agent led the way through the square front rooms looking over to the western hills. Behind the inhospitable door steeply climbing stairs entered the attic beneath the low-gabled roof. A long, low-studded kitchen formed the ell of the house where from the ceiling stout iron hooks reached downward; relics of long past customs of 'ye olden tyme,' when at the harvest-tide o' year the drying apples sliced and threaded, hung festooned like flower-chains from the hooks of the ceiling; where on slim rods passed through the flat-turned ends, rings of golden pumpkin mellowed for the winter season. As the Agent swung wide two doors of heavy plank, that at the end of the room secured those within from intrusion of wind and weather, the rusted cranes and pothooks in the broad, blackened fireplace creaked hoarsely and the incoming wind sighed mightily as it crossed the threshold of long ago.

"Look et thet brick-work! No one knows better how ter jedge uv thet then you. Fine, solid, no sech work ez thet by the job."

"Vary good; sulid, strong," assented the foreigner, his gaze passing curiously from the ancient hearthstone out through the door leading to the wood-shed beyond.

"Fine water," explained the ready Agent, pointing to the open well protected by platform and railing, above which hung the typical bucket, warped and time-dried, sunken from the rusted iron bands fastened to a heavy chain wound upon a wooden roller, by which it was laboriously raised from its dripping dip in the depth of the earth.

"Thet well never went dry eny year sence this house was built! Thet water is colder 'n ice an' clear ez a crystal. See this!" he exclaimed with emphasis as, crossing the room, he pointed to a broken window-pane.

"This is the only damage this house hez ter show. Here 's a winder pane broke out! Could you believe thet an empty house with icicles freezin' an' thawin' and drippin' from the eaves, would hev but one pane broke out! One winter I hed five panes uv glass thet got broke from the trees in my yeard snappin' icicles onter 'em. Look et them timbers, the same all the way over this house. Ever see floor-boards the width uv them now-a-days! You can 't buy it fer money! You 've got ter buy an ole-time house like this one is, ter git timbers sech ez them be."

The Agent closed the outer doors of the kitchen, drew the rusted bolts with a sharp click that again left the room to the silence of the past; pointing to the broken pane he led the way to the front room where both men climbed from the window as they had entered.

Beneath his stolid exterior the foreign-born man was hesitating before the realization of a great desire beckoning him onward, thrusting itself within his grasp as the Agent again pointed across the broad stubbled acres of stacked corn-sheaves; the sloping, verdant field of rowen; the wind-swept apple orchard where the old trees, bent and gnarled, were yet alive with the fruit-graft separating them from their kindred of the forest. To these unknown hills he had found his way directed by his countryman the pack-peddler, who during a summer's tramping over the far, strange country of the new world, had found amid a hamlet remote from the civilization of factory or railroad, a few families speaking the language of home. A group of people alien and apart from those about them, tilling the hillside acres, the barren, stony, forest-grown soil of long-abandoned

farms. In the dust and sweat of toil in the grim, gray quarries by the sea, the quarryman pondered the pack-peddler's account of these people of his own tongue, living among the hills of the unknown, inland country, until the awakened desire for the field-life such as he had known in the old world, became the determination of the future. As he sat stolidly gazing over the bleak landscape, only half-comprehending the persuasive words of the Agent, he listened in bewildered uncertainty, beset with the desire of possession yet conscious that possession meant parting from the carefully-hoarded, slowly-earned money.

Leaving the woodland road they came to an open common, "ye olden tyme Muster-Field" of those days when memories of the colonial struggle were yet part of fireside tales and muster-day a gala celebration. School and meeting-house stood upon its outskirts; the tall, slim spire above the white belfry, telling of that freedom once named Puritanism, swung proudly its gilded vane. Here the road descended abruptly to where grouped in the basin of land between long ranges of foot-hills, were the homes and shops of the hamlet. So irregularly did the buildings stand that looking down upon them from the hill-top no two were at the same level of perspective.

Turning abruptly from the main thoroughfare, the Agent and his companion stopped before a cottage-house, a narrow strip of grass alone separating the steps of the house-door from a too sudden descent upon the highway. The exterior seemed seriously forbidding, the shades at the front windows were closely drawn, green paper at the ground-glass panels of the door kept all possible light from penetrating within. As the Agent pulled the bell-handle, that moved with creaking unreadiness, the call rang out resonantly, stirring echoes of vacancy in the hall within. Quickly in response light footsteps were heard running along the path from the side entrance, until at the corner of the house a young girl stood staring curiously.

As the Agent, bidding her good afternoon, swept a hand from his hat-brim with great courtesy, a flash of amusement lighted her eyes, and her look passed swiftly to the occupant of the carriage, peering curiously at the scene before him.

"Is the Justice of the Peace at home?" asked the Agent with unruffled politeness.

The girl nodded.

"I have here a new citizen who wishes to see him on important business."

The mirth in the girl's eyes was the only response as she turned swiftly away. Soon foot-steps were heard within, there was a movement of the key in the door and a slim man of stooping mien, his glancing eyes as quickly evading all responses to the scrutiny his own evinced, greeted the Agent.

"Mr. Justice of the Peace," said the Agent, "this gen'leman is a new citizen. Let me make you known to Mr. Wasman."

"Viesnouw, Petrovitch Viesnouw," corrected the foreigner, staring straight into the face of the "Justice," who, having led the way within stood fidgeting with the documentary paper on the table before him, glancing up only at the formal point of introduction.

"Pardon me, my friend," said the Agent. "I am an uneducated man. I only know my own language; you will excuse me!" Emphasizing his apology with a bow to his client he motioned him to a seat, placing himself at an angle of observation where he could catch the eye of the Justice unnoticed by his companion.

Justice and Agent knew each other well. The Justice gaining his living by politics in a town so small that all possible offices combined gave but a meager living, knew that each word the Agent now addressed to him was in purpose intended to influence his client; a final statement setting the seal of veracity on all he had previously said of the property he desired to sell. Politically these two men were bitter opponents. The Agent in discussing probable elections always

referred to the Justice as a "slippery fellow!" Yet being of a party doubtful in success, when with the "Justice" he was mindfully aware that political influence may be availed equally by all voters; while the Justice, notwithstanding that he belonged to the winning side, knew that unforeseen local prejudice does sometimes in minor offices break the line of party successes; it was always judicious to secure at the polls some margin on which to build against the day of need. Individually the Justice was an honest man, in personal relations he never exacted a shilling beyond the value given; but politics! that game of chance with all the intrigues of human ingenuity against one; a game of which the brief code is that nothing else succeeds like success!

Every one in the village knew that the Justice from being the humblest henchman of his party, commencing as a young man with the smallest paying office of the town, had steadily attained success until now every emolument of value, with the final honors of the Great and General Court, adding their undeniable luster of importance and prosperity to a successful career, were his to command.

"You know the farm, Mr. Justice?"

The Justice nodded briefly. The old farm stripped of valuable timber; overrun with weeds; bought at forced sale by the Agent for two hundred and fifty dollars; did not every villager know the history of that farm? Every eye seeing the Agent drive past in the direction of those acres with a possible purchaser beside him, looked to wonder how he would this time manage the sale to procure his usual profit.

"My friend pays ten hundred," the Justice hesitated in the stroke of his pen, involuntarily listening as if to assure himself he heard correctly.

"Ten hundred *down*," emphasized the Agent. The furtive eyes of the Justice stole a look at the stolidly unconscious face.

"I am willing to advise my son-in-law," continued the Agent, "to sell him the farm in this way, taking a small mortgage of two hundred, and as our friend wants this farm but has not means beyond this sum, I shall not charge my usual commission—that we had agreed upon," he looked to his client for assent.

"Yaas," said the man placidly acquiescent; "ten hundred is the most we 've got, me an' my wife."

The Agent for the first time since entering the room now leaned back in his chair in silence, while the pen of the law swept with deliberate care over the large documentary paper of the deed.

"That is the place for you to sign," observed the Justice, pointing to the line as he turned the paper toward the client.

"Yaas," said the foreigner, looking from his seat with curiously placid attention upon the unintelligible writing.

The Agent rose quickly, taking the pen from the Justice.

"Sit up to the table!" he exclaimed eagerly.

"I take it first to me freend; he tell me if I want that farm."

"Your friend!" exclaimed the Agent, dismayed.

"You cannot take that deed away from here! You could not permit that Mr. Justice," he concluded in a more suave voice, turning to the Justice.

"There are no signatures to the deed," he responded quietly; his eyes surveyed the client a full second,—he saw more clearly than the Agent. The man was not yet satisfied to the point of handing over his money.

"I bring him here after he tell me if I like the farm," assented the foreigner indifferently.

"Bring him from where?" queried the Agent keenly.

"I dunno jus' whar," said the man searching his pocket and producing a paper on which the pack-peddler had written an address.

"Some part this town," he explained, laying the paper on the table for inspection.

Agent and Justice bent quickly to read the name.

"Lives over east," said the Justice.

"But, Mr. Justice!" The Agent spoke smoothly, though a sense of weariness of the work yet to be done faced him grimly, "you are a busy man; every moment is occupied; this deed must be executed in your presence."

The Justice hesitated. The eyes of the Agent met his with scrutinizing keenness. In the balance of self-interest he wavered.

"This deed," he said, "must be signed when written, or the expense doubled to the purchaser," He spoke slowly, his eyes shrewdly reading the uncertain, half-yielding, half-stubbornly resisting look of the client.

II.

A dimly-burning lamp cast but a faint light deepening the shadows at either end of the long kitchen. A woman sat at a coarse wooden table in an attitude of deepest dejection, the sleeves of her work-dress rolled to the elbow, showed her strong, shapely arms resting on the cleanly-scrubbed surface; her head was bowed in her hands; her heavy breathing was occasionlly broken by a moan as of physical anguish followed by a long-drawn sobbing breath; then as one who regains control of despair she sat quietly until the agony of pain smote her. She was tall of stature; that nature had made her both strong and shapely of build was evident from the bared arms, the fine shoulders bowed in dejection. Near her a man was sitting in the drunken, sodden mood of half-stupefied unconsciousness. Though of large and ponderous frame, he lacked the physical poise of the woman, almost his equal in height.

From the dying embers on the hearth a brand suddenly blazed up in sharp tongues of flame, casting a bright glow far across the room. Lifting her bowed head from her hands she looked about her with questioning in her eyes. The man, momentarily wakened as the wind in sudden gust dashed the rain against the window-panes, raised his head, and a half-smile came into his bleared eyes as with dull grasp at consciousness he said thickly: "Do n' cry, I 'm here!"

Her eyes rested on him for an instant, then with a moan of anguish more intense than before, her head sank into her hands. Something in her voice seemed to pierce his understanding. He stirred, looking steadily toward her as one trying to dispel a clouded vision that bewildered him. Slowly reaching to the arms of the chair in which he sat, twice he tried to rise before he stood upon his feet, then gathering his poise for the effort he staggered forward to the table beside the woman.

"Do n' cry," he repeated with maudlin tenderness. "I 'm here!"

As his hand touched her shoulder she lifted her head.

"Get away from me!" Her voice was quiet, the low-spoken words authoritative, her eyes held him steadily with an unflinching control.

"You mon speak like thot way to me," he muttered with lowering brow. It was but a brief moment until his eyes shrank away from her look.

"You mon speak like thot way to me," he repeated in whining defiance. Turning from her, again by careful effort he steadied himself until he regained his chair. For a moment he held to the arms, then slowly sinking to his seat his head dropped forward, his eyes closed dully and his breathing was heavy from exhaustion.

The woman watched him keenly. Despair and anguish seemed battling with resentment in the look she fixed upon him. Again he roused uneasily, as one dimly conscious of her watchfulness. He open his bleared eyes. Meeting his look she spoke in the same quiet, low tone, that in the stillness following a momentary lull in the storm without, seemed to vibrate from the very heart-pulse of her being.

"Why are you like this so soon?"

She paused for the full meaning of her words to reach his understanding.

"Because you lied to me!"

"Naw, naw"; he spoke with unexpected energy. "I naw lied." A look of anxiety came over his face.

"You lied to me," she reiterated. "You told me this be a prohibit town."

"It be!" he urged. "It be prohibit town; I naw lied," he repeated anxiously.

"Then how do you be like this each time you are to the village —*thot Tavern!*"

"The town be prohibit, jes' as I tell you; the Tavern, they sell it '*on the quiet.*'" He nodded in maudlin imitation of the manner that passed from man to man telling of the hidden bar in the old Tavern of the little hamlet.

The woman looked puzzled.

"'*On the quiet!*'" he repeated, the maudlin, significant smile still on his face.

"Oh!" she exclaimed as slowly she gathered the meaning.

"An' do they call it 'on the quiet' when you come like this from the Tavern, when the men lay by the road with the empty bottles alongside?"

"They say to me when I look to buy the farm, 'Yes, this town be prohibit,' jes' the same I tell you," he urged.

"They lied to you!"

"Naw, naw," he maintained. "The town do vote prohibit, they mos'ly like the town thot way; but the Tavern sell 'on the quiet' so thot some one will be lan'lord an' the property not to go to fail; the Selec'men want the town not hurt thot way."

"An' which do the people mean when they vote, prohibit or liquor—when they lie that people do buy farms! Is it they —your freen's"—her voice was keen with scorn—"thot have it 'on the quiet' to save the place from fail; is they the freen's that make you go into the biz'ness 'till the horses starve an' we be in ruin?"

"I take the contrac' to haul too much lumber too cheap," he muttered. "I hod the men to work for the feed while they learn the new country, I know I do it cheaper than one other; but 't was too cheap, too cheap."

"Too cheap for you, but not for them, that when the horses starve an' die for work, they spoil the contrac' an' pay you no more—those men 'on the quiet' to keep the Tavern from fail! But we! we are gone; it is no more tryin' to get on thot we can do; the charge from the store is a big cheat, it ruin us!"

"Naw, naw!" said the man with bluster, raising a hand and with faint effort failing to snap his fingers, as dismissing the subject thus lightly. "He be my freen'; the bill not ruin us!"

He leaned forward, the maudlin smile again lighted his face, his eyes gleamed cunningly. "I do him good turn, great turn, make him all right; he cannot go back of me!" Then resting against his chair, his head settled forward and the stupor overcame him.

She watched him for a moment.

"Petrovitch!"

He roused, looking at her dimly.

"What be the turn you do him?"

With an exclamation of surprise, he stared at her.

"Tell me what be the turn you do thot man, you call your freen', this one who makes us the cheat bill we never eat."

"Yes, I do him turn," he assented.

"What turn?" she insisted.

He made an effort to gather his thoughts straightening up in his chair.

"Tell me," she repeated.

"Course; yes, I tell you. 'T was a big thing for him I did; he be the pos'man——"

"Yes, go on; he be pos'man."

"Yes; the people not want him, he mix all their letters up, everywhere, the same he sent your letter to Alexandre, not to you where it was meant. The people all got mad, everywhere, send a long paper away telling the man who makes all the pos'man, all over the country, all about him, that they not want him any more; but that man what makes everybody pos'man, be his freen', not the freen' of the man they want; he send an' tells him, send another paper how everybody, everywhere, wants him, an' likes him before anyone, an' every one

must sign it, to make the other paper lie; he tells me he wants 'long names, very many,' I tell him 'Yes, I see it all'; I tell town-officers I want my name, your name, the chil'r'n's, all the men, put against the paper to make the lie on the other'; he thank me that I do him big turn, he says, '*alwuz*, I be your freen', Petro.'"

The man leaned back in his chair, a confident smile on his face.

"Listen! thot man come this day, with one little man with sharp eye; a man that carries the law with him"; she spoke more slowly than before, giving each word full meaning to his dull senses. "He show me thot bill, long; they read it, lots bigger than I cook, I know what I cook better 'an they. He tell me thot bill got to be paid an' because I eat the things an' my chil'r'n, I got to pay. I say, 'I have no money,' the Sheariff say, 'You own this place, this be money for you to pay with'; I say, I no sell my place to eat your food I never had, an' for all I eat you got your pay; you got the hay out the barn thot the horses starve for, you got hens, little chicks an' all the eggs I send all the time to pay an' much money all the time along. Petrovitch have pay you all. I never have cook so much thot paper tell of.' The man he called Sheariff looked to him *steady*, somethin' in the look of his eyes thot I see they both see together. Then the Sheariff say: 'You have eat all them on the paper, the paper tells about each day you have them, the law make you pay for eatin', you cannot eat this good man's food an' not pay him for it. I am the law to make things as I say. You be a woman an' I aint hard to no woman, I will do a good thing to you all, your husban' an' chil'r'n. This place is money to you, it 's all goin' the way of ruin, lan' runnin' out, for your man lets it get behind what it was when you buy it ——"

Curses interrupted her.

"Stop!" she commanded.

The man was ashen pale, the moisture was on his face in great drops and he shrank back in his chair, silent before her outstretched arm.

"You be terrible enough, Petrovitch, but you not curse your God."

"He lies," he muttered, thickly.

"I tell you!" she assented.

"I work all two years, you work, the men the summer for the feed; we break new lan', we seed an' grow new crops!" he drew his breath sharply between his set teeth, his hands were clenched, he was struggling against his rage; "*He lies!*" he muttered; "*lies!*"

"Listen!" she interrupted. "There is more! He say he got good, small farm, big as we want for us, no hard work to run, you an' me; no feed for men to make bills at the store; no horses to keep for grain at the store; he say pigs an' chicks he call mine to take away; he give me thot farm for this an' call the bill pay up, if I put my writin' on a paper he have with him."

"Did yer?" he whispered hoarsely, his hands shaking as he tried to hold to the arms of the chair.

"Naw!" she exclaimed broadly, contempt in her voice. "I see they lie to me. If they lie one time they do it more; I not trust them any." Swiftly she lifted her hands above her head, a moan of anguish came from her lips, sobs followed, her control was nearly gone.

"Oh, Petrovitch!" she cried, "you must see Alexandre, he must help us! It 's the Tavern an' the men 'on the quiet' hav' put you in the ruin! We earn lots money at the quarrees, it be all gone! We must go hom', back to our people!"

"I no goin' back," he muttered doggedly. "I 'll live in a free country!"

"A free country is not for us. I 'm goin' hom'; I 'm goin' to my own people; Alexandre will get me money for I not writ on any paper as he tol' me not, since I writ when we buy the farm!"

With a wail of anguish she threw herself forward upon the table, Instantly the dimly-burning lamp went out as the shattered globe fell in scattering pieces; suddenly the veering wind struck fiercely upon the house, rattling the rain like hail against the window panes; only the

stumbling, uncertain steps of the man broke the silence within.

Sweeping down from the hill-tops the rain came in gusts, the fast-falling drops were hurled by the wind with battling fury against the window-panes at the front of the old house. With the passing of the night the blackness of the storm became thick with mist; a drifting, floating atmosphere enshrouded the rain-beaten dwelling, where through the time-worn window casings streams of water found their way within.

In the square front room looking toward the northern peak of the mountain range, a door was pushed cautiously open. The swaying light from a lantern penetrating the darkness, showed two canvas-stretched cots, drawn to the center of the room. Across the coarse, brown ticking filled with freshly-dried husks from the corn-field, a broad width of sheeting was drawn from side to side; the widening circle of light from the lantern as the bearer advanced unsteadily into the room, showed the faces of two small children, their pillowless heads close together in soundest, rosiest sleep, a red blanket tucked warmly about them. As the flaring light of the lantern reached to the cot beyond, it rested on the face of a girl only a few years older, yet with a thin wanness of feature, a look of age and anxiety far beyond that of a child. Stooping by the side of the cot the man shook her by the arm.

"Wake yer!" he said in a husky whisper, intended not to rouse the young children, "Wake yer!"

She opened her eyes, dimly conscious of the call, and raised one arm to shield her face from the light.

"Wake yer now; mother wants the doctor."

"Yes," she responded, "I 'll come."

"Dress yourself; quick, hurry," he said turning away.

"The doctor?" questioned the child, a frightened anxiety coming into her face.

"Yes, git along quick," he answered roughly.

"The men!" she exclaimed.

"You 'll go for the doctor," he commanded, as he went from the room carrying the lantern with him.

She reached for her clothes and dressing swiftly, groped her way into the kitchen which was lighted only by her father's lantern gleaming faintly into the long room through the open door from the woodshed without.

Silently, her bare feet making no sound, she went toward the door of her mother's room; with fingers eagerly on the latch she suddenly caught her breath in alarm as a low moan from within startled her; there was a moment of hesitation, a moment of struggling against her fear of the night and the storm. Was she the only one to go? Were the men all drunk from being at the terrible Tavern? Trembling, she crossed the room to the closet under the garret-stairs where from a wooden peg she took down her coat, searching for a worsted hood to replace the straw hat of summer.

"Come 'long!" called her father impatiently, as her shrinking figure appeared in the doorway.

The gleam from the low-swinging lantern showed only the trodden foot-path to the barn; following closely her father's steps the girl dared not look above the narrow circle of light, where all beyond was blackness impenetrable. The rain pattering gently, fell upon her head and shoulders; the wind blowing softly was lulled into a passing quiet from the wildness of its mood.

In the barn she shrank into the shadows of the doorway; here a new fear seized her, a fear suddenly become real beside the unknown terrors of darkness. It was rarely that she came to the old barn since she had seen the stark, lifeless form of the last work-horse the men drew out from the stall to bury in the corn-field. The children played there as before, they seemed not to miss the mild faces of the long, furry-eared work-horses that had gazed with large, benevolent eyes from between the bars of the hay-cribs, whinnying at the sound of her foot-steps, munching the apples and grass she fed

to them with patient faithfulness as their great frames grew month by month more lank and bony. The only one of the four to survive hard usage and short fare, was "Ole-Tough-Sides," as he was called by the men. She listened to the harnessing, the muttered oaths and threats her father showered upon him, knowing by the familiar routine how surely the moment of her departure was nearing—she had heard the men tell the number of times during a trip that "Ole-Tough-Sides" had "tumbled down"; was it when he tried to haul the lumber after his mate died and he was the only one left, or was it always that he "tumbled down" when he was driven? Her heart thumped, thumped, with fear, as the light from the lantern circled out onto the barn-floor and the old horse was led to the open wagon. She watched the raw-boned creature backed into the shafts, a few straps were buckled, a lantern lighted and hung low at the front of the dasher showing the way of the road for him to tread.

"Where are yer?" called her father looking around into the dim shadows of the barn. "Come 'ere!"

Obediently she raised a bare foot to the iron step and allowed him to lift her into the vehicle. He gave her the reins, and she clasped them in desperate clutch, one in each hand, pressing her feet against the iron foot-bar in front of the old leather dasher.

"Look 'ere!" he said, as one suddenly put in remembrance, "when yer git to the main-road pull the rein ter the doctor's, ef yer let 'im go he 'll keep 'long ter the Tavern; look sharp now an' pull the rein the side yer want ter go, yer 've been ter school on ther team an' took them reins; yer wont meet no one, an' ef yer do he knows how ter turn the road. Go 'long!"

The old horse moved stiffly forward. At the door of the barn a gust of wind pelting the rain in his face, stopped him.

"Go 'long!" yelled the man with an oath.

Quickly the horse pulled to one side, away from the voice of his master who staggered up to him, brandished the lantern and shouted hoarsely. "Ole-Tough-Sides" shying in fear, plunged out into the darkness of the storm. As the wheels grated roughly against the rocky descent and the patient creature found that he was unassailed, the habits of early good training asserted themselves, and slackening his pace he went clumsily down the descent.

Gradually the child became conscious beyond the grasp of her hands on the reins, as she sat staring with terrified eyes at the pale circle of light, which showed only the lank, bony back of the old horse carefully making his way through the darkness. As the land-marks by the way became familiar, her heart beat less violently. She could hear the brook running wildly, calling like a mountain torrent as it echoed its hurrying course beneath the planking of the bridge. Making the ascent from the ravine, knowing that a long, level stretch of road lay before her until they came to the open plateau of the Muster-Field above the village, she ventured to hurry forward faster than the slow walk. Shaking the reins being of no avail, with an effort she gathered her voice until at this eager solicitation the old horse broke into his habitual jog-trot, the ill-fitting harness slapping against his gaunt frame. Thus they traveled on into the darkness, the wind swaying the trees on either side of the narrow road, while the mist drifting past the lantern's rays, circled the guiding light in weird, shadowy blackness. She had now no landmark by which to know the way; her ears had grown accustomed to the incessant swaying of the trees; she did not heed the sudden veering of the wind, nor did she take warning as the mist drifted past with rapidly increasing swiftness and the raindrops fell thickly. The old horse, more wise in weather-lore than she, slackened his gait, resuming his moderate walk as the rain swept toward them in gusts. Finding that her voice no longer prevailed with him, she gathered the end of the reins, reaching confidently forward

to make insistent her command. Suddenly the wind swept furiously upon her, the rain splashed her in sheets, instantly all was darkness and "Ole-Tough-Sides" came to a deliberate halt. In alarm she lost her grasp on the reins as clinging to the dasher with straining eyes that sought in vain to penetrate the darkness, she called aloud. Above the snapping and swirling of the trees that seemed bending to envelop her, seeking to urge the old horse forward, conscious that her voice was swept from her lips, borne afar by the rushing wind; through the wildness of the storm, she heard the click, click of an unknown sound. Pausing to listen, there was a moment's lull in the fierceness of the gale and again, very near her, came the click, click, in strangely sharp distinctness. Crouching in the front of the wagon she reached forward to touch the horse; her hand searched questioningly along his rough coat. No; he had not fallen, he was still standing in the harness, and now again came that fearful sound; the branches swaying as if drawn towards her by an unseen hand. Unreasoning terror overcame the frightened child. There were wild animals in the woods! the men had seen them in the day-time; often she was awakened in the night by the mournful baying of the coon-hounds upon the hillsides; was there a wildcat, a coon, a fox crouching in the bushes by the road? She dared not even move back to her seat—and her message—the dire need! The face from the bright-colored print on the wall above her mother's bed floated across her vision; the smiling, gentle face she knew so well! Closing her eyes, the foreign-born peasant child from a far country, prayed her prayer in a strange tongue, and because the prayer brought solace, the child renewed her petition with heart grown confident. Though her words were few, before they were said a second time she felt a conscious lifting of the darkness about her. Opening her eyes she saw dimly through the mist the familiar outline of the old horse quietly feeding from the rain-drenched, wind-whipped bushes of the roadside! She heard wonderingly the click, clicking of the heavy bits, as she saw him stop and reaching into the bushes pull toward him the branches, gathering hungrily of twig and foliage. "Ole-Tough-Sides" was happily feeding!

Through a rift in the storm-clouds flying low overhead, a dull, gray light showed the narrow way of the forest road. Darkness still wrapped the woods in impenetrable gloom, but the path before her lay distinct to a near bend of the road; beyond lay the open plateau of the Muster-Field; below stretched the sleeping village. Gathering the reins, she guided the horse into the beaten track.

. . . . . .

The Doctor's wife stirred from her sleep and remembering the duties of life even when but half-awake to the world, sat up in bed, listening with the attention of experience. The bell must have rung very faintly, she detected only a reverberation. Having so faithful a companion the Doctor never gave heed to the call of the night-bell. Only when his wife reached the conclusion that brought her into slippers and wrapper, was he in turn instinctively aroused. When she spoke on leaving the room he was already half-conscious of a possible night-trip.

With feminine caution, that can be wholly brave in facing known danger, the Doctor's wife was suspicious of some happening that might come unawares; for which reason a foot-hassock had permanent place in the corner of the hall back of the glass where the night-light shone out; stepping on this she invariably viewed the little porch of the house-door through a small, smooth bit of space in the ground-glass of the hall window.

To-night, from the face of a child, large anxious eyes were gazing reprovingly into hers as she peered with habitual caution through this small peek-hole of security. Even as she stepped down from the hassock her hand reached swiftly forward to open the door. Quickly she drew the slim, drenched little figure into

the hall-way as the child was asking anxiously: "Will the Doctor go to mother, the new baby 's coming?"

"Yes, he 'll go at once!" and the Doctor's wife spoke with decision, as holding the child by the hand she called out quickly, "Right away!" and the answer came back, "All right!" in a voice the child recognized.

"Come with me," and with a kindness that was also insistence she led the way to the warm kitchen where a light was burning. Deftly she touched the drafts of the stove, which like everything else belonging to the household hastened to answer her bidding. The blaze crackled hurriedly, the tea-kettle as she drew it forward gave out a breath of warm steam suggestive of hot drinks.

"You are drenched through," she affirmed gently, as she carefully stripped the soaked coat from the cotton dress and removed the dripping hood.

Swinging wide the oven-door her eyes softened tenderly at the sight of the blue, bare limbs of the child. Quickly she drew a chair before the out-pouring warmth, bidding her sit down.

"Ah! Ivonne!" said the Doctor kindly. "So the new baby 's coming?" His eyes meanwhile were answering an unspoken question of his wife's.

"And you got over the measles, all right—and both the children?" he added, looking attentively at the scarlet cheeks and brightly luminous eyes of the child. "I want you to stay with my wife and have a good sleep; in the morning you can go home and take care of the new baby."

"Yes, sir," said Ivonne obediently.

Then as the hoof-beats of the Doctor's quick-traveling horse swept by the house from the barn beyond, Ivonne started up.

"My horse!" she exclaimed anxiously.

"Yes, my dear! the boy put him in the stable; he 'll rest and have a good breakfast."

"Will he?" said Ivonne, wonderingly. "I 'm so glad!" and as she met the questioning look in the eyes of the Doctor's wife she said: "I 'm afraid the other horses died because there was n't enough to eat."

The Doctor's wife had not seen "Ole-Tough-Sides," but as she looked into the child's face she remembered many of the homes upon the distant hillsides, where she had been with her husband as he drove the long miles of his practice.

. . . . . .

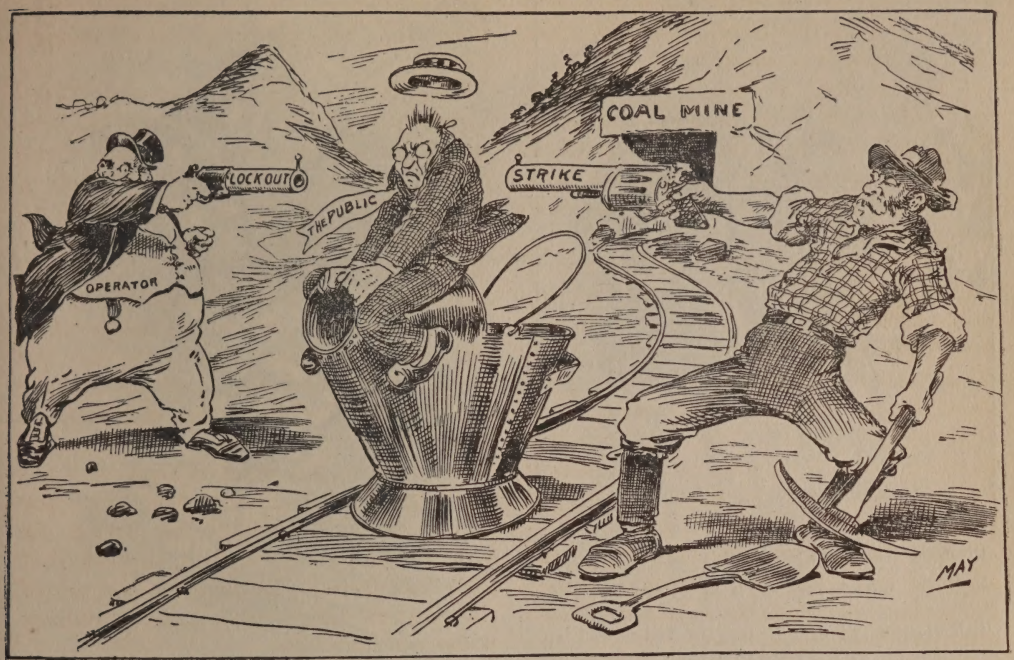
With the coming of dawn, when the first faint roseate glow tinted the purpling east, the low-lying mist covering the forest-girded pond, rose from the surface of the water like the wraith of a soul set free. Within the time-worn house on the plateau above, the wearied arms that had tilled the barren acres of the farm; the strong hands clasping to her breast the form of the new-born child, slipped from their frail burden, as the great summit of the western range flashed forth, radiant in the morning light.

The splendor of the dawn marked the last autumnal day of the year. From the snow-covered pinnacle of the western range, winter in fleecy flakes soon drifted down upon the world below, whitening field and fallow. From a hillside above the village where a steeply climbing road winds in narrow trail along the forest slopes, stands the home of Alexandre. During a hundred years have the old windows looked down upon the clustering houses of the hamlet, sheltered warmly where converging ranges meet and part. Here in the square, front room are gathered the belongings of Ivonne's home. Here the child, aided by Alexandre's wife, cares for the younger children with that instinct of motherliness known only among the children of the poor. The older to the younger, child-mothers of unnumbered generations! In the far-distant quarries by the sea, Petrovitch is once again a hewer of granite, clinging in dumb, unreasoning desire to the country of his adoption.

Antoinette McKim.

Cambridge, Mass.

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



May, in Detroit *Journal*.

"THE INNOCENT SPECTATOR."

Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American*.

"NO DIVORCE HERE!"

"The growing frequency of divorces is threatening the nation's safety."—GOVERNOR PENNYPACKER.

Warren, in Boston *Herald*.

"NEVER WILL I COMPROMISE MY DIGNITY FOR THE SAKE OF SECURING PEACE."—RUSSIA.

Drawn by Ryan Walker.

WHEN THE WAR IS OVER.

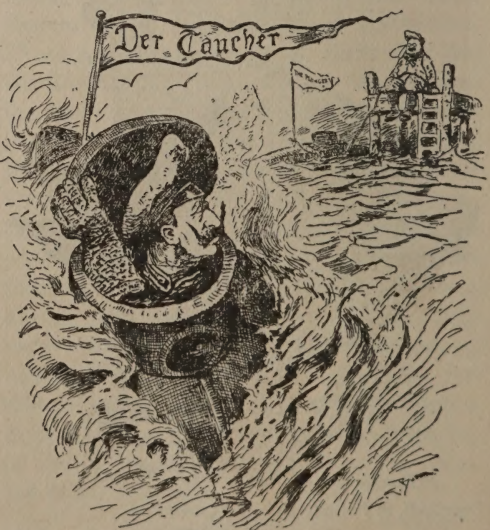
"About the only indemnity that the Russian and Jap private soldier will get."

Warren, in Boston *Herald.*

"I HAVE COME BACK TO THE STORM-CENTER."
—Senator Depew.

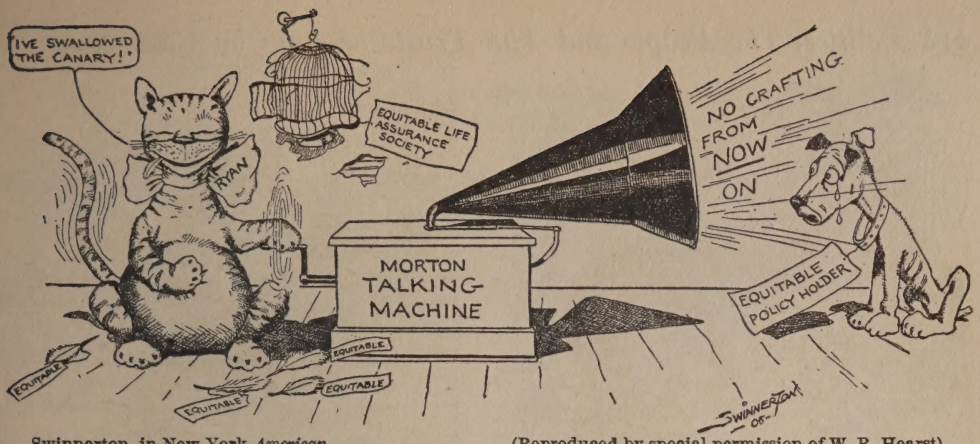
Bush, in New York *World.*

"AT LAST!"



Bush, in New York *World.*

The Kaiser—"THERE ARE OTHERS!"



Swinnerton, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

HIS MASTER'S VOICE.

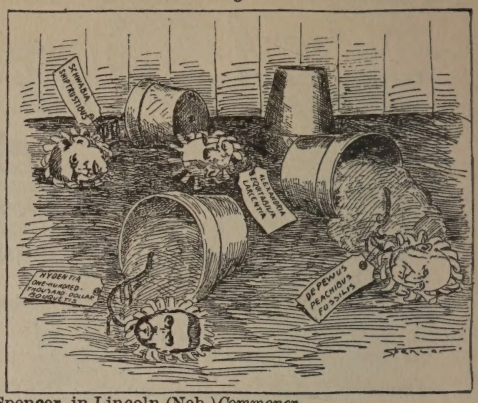
"One thing I can say most emphatically—there will be no grafting from NOW on."—*Paul Morton in an interview.*

10,000,000 TONS RESERVED FOR LABOR LOCK-OUT
14,000,000 TONS RESERVED FOR LABOR LOCK-OUT
20,000,000 TONS RESERVED IN CASE OF STRIKE
COAL TRUST
TRUST COAL YARDS
THE COMMON PEOPLE
OWING TO SCARCITY OF COAL PRICE IS RAISED 25¢ PER TON AT TIDE WATER
F. Opper

Opper, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

"MILLIONS FOR US, BUT NOT ONE D—— FOR THE PEOPLE."

Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American.*
THE REAL BENEFICIARIES OF PEACE.



Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) *Commoner.*
"THE FLOWERS OF YESTERDAY."

Opper, in New York *American.* (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)
"COME ALONG, SAMBO, THE INVESTIGATION BEGINS TO-DAY."

Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) *Commoner.*
THE LID IS OFF.

Chopin, in Lebanon (Pa.) *Evening Report.*
A REVISED VERSION.

"Alas, poor Chauncey, I knew him well, Jerome: A fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy—where be your jibes now, your gambols, your songs? Your flashes of merriment that were wont to set the table in a roar?"

Satterfield, in Lebanon (Pa.) *Evening Report.*
TAFT IN THE PHILIPPINES.
Benevolently Assimilated.

EDITORIALS.

VICIOUS PHILOSOPHY WHICH IS THE HOPE OF THE GRAFTERS AND CORRUPTIONISTS.

EVILS may exist in society and evil-doers may long thrive without the heart of a nation or civilization being seemingly impaired. Men may, indeed, long be vaguely conscious of the presence of wrongs in a body-politic without the hideous facts being burned into the conscience in a compelling way. When, however, the grim and terrible truth is pressed home to the public consciousness and the people are aroused to the true condition, they can no longer be quit of responsibility. Then, if they remain inactive, if they fail to rise in their majesty and stamp out the iniquity and drive the evil-doers from the temple of government, they become accessories to the crime; for, knowing the evil and having the power to destroy it, they have condoned or ignored its presence. While ignorant of the true facts, or when vaguely conscious of the probability of evils being present, they were not morally contaminated, but when once the facts are brought home to them, if they fail in the solemn duty imposed by moral responsibility inherent to citizenship, then the nation suffers from the poison that is diffused throughout its organism. Ideals are lowered, moral integrity is impaired, and the nation suffers as only a small part of the people have heretofore suffered. Hence it is that periods of moral awakening and times when evils and corruption are uncovered become supreme crises in the history of nations and civilizations. Then it is that fate holds the balance and the people cast the determining weight which means life or death, glory or doom, the promise of renewed health or the destruction and the epitaph of the nations thus tried. Thus it is that great periods of moral awakening, when the eyes of a nation are opened and the vice and iniquity or unjustice that their carelessness or indifference has long permitted, are always potentially glorious or tragic, and the duties or obligations impressed upon citizens and especially on the leaders of thought are graver and more solemnly portentious than during the long dormant spells when evil and corruption advance so stealthily and covertly that their presence is not recognized. It is a melancholy fact, however, that at the great moral crises, such as the present hour, for example, there are always many well-meaning people who thoughtlessly throw the weight and force of their brain and moral influence on the side of darkness. To paraphrase a striking expression of Victor Hugo's, they pour darkness on a dawning day. The circumstance that they frequently are moved by the best of intentions does not alter the evil effect of their influence any more than the ignorance of the child saves the hand which it thrusts into the fire from being burned.

There is an old and excellent maxim which advises finding out what the enemy really desires and then doing the opposite. Now at the present time, when from the Atlantic to the Pacific the spiritual consciousness of the nation is being aroused to a realization of the moral diseases that have long been permeating the body-politic; now that evil is being unmasked in present-day business life and in municipal, state and national government; now that we have discovered the cancers that have long been eating into the vitals of the nation, impairing most seriously the integrity of state and individual; now that everywhere the evil-doers are trembling before the righteous indignation of a great people and the conscience of the citizens everywhere demands the righting of the wrongs and the restoration of the moral integrity that alone can make a nation truly great; now that everywhere the people are uniting to overthrow corrupt rings and immoral machines and to drive the corruptionists from seats of trust and the grafters from the temple of government, we have certain writers denouncing this crusade that promises so much,—this great unmasking of wrong that reveals the real diseased condition of present-day life and which has made immediate and thorough action essential to the rejuvenation of the republic and the ethical quickening of society. We are hearing cries of "Peace! Peace!" and arguments discouraging the further prosecution of the ring. If this cry of corruption and a demand for the ceasing of exposures of evil came merely from the citadels of the corruptionists, it would be neither surprising nor would it call for any

serious notice, but when this immoral attitude is assumed by those who stand as leaders and who are supposed to represent moral integrity, the potential evil of such attitude calls for the earnest attention of all friends of ethical advance. If this cry for an immediate cessation of exposures of corrupt conditions, which means the virtual throwing of a mantle over the diseased body-politic, after the people have beheld the eating sore but before they have applied the cautery, should have emanated merely from the corruptors and those who are responsible for the lowering of national ideals, there would be no occasion for surprise, nor would the matter be a subject for special notice. When, however, the opposition to a crusade for a moral reformation comes from those who pose as leaders of the people and upholders of sound ethics, it demands the serious consideration of all friends of progress and moral advance.

Mr. G. W. Alger, in a recent article on "The Literature of Exposure," bewails the general unmasking of corruption, graft, dishonesty and moral obloquy in official circles and among the leaders of the business world. This writer, we doubt not, is prompted by high motives. Nevertheless, he is giving aid and comfort to every trembling grafter, corruptionist and moral criminal who is quaking in the present moral awakening. When *Harper's Weekly* and the New York *Times* created a moral uprising against the Tweed Ring, every effort possible was put forth by the thieves to stay the rising tide and put off any definite action on the part of the community. "It will all blow over," cheerfully exclaimed Mayor Hall, and that is the dearest hope of the corrupt bosses in Philadelphia, in New York and elsewhere to-day. That is the hope of the thieves and squanderers of the people's money in the Equitable Assurance Company and other organizations where the money of the people has been exploited for the enrichment of gamblers. Now men like Mr. Alger afford great comfort and aid to the grafters and corruptionists at crucial moments, as the whole effect of their writing is to throw cold water on the moral indignation created by the revelations of the existence of evil conditions that are destructive to free government and fatal to sound business methods. Mr. Alger would center the minds of the people on the lives of good men. Now we yield to none in insistence on the importance that should be attached to the lives and influence of good men or women, or the importance of real constructive work.

The Arena, for example, has devoted, we believe, more space than any other leading review to fundamental constructive work and to emphasizing the lessons taught by the lives and work of real civilization-builders. But to divert attention in a moral crisis, like the present, from the evils already exposed, before the corrupt order has been overthrown and the evil-doers brought to punishment, is like trying to lure the fire department from its proper work of quenching the flames that are destroying a noble building, with the splendid music of a grand oratorio. There are times, and the present is such an occasion, when the first duty of all patriots is to fight corruption precisely as do men on the western prairies fight the great fires which, if not checked, will destroy the homes and sustenance of the settlers.

The most important lesson for the American people to learn to-day is that there can be no true peace, no enduring greatness, no real prosperity and progress, without sound moral foundations. The farmer buys a home. He finds it encircled with a board fence, and this fence is covered with a vine that has sent its tendrils into the wood and has become a mass of vegetation containing moisture and rapidly rotting the fence. At present the wall of green is beautiful, even as to those who saw only the external, Rome was gorgeous when, stricken in her vitals but arrayed in imperial splendor, she reeled forward to her doom, or as the foliage of an autumn tree or bush stricken with death is gorgeous to the eye. But the farmer knows that to save his fence he must remove the vine and paint the wood, else in a year or two there will be no fence. Now, it is so with corruption, dishonesty and immorality in national or business life. They may long eat into the vitals of government and the morals of the individual unseen, and perhaps by many unsuspected, because over them has been cast the mantle of wealth, conventionalism and respectability. Yet the hour comes when the people must by the might of a moral reformation purge themselves of the evil, or the destruction of the nation and the decadence of the individual is inevitable.

Other critics, less honest than Mr. Alger, seek to minify the evils now brought to light, or they strive to divert public attention from the real issues by exalting into undue prominence some good done by the workers of iniquity. This is to confuse the issue and de-

feat the ends of moral righteousness. We are told, for example, that while Mr. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company doubtless acquired much of their wealth by indirection and moral criminality, still Mr. Rockefeller is doing much good with his superfluous wealth. This is no new truth. When the New York *Times* and *Harper's Weekly* were fighting the battle of civic honor and integrity in New York by exposing the robbery of Tweed, the great New York boss gave fifty thousand dollars' worth of coal to the poor of the East Side, and incidentally, a number of respectable citizens of New York began sounding the principles of the boss. His philanthropy was dwelt upon on all sides with the evident purpose of diverting the public mind from the *Times'* exposures and bringing the incorruptible tribune of the people into discredit. In this attempt to bolster up the Tweed Ring till the moral sensibilities of the people should again be lulled to sleep, the New York *World*, *Sun*, *Herald* and *Post* joined with enthusiasm. And on the very eve of the publication in the New York *Times* of the record from the books of the city treasurer that fixed the guilt of the Ring and showed how in the most barefaced possible manner the city had been robbed of millions upon millions of dollars, a committee composed of John Jacob Astor, Moses Taylor, Marshall O. Roberts, George K. Sistare, E. D. Brown, and Edward Schell, all of whom were recognized among the wealthiest and most influential citizens of New York, signed a clean bill of health for the Ring in which they stated:

"We have come to the conclusion, and certify, that the financial affairs of the city, under the charge of the controller, are administered in a correct and faithful manner."

Then came the great *Times'* revelation and the collapse of the Ring, but it was the "literature of exposure" and not the literature of guilty silence or of appreciation that destroyed the Ring and rescued New York.

So every forward step for justice, for social righteousness and civic purity has been rendered possible by those who dared to expose the wrong, the unjust and the corrupt, and who with single-hearted loyalty to high ideals carried forward the crusade until the civic conscience had been so awakened that it compelled the city, state and nation to right the wrongs, and at every step in this age-long conflict the most potent aids to the corruptionists and the assailants of free institutions have been those elements of society, who count themselves among the most respectable, and many of whom have been actuated only by good motives, but who have sought to check the ground-swell of moral indignation before it destroyed the corruption that was undermining public government and civic integrity.

To-day, as at no other period in our history, is it incumbent upon every citizen to engage in the holy crusade against dishonesty in public and private life and against graft and corruption in all their multitudinous forms. It is the battle of light against the darkness. A supreme effort is demanded to exalt the idealism of the people and to clarify the popular vision so that we may once again become the standard-bearer of pure democracy and the greatest moral world-power.

WHY THE PEOPLE AND NOT THE MACHINES MUST CONTROL THE NOMINATIONS.

NOTHING is clearer than that officials will, as a rule, carry out the mandates of those responsible for their positions and to whom they must appeal for future honor or place. When that responsible party is a corrupt boss beholden to public-service corporations, the people will be despoiled and government will more and more pass into the hands of conscienceless grafters and those who are in fact the enemies of good government, law, order and equity. No fact has been more clearly proven during the past fifty years than that wherever privileged interests have been able to firmly enthrone political machines manipulated by unscrupulous men, the people have been robbed and there has been a carnival of misrule. The swollen fortune of Boss Murphy since he became the real master of the second greatest city of the world, and the brazen attempt to rob the citizens of Philadelphia by the respectable would-be plunderers of the Gas-Ring through the determined efforts of Boss Durham, are but two of the most recent examples of the legitimate

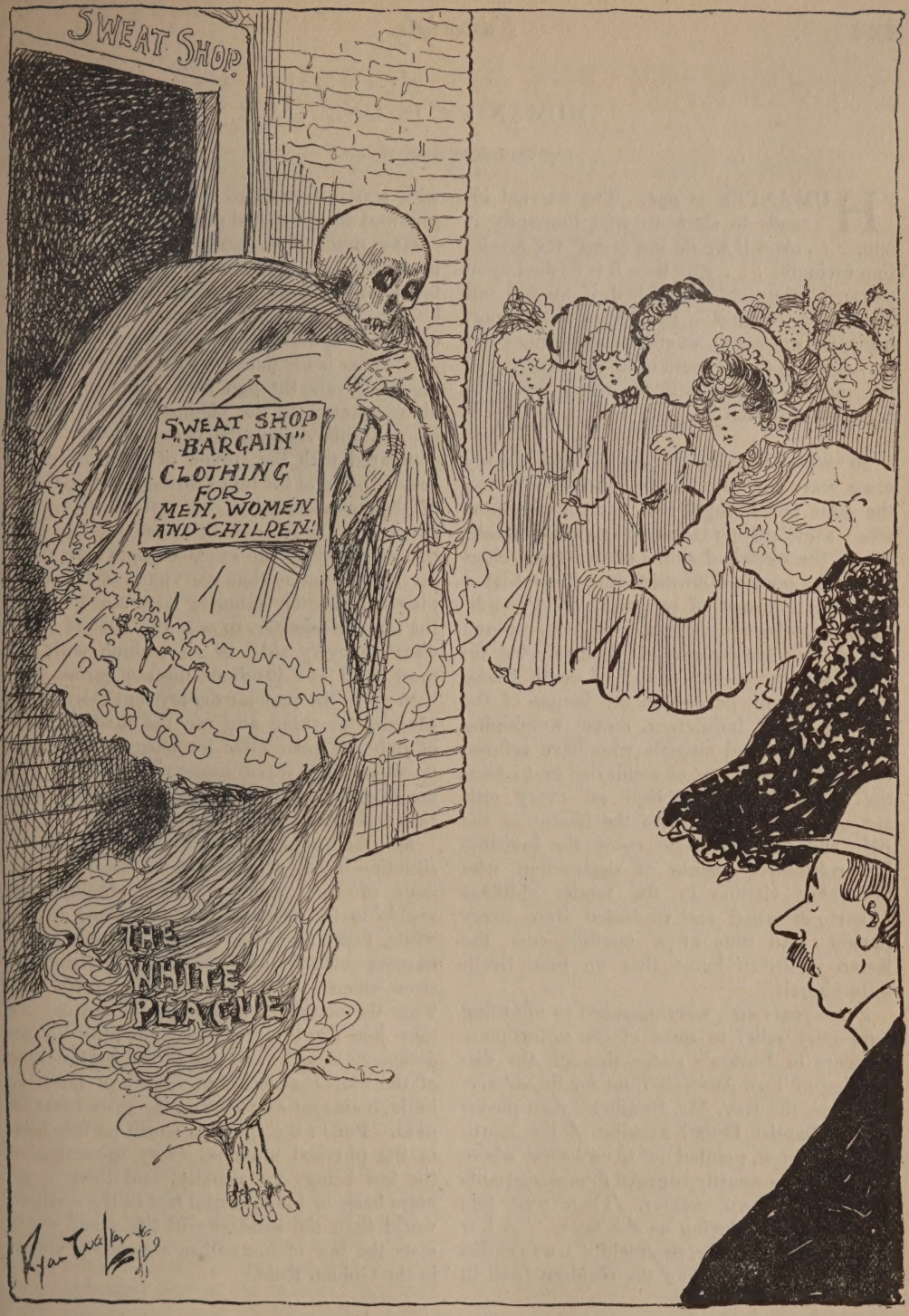
and inevitable result which follows the undemocratic and reactionary political conditions wherever and whenever corrupt political organizers and equally corrupt public-service corporations have been able to so prostitute government, through the manipulation of machines, as to place the enemies of the republic and of the people in control of the machinery of government.

To reinstate true republican government throughout this nation, it is imperatively necessary that a ceaseless war be waged from now on against political bosses and corporation-controlled partisan machines.

To illustrate the point we have in mind, let us suppose that District-Attorney Jerome should be nominated by Tammany Hall. He would then be expected to consult Boss Murphy, as does Mayor McClellan, on all important matters. If, on the other hand, he should be nominated by the Republican machine, he would be expected to consult with the Republican machine-leaders who are likewise beholden to private interests. In either case, the political bosses and the interests of the machine and those of corporate wealth that contribute vast sums for campaign expenses, would hamper at various times the public prosecutor in his attempt to carry forward the demands of justice and to further the real interests of society, because of the conflicting claims and interests represented by the party bosses and their machines and the interests of the various great corporate bodies, which, for special protection and further favors, contribute liberally to the maintenance of partisan machinery and the enrichment of the bosses. If, however, he is nominated by the people and elected by their suffrage, there will be no corrupt boss, no venal party machine, no thieving and avaricious public-service corporations seeking wealth at the expense of the people, coming between the public servant and his true masters.

Our Republican government has become corrupt and has failed in its splendid early promise precisely in proportion to the extent to which the people have abandoned the vital principle that differentiates a democracy from a class-ruled land. Just to the degree that they have allowed party machines, dominated by masterful bosses and sustained by privileged interests, to select public officers, true democracy has been overthrown and the old reactionary principle of class-rulership has been enthroned, entailing evils which are ever-present in government where privileged classes obtain mastership, chief of which are the steady and increased oppression of the people on the one hand and moral deterioration of the public on the other, with, as a necessary complement, the steady spread of corruption throughout public and business life.

So long as public-service corporations and other privileged interests, working in harmony with shrewd, unscrupulous and corrupt bosses, obtain real mastership in government by reason of popular submission to machine-rule, the nation will be disgraced with venal bosses and tools of private interests enthroned in the high places of government, while incorruptible statesmen and loyal champions of the people and of honesty and justice will be driven into private life. So long as the machine rules the republic, we will find the Platts, the Depews, the Penroses, the Elkinses, the Spooners, the Gormans, the Aldriches, and men of their class occupying seats in the Senate, though under real Republican conditions—under conditions wherein the unfettered choice of the people should obtain—the probability is that scarcely one of these men would be entrusted with the interests of their constituents. All practical political movements looking toward the purification of government and the elevation of the standard of citizenship must make the restoration of the government to the people the cardinal object to be attained. The interests of pure government no less than the life of democracy depend upon the full recognition of the people as the source of government and the real masters and directors of their delegated representative.



HUMANITY IS ONE—THE WHITE PLAGUE AT "BARGAIN"-RATES.

Drawn by Ryan Walker expressly for THE ARENA.
(See Editorial.)

HUMANITY IS ONE.

(See Cartoon by Ryan Walker.)

"HUMANITY is one. The Eternal intends to show us that humanity is one. . . . And if we do not accept the revelation lovingly, . . . why then it is flashed upon us terribly by lightning of hell, if we will not have it by the light of heaven—and the poor, neglected scum and *canaille* of the nations rise up mighty in the strength of disease, and prove the oneness of humanity by killing you with the same infection."

So wrote the English poet Gerald Massey some years ago, and we are constantly having the same fact brought into our consciousness when some great plague or epidemic breaks out in the wretched slums of our great cities where the poor are crowded into ill-ventilated buildings innocent of proper sanitary conditions and where insufficent food has prepared the soil for disease germs. The infected region soon becomes a center of death whose deadly miasma permeates the homes of the well-fed, sleek, indifferent, money-worshiping and self-absorbed citizens who have refused to recognize the law of solidarity or to heed the obligations it imposes on every citizen of a free state. Into the homes of the rich and the well-to-do come the invisible but retributive agents of destruction who find easy victims in the tender children hitherto screened and protected from every danger; and thus at a terrible cost the lesson is driven home that no man liveth unto himself.

Some years ago, when engaged in affording temporary relief to some of the unfortunate dwellers in Boston's slums through the dispensing of THE ARENA's fund for the deserving poor, the Rev. Mr. Swaffield, then pastor of the Baptist Bethel Mission of the North End of Boston, pointed out to us a room where a mother was wearily engaged in making pants for a well-known sweater. There were two small children playing on the floor. "A few weeks ago," said Mr. Swaffield, "I was called to this room and found the children both ill with scarlet fever, and their little heads were pillowed on unfinished pants."

How much those pants had to do with the increase of scarlet fever throughout the city a few weeks later we, of course, cannot estimate; but that they were a fruitful cause of the spread of the contagion cannot be doubted.

Great as is the danger of the ravages of contagious fevers through such channels as the above, thanks to the vigilance of the health boards, this menace is comparatively small compared with the spread of tuberculosis or consumption of the lungs through the products of the sweat-shops of our great cities. To appreciate the force of this peril one has only to visit many of the sweat-shops where there may be seen more than one victim of the white plague toilsomely laboring over the food for the bargain-counter, to note the piles of white wear on every side, in air reeking with the most fatal and insidious disease germs, and then go to the popular department stores on a Monday morning and see the mad struggle of rich and poor alike for bargains rendered possible by starvation wages paid to those who are working under conditions that foster disease and spread the contagion of death.

Mr. Walker has caught the true spirit of the situation in his striking cartoon made for this issue of THE ARENA. Death, though not visible to the physical eye, is lurking in the white, fluffy masses of garments that pile the bargain-counters and that are the fruits of sweat-shops. "Humanity is one." We may wrap the mantle of indifference about us; we may join the army of the apologists for reactionary thought and the sordid materialism of the market-place; but sooner or later, as individuals and as a nation, the price must be paid. For in the spiritual world no less than in the physical universe, every infraction of the law brings the penalty, and there is no more basic or fundamental fact in the spiritual world than the solidarity of life upon which rests the law of mutualism concretely voiced in the Golden Rule.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

Switzerland's Primacy Among Democratic Nations.

SWITZERLAND enjoys the proud distinction of having the most truly republican government in the civilized world to-day. Here, the bed-rock principles and theories of free institutions which differentiate real democracy from all forms of government where class-rule obtains—the theories which embrace as a fundamental fact the assumptions that the people are the source of government and the true, rightful and final judges of laws and measures for their own well-being—are so guarded and conserved as to make the Alpine republic the most ideal and perfect practical demonstration of true democracy on earth to-day. For, through the referendum and initiative, the electors have prevented the betrayal of the people by recreant and treasonable misrepresentatives, who through the influence of class-interests or through individual prejudice might seek to thwart the popular will. The Swiss people long since determined that they would not be robbed of the priceless fruits of democracy. They determined that the blessing of free government should not be taken from them through privileged interests or unfaithful stewards, and they, therefore, perfected means by which the democratic government could prevail in purity and practical efficiency under the changed conditions of the present. The initiative and referendum render forever impossible such wholesale robbery of the people by the public-service companies and political rings of grafters as has been the disgrace of St. Louis, Philadelphia, New York and other American cities.

Through proportional representation, the Swiss give the world further evidence of their wisdom in meeting the complex demands of enlightened democracy. By means of its provisions minority parties are able to elect their strongest men to the various representative bodies, and thus all thoughtful groups are able to secure representation in proportion to their numbers. Furthermore, all these measures foster intelligent discussion and stimulate the interests of the voters in civic matters, both of which are vitally important to a healthy and progressive democracy. Switzerland, therefore, is the primate among democratic governments, because she has led the way in practical methods by which the bed-rock principles of free government have been preserved in their purity and efficiency in the face of the aggressive commercialism that has proved so destructive to the genius of democracy in our republic.

New Zealand's Great Work For Human Progress in Placing Manhood Above Money.

Switzerland, as we have seen, has taken the lead among progressive nations in the adoption of practical and efficient measures for preserving popular or democratic government in its purity. New Zealand along other lines has also been carrying forward the standard of enlightened government.

While our republic during recent decades has more and more moved away from the noble democratic theory of government, as enunciated by Jefferson, which laid special emphasis on the rights of man, exalting manhood above money and insisting that the rights, the development, the prosperity and the happiness of the units which make up the state were of far greater concern than mere property interests; while we, as a nation, have been steadily exalting the dollar above the man or giving that preëminence to property that Alexander Hamilton stood for when he strove to make the possession of property rather than enlightened manhood the determining qualification in government; while, in a word, special interests have been industriously, insidiously, but effectively gaining a dominant influence in the republic, so that it is now generally recognized as being well-nigh impossible to secure efficient legislation aimed at putting a summary end to political corruption, grafting and the defiance of laws on the part of corporate wealth, New Zealand has been boldly following the line of civic policy cherished by our greatest statesmen of the

elder day. The southern commonwealth has had a clearly-defined policy with certain paramount and definite aims ever in view, among the chief of which may be mentioned the discouragement of any parasite class, the encouragement and aid of honest industry, the securing of the land for the actual use of the people, and the fostering of home-building among all the citizens. While with us the Wall-street gamblers, speculators, corporation magnates and the exploiting class have been rapidly gaining ascendency in government, New Zealand has wisely frowned upon the gamblers, and so far as possible has discountenanced predatory wealth, while on the other hand she has aided, protected and conserved the interests of the wealth-creators. In the furtherance of this plan, the government has taken over the natural monopolies and has operated them strictly in the interest of all the people. She has aided the settlers in obtaining land and in building homes, even by advancing the necessary money on their homesteads. She has had public servants going throughout the length of the island-realm instructing the people in regard to the most improved methods in agriculture, horticulture, dairying and other productive enterprises, and how to prepare their products for the market, and has further acted as a general forwarding merchant for the wealth-creators, in this manner enabling the small farmer and producer to get the highest market-price for his products, instead of becoming the victim of extortionate public carrying companies and middlemen. Through compulsory arbitration of courts of conciliation, she has rendered impossible the waste, injustice, the oppression and disorder incident to strikes or the attempt to settle disputes between capital and labor by coercion and force. She has evinced wise statesmanship by furnishing the unemployed in periods of commercial depression with productive labor, which has served to develop the wealth and resources of the commonwealth while maintaining self-respecting manhood, and she has striven effectually through her old-age pensions, to lift from the heart of the toiler that great and haunting fear that dogs the footsteps of labor —the fear of starvation and a pauper's grave when age robs the hand of its strength and cunning.

These are but a few of the measures that have marked the consistent policy of New Zealand and made her liberal government one of the foremost exponents of democratic progress in the world. By thus placing the rights of man above the rights of property, by placing capital emphasis on manhood and good citizenship instead of on money, by putting a premium on industry and refusing aid or comfort to any parasite class or to any of the devious schemes of the representatives of predatory wealth and speculation to amass riches at the expense of industry, this island-commonwealth has given splendid emphasis to the democratic ideal of government. New Zealand more than any other nation of the present time is moving forward under the stimulus of the noble, practical idealism whose cardinal aims are the exaltation of manhood, the encouragement of honest industry, the conservation of justice, the furtherance of popular education and the achievement of the prosperity, happiness and healthy development of all the people.

New Zealand's Present Prosperity.

The recent fiscal report indicates the continued prosperity of New Zealand. The doleful predictions of the reactionary and exploiting classes who view with alarm the practical demonstration of the blessing of government administered in the interest of the people instead of for the enrichment of the piratical political rings and privileged classes, have all failed of fulfilment. On the other hand, the progressive commonwealth of the southern seas is making that sane and wholesome advance which we would naturally expect to attend a government where the people's interests rather than those of any favored classes receives first consideration. The treasury report of New Zealand for the past year shows something over $3,800,000 in excess of expenditures or maturing obligations. This surplus from revenue has convinced Prime Minister Seddon that the hour has arrived when it will be safe to take another step in his progressive plan for old-age pensions. Thus, now he proposes to increase these pensions to ten shillings a week. This advance in the amount paid to the aged citizens will require an additional increase of about $470,000 a year.

In this proposition of the most powerful statesman of New Zealand we have a striking contrast afforded between the methods em-

ployed in the presence of a surplus by a government operated in the best interests of all the people and one which is controlled by privileged interests. Whenever we have a large surplus, ship-subsidies and numerous other grafting special interests gather at Washington as birds of prey around the carcass of a dead lion. Each intercedes with its powerful lobby, and its agents and tools in government strive to put forth measures which will transfer the wealth from the nation's treasury into the pockets of the already overrich few. Then, also, there are the various contracting interests fostering the insane cry for a larger navy and an enormously increased armament, for in these things lie millions upon millions of profits to the favored contractors, and in such contracts graft usually flourishes with tropical luxuriance, and thus the surplus is attacked by the rich and the powerful greedy for more wealth and power.

In New Zealand, in conformity with the ideal of creating a commonwealth in which there will be no uninvited poverty and where not merely the few but all the people shall have favorable opportunities to develop the best that is within them—to grow in body, brain and soul and enjoy life without an ever-present haunting fear of a foodless and shelterless old age—we see the government ever concerned in seeking to relieve the distress of honest industry and in assisting the citizen to help himself to a position of prosperity and independence and to lend a hand to the unfortunate who need timely succor to brighten their declining days.

Prime Minister Seddon's Present Programme.

There will shortly be an election in New Zealand, and though all parties are liberal, judged from the standard of other nations, the present opposition to the programme of Mr. Seddon has become very active and aggressive. This, we think, is admirable, as few things are more important in a popular government than political activity and the sturdy struggle of strong, conscientious men holding opposing ideals. They serve to keep the nation interested and informed on live questions, and prevent that political stagnation that is fatal to the health of a republic.

Among the demands announced by Mr. Seddon's government as measures which the dominant party is committed to at the coming election are the following:

Extension of land for settlement.

Purchase of land for workingmen's homes and erection of buildings.

Utilization of natural motive-power.

Increase of teachers' salaries.

Limitation of land-holding to be as follows: Rural holding not to exceed five thousand acres for first-class land; ten thousand acres for land of the second class; and twenty thousand acres for third-class land; urban and suburban holdings by persons or companies not to exceed ten acres in extent or two hundred and fifty dollars in value. With these limitations the state is to have the right to take any land at ten per cent. advanced on the owner's valuation.

THE BATTLE OF THE PEOPLE—AGGRESSIONS OF PRIVILEGED INTERESTS.

Do The Great Corporations Favor Governmental Supervision?

In THE very able and in many respects masterly paper by Mr. John Moody contributed to this issue of The Arena the author takes the position that "the great industrial interests lean more and more toward governmental regulation and not away from it." He believes that "the more far-seeing and able monopolists all" "look forward with calmness and confidence to the day when governmental supervision will be an actual reality." We have a very high regard for Mr. Moody's opinion, and recognize him as absolutely sincere and also one of our best-equipped thinkers to discuss such questions as he treats in this paper, yet we cannot share his opinion in regard to the attitude of the great public-service companies and other monopolies toward federal supervision or control. To us the actual facts seem to render this position entirely untenable. Take for example, the attitude of the great majority of the railway officials who appeared before the senatorial committee on interstate commerce last spring. Their hostitity to increased governmental supervision or any control that would control

the railways was most pronounced and unequivocal. Nor is this all. The railway companies not only sent their ablest and strongest men to protest against control before the senatorial committee, but they have organized and established at an enormous expense bureaux for the purpose of educating the people to see things through the smoked-glass of the selfish railway interest instead of through the clear lens of their own interests as producers and consumers.

The railway and other monopolies are usually supremely indifferent to the desires of the people, because none know so well as do the public-service corporations and other monopolists how completely they own the political machines, or how many of the people's legislators have been long trained as corporation attorneys to see things, not from the vantage-ground of public interest or weal, but from the view-point of the special interests, for their privileged clients. None know better than the trust-magnates and the heads of the great corporations how thoroughly the municipal, state and national governments are honeycombed with their tools and henchmen. So they fear nothing short of the rising tide of public indignation that is now in such evidence from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Ordinarily, they feel safe, but in a time of moral awakening, in a period when the outrages and extortions that have been practiced against the millions have become so well-nigh intolerable that a tremendous revolt is apparent, they fear the legislators may be compelled to enact laws that might afford the people relief from the rapacity of the great corporations under penalty of being driven into private life if they refused reasonable relief. In order that neither of these alternatives may result from the present popular indignation and moral awakening, the railways are now striving to deceive the people by an extensive educational campaign through the press, as quite recently pointed out in this department of THE ARENA.*

Indeed, as we write these lines, our attention is called to the following news-note from an exchange:

"A publicity bureau was established, with George V. S. Michaells and James D. Ellsworth, former newspaper men, at the head, and they at once began a systematic campaign to win over the newspapers of the country, and through them the people, to the idea that there is no real need for legislation. This bureau is still in operation, with offices in New York, Chicago, Boston, Kansas City and Omaha, and it has hundreds of agents who go about 'joying up' the editors. The bureau is supplied with abundant funds. Mr. Michaells, in discussing his plan, said:

"'It is my purpose to send out all the material I can get, favorable to our side of the question, to the newspapers. Where I cannot get them to take it as news-matter, or to be used editorially, I shall buy space in the papers, and give our side publicity in that manner.'"

These facts seem to render it clear that the railways do not lean, as Mr. Moody imagines, toward governmental control, but are so alarmed lest by any possibility the people should assert their undoubted rights, that they are lavishly expending great sums of money to defeat effective legislation that would afford relief from extortion and oppression.

SIGNIFICANT NEWSPAPER UTTERANCES FAVORABLE TO THE RAILWAY INTERESTS.

SINCE the public carriers have evinced a determination to block legislation and have established their bureaux with "abundant funds" for the work of educating the people, through the press, to see that their true interests lie in abandoning the great highways and arteries of commercial life to the commercial bandits who have amassed enormous fortunes by indirection, we have seen numerous evidences of a strong disposition on the part of certain journals to see through the railways' glasses.

Perhaps it may be regarded as unkind to publish Mr. Michaells' brutally frank confession of his design on the press in connection with certain typical editorials that are now cropping forth from all sides and which are in perfect harmony with the interests of Mr. Michaells' masters, but the sudden eruption of pro-railway editorials and articles following on the heels of the confession of the railway bureau's chief is so noticeable that we cannot forbear giving a few typical illustrations. On the first of August the Boston *Herald* published an extended editorial, entitled "Public Opinion and Rate-Fixing," in which the writer noticed with evident sat-

*See September ARENA, "The Railroad Corporations' Campaign of Education."

isfaction "a change in sentiment" in the western press on the subject of governmental control of railway rates. The editorial must have been of great satisfaction to Mr. Michaells, and indeed, we doubt whether it could have been more satisfactory to his chiefs had he or one of his enterprising lieutenants penned it, as the following extract will indicate:

"A good many persons who carelessly mistook the general outcries against the railroads and their practices for the truth find on examination that many of the accusations against the roads are untrue. While there has been a manifestation of greed and of some tendency to disregard the law on the part of the roads, it is becoming clear to the minds who have been set at work seriously on the problem that the relation between the roads and the community, between the agencies of distribution and of production, are mutually dependent. One cannot flourish without the help of the other. Extortion on the part of the roads means injury to those who provide them with products to carry, and, at the same time, undue restraints upon the roads, unwise interference with their business, would cripple the roads and would prevent the extension of our railroad system."

No one understands better than the editors of the *Herald* that there is not a particle of danger of the government seeking to cripple the railroads in any attempt to prevent extortion, favoritism and unjust discrimination.

The *Herald* next quotes several Western editorials with evident satisfaction to show how the sentiment of the West, judging from certain newspaper utterances, *seems to be changing*. In each utterance the special plea calculated to appeal to the prejudice of the special district in which the paper is published indicates the presence of a shrewd special-pleader as the master-spirit in guiding this suddenly developed "change of sentiment," although there is nothing in the quotations to forbid the inference that they might have all been written in the same office.

The Aberdeen, S. D., *News* is one of the journals that voices this "changed sentiment" in the following words:

"It is sufficient argument in the minds of many newspaper advocates of the proposed rate-regulation that the railroads are opposed to the movement. The people of South Dakota are too level-headed to be swayed by such arguments and will look upon the question from the standpoint of merit alone. Investigation will show that the people of this state have nothing to gain by rate-regulation, and very possibly have much to lose."

The *Argus-Leader*, of Sioux Falls, S. D., says:

"The rate discussion has progressed far enough to prove that the commission which seeks to fix up a rate-schedule which will please everybody is going to have a merry time of it. If the work is undertaken at all, rates will have to be fixed on a mileage basis, and such rates, while technically fair, would mean great disaster to South Dakota shippers. There is nothing that South Dakota wants so little as rates determined on a mileage basis."

The Kansas City *Journal* thus comments on the utterances of Mr. W. P. Trickett, superintendent of the City Transportation Bureau:

"It is a significant fact that, although Mr. Trickett's interests and sympathies are, of course, with his clients, the shippers, his judgment, based upon many years of study and experience, is that the fixing of railway rates should remain the hands of the railway managers, subject to the supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission."

Very significant, truly, that Mr. Trickett should wish the producers and consumers left to the mercy of the rapacious railroads without the people having any effective redress from the extortions and discriminations which have filled the nation with the cry of angry discontent. It will be remembered that Kansas City is mentioned as one of the headquarters of the railway bureaux. These examples are sufficient to indicate the "changed sentiment" of which the *Herald* speaks and which has been developed since the railways began their campaign through their bureaux for the education of the people.

Personally, we expect little from any legislation while the senate is dominated so largely by the Aldriches, the Penroses, the Platts, the Spooners, the Elkinses and others of their class. We do not doubt but many far-seeing monopolists of Mr. Moody's acquaintance believe that federal control would quiet the rising storm of genuine republicanism and democracy and prevent the more fundamental and essential remedies being adopted, but

this is certainly not the view entertained by the majority of the monopolists.

Senator Newlands on The Menace of The Railway in Politics.

In the recently published report of the hearings before the committee on interstate commerce of the United States Senate, Senator Newlands of Nevada stated some impressive truths which should challenge the thoughtful consideration of all patriotic Americans. So long as the public carriers are in the hands of great corporations and operated for the enormous enrichment of the few will the consuming and producing millions suffer from direct extortion of the monopolists and also indirectly through the union of the public carriers with other companies formed for the exploiting of the people and the destruction of competition such as the Standard Oil Company, the Armour Refrigerator-Car Trust, the Elevator Trust and other oppressive organizations that have extorted untold millions from the American people during the past quarter of a century. Nor are these the chief counts in the indictments against the public carriers. The evidence is ample to show that they have been prominent, if not chief, among the influences that have dealt the most deadly blows against free institutions and democratic government through the corrupting influence which they have persistently and effectively exerted in state and national government.

Since the sixties of the last century the public carriers have proved a growing power whose influence for political and civic corruption and degradation has been steadily undermining the foundations of pure government and popular rule. If there were no other reason for public ownership of the railways than this one so impressively stated by Senator Newlands in the following language, it should be sufficient to silence the ingenious sophistry of the special-pleaders for private-ownership and those who thoughtlessly echo the words which the hired tools of corporate interest are placing before the public.

"The railroad," said Senator Newlands, when last May he appeared before the United States Senatorial Committee on Regulations of Railroads, "is in politics to-day because its vast property, amounting to more than ten billions, is between the upper and nether millstones—the upper millstone of the rate-regulating power, the nether millstone of the taxing power. Between the two, save for the protection of the courts, these properties can be ground to destruction. The uncertainty and insecurity of their situation compels the railroads to go into politics. *Hence they take part in the election of every official whose duty is likely to trench in any degree upon the taxing and rate-regulating power. Doing everything systematically, every participation in politics means the organization of a machine in every State of the Union, and since they pursue the line of least resistance, this often means the alliance with the corrupt element of every community. It is expensive for railroads, and it is a grave menace to the institutions of the republic.*"*

One Reason Why The Farmers Are Poor; or, The Armour Car Company Responsible For The Waste of Hundreds of Thousands of Dollars' Worth of Fruit.

A convincing illustration of the imperative need of overthrowing the domination of trusts and monopolies in politics, to the end that the producing and consuming public may receive justice and the waste of millions of dollars, no less than the despoiling of the wealth-creators of other millions, through extortionate charges, shall be rendered impossible by stringent and efficient legislation, was offered at the railway-rate hearing given before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce during May of the present year. At that time evidence was brought out showing that hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of strawberries rotted this year in the strawberry belt of North Carolina on account of the failure of the Armour Refrigerator-Car Company to furnish cars that they are under contract to furnish for transportation of fruit to the market.

Our readers are familiar with the amazing record of criminal extortion practiced by this rapacious trust, through Mr. Joerns' exposure in The Arena for February of this year. Such extortion as the charging of forty-five dollars by the Armours for services such as heretofore had been profitably rendered by the Illinois Central Railway for fifteen dollars, together with a number of similar illustra-

*Remarks by Senator Newlands. Hearing before the Committee of Interstate Commerce in Special Session. Volume II., page 781–82.

tions of extortion were brought out in the hearing in Chicago before the Interstate Commerce Commission. Yet this record of infamy, born of conscienceless greed on the part of a few of America's multimillionaires, and due to the criminal indifference of the people's servants to the just rights of the American producers and consumers, is only one phase of the question—one illustration of the wrongs suffered by the most industrious, sober and worthy class of American manual laborers—the farmers. The Armour Company, as was clearly shown in the Chicago investigation, have practically forced a large number of the railway companies to give them a monopoly of the refrigerator business. The railways do not lose a cent in this arrangement, however, but it has proved enormously expensive to the people, transferring millions upon millions of dollars from their pockets to those of the over-rich magnates who compose the Refrigerator-Car Trust, while the service in some instances is notably inferior to that furnished by the railways before the grasping trusts obtained a monopoly. In the Senate Committee, Mr. George F. Meade, of Boston, President of the National League of Commission Merchants of the United States, pointed out the fact that: "The Armour Car Line have a contract with the Atlantic Coast Line to furnish all the equipments necessary. No other car can be put in there but an Armour car, and they agree to furnish all equipments necessary to move this strawberry crop."*

How the Armour Company fulfilled the contracts during the spring of the present year may be seen from the following extract from the published report of the hearing of last May before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce.† It is part of the testimony of Mr. George F. Meade.

"Something was said Monday about no discrimination. We claim that it is the rankest kind of discrimination between localities, and we also claim that under the exclusive contracts the Armour Car Lines have communities absolutely at their mercy, and within two weeks that statement has been confirmed by shippers in North Carolina, where hundreds and hundreds of carloads of strawberries have been taken out and dumped.

"Armour & Company have an exclusive contract with the Atlantic Coast Line to carry and furnish all the facilities for taking those strawberries out of North Carolina, and yet on April 29th, and I think four or five days following that, no cars were obtainable. I have telegrams and letters right here from that locality. Here is one:

"'Hundred carloads on track. No refrigerators. No shipments to-day.

"'J. W. York.'

"Here is a letter, dated May 3d, from Chadbourn, N. C.:

"'Chadbourn, May 3, 1905.

"'*Mr. F. M. Leonard, Boston, Mass.:*

"'Dear Sir—It looks now as if the berry business would be over by the time we get cars. I have 1,200 crates on the platform at Clarendon marked to you, but they will never go out as they have already spoiled.

"'There were four cars rolled into Chadbourn about ten o'clock last night. That was all the cars that came here yesterday in this whole section for two days, Monday and Tuesday. There is surely 125 cars left on the ground and platform. This morning they have a lot of box-cars placed in here. I think the railroads are going to load them and take them away. This is the greatest fall down I ever saw or expect to see in the berry business.

"'Yours truly,

"'C. Sturtevant.'

"Here is another:

"'Chadbourn, May 7, 1905.

"'*Mr. F. M. Leonard, Boston, Mass.:*

"'Dear Sir—There were about 65 cars of berries picked in this section yesterday, and at 5 o'clock last night 25 refrigerator cars rolled into Chadbourn. They left 4 cars here at Chadbourn and sent the other 21 all over this section. Clarendon had 2 so I got 1 car there. I tried to get a car from Tabor, but did not get it. They promised to have 15 cars more for Chadbourn before 12 o'clock last night, but they did not come in until this morning and there were only 11 then, and they were not iced. So all the berries picked here yesterday but 25 cars are left on the ground and platform. They will not be loaded only for the dump. Yesterday a solid train of box-cars piled to the roof were taken to the dump. We have not had but 1,800

*The report of hearing before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on Regulation of Railway Rates. Vol. III., page 2,621.

† Vol. III., pages 2,596–97.

crates this week, and I would have easily moved 5,000 if a car shortage had not come.

"'Monday night I had about 700 crates out and 900 left over. Tuesday I marked 900. I surely had my plans laid to move them this week, but Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday I could not get a car, as there were only 5 or 6 a day came into the whole country. There are 11 cars in sight for to-morrow's business and the company do not know as there will be any more.

"'Yours truly,

"'C. STURTEVANT.'"

Mr. Meade further stated that the total loss on the North Carolina berries "would probably be three hundred thousand dollars," which is a very conservative statement judging from the report published in *The Fruitman's Guide* and which was also put in evidence at the hearing to which we referred. In the report furnished to *The Guide* by its accredited correspondent at Chadbourn, N. C., and dated March 7th, we find the following statement:

"More than $200,000 worth of strawberries have rotted at the depot here since Monday morning. The railroad company is hauling carload after carload of spoiled berries to the river and dumping them like so much garbage.

"The loss to the truck-growers of this immediate section, according to figures said to be reliable, will be at least $600,000. . . . More than a hundred representatives of the country's commission houses are here willing to pay from $2 to $3 a crate for the berries if they could only ship them. Ten thousand hands are at work picking the berries."

A further report of this criminal waste due to inadequate refrigerator service under the Armour Car monopoly was given by Mr. J. S. Westbrook, of Wallace, N. C., May 5th, and published in the *Carolina Fruit and Truckers' Journal:*

"During my thirty-five years' experience in the strawberry business in this section I have never seen anything to compare with the disastrous results of the present season. In fact, it looks now like this, the most valuable strawberry crop North Carolina has ever produced, will be lost on account of poor transportation facilities. Our association has done all it could to keep the transportation people posted as to existing conditions, and told them it would take 2,500 refrigerator-cars to move the crop; yet the supply of cars gave out before we had been shipping ten days. Thousands of crates of berries have rotted at the railroad stations for want of cars, and many of our growers are ruined unless the transportation people stand the loss, as they should do.

"The situation is terrible. We have had no refrigerator cars left at this station to be loaded in five days. What we had came by in the 'pick-up' train, and with instructions to load for New York only. They packed them, mostly without slats, seven crates wide and four high, running about 450 crates to the car, and are being delivered one to three days late. The markets are taking good berries at good prices. The 'pick-up' berries are selling for nothing to 8 cents, as to condition.

. . . . . .

"The railroad people make a big difference between guano and strawberries when they make up the tariff, but when they make up their trains they all go together. Of course, railroad people claim that freight must be higher on berries, as they are perishable. This is all right if they bear this in mind in their movement. The berries that are being packed in the 'pick-up' cars, 450 crates to the car, had better be dumped into the creek. Three box-cars loaded with berries left here yesterday, which berries had been picked and lying at the station since Monday. Some of the crates were leaking when they were loaded, but they got about 500 in a car, and they will be in bad shape when they are unloaded. It is to be hoped they will not be offered for sale.

"Well, the season will soon be over now and will go down in history as the worst in the management of the transportation of our berry crop.

"Yours, very truly,

"J. S. WESTBROOK."

All those, who know anything of the result of litigation between farmers and fruit-raisers and the great railway corporations or forwarding companies, know how expensive it is made for the farmer and how small are his chances for obtaining anything like an adequate return for his loss. The great public-service companies and other monopolies have in their employ the shrewdest and ablest attorneys of the land. The farmer is unable

to employ men who can cope with them. The railways understand how to delay settlements, to get change of venue, or the putting off of the case from time to time till the farmer is unable to hold his own and is frequently forced to accept any terms the railway chooses to make. Here we find hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of berries raised in one small belt in one of the smaller states of our country, which were allowed to rot and become useless to any one, while hundreds and thousands of Americans were ready to buy and enjoy the fruit in the great cities; and this wanton loss was due solely to the fact that a great monopoly has the refrigerator-car service in its hands so completely that there can be no competition, while its service is so pitifully inadequate that, *though informed as it was in ample season of the demand for cars*, the company was unable or unwilling to give anything like the service demanded for the removal of the fruit.

We hear a great deal about the saving rendered possible by monopoly or the great trusts, and while combinations and coöperations unquestionably render it possible to affect enormous saving, the practical results of monopoly are far from favorable to the producers and consumers so long as monopoly is in the hands of the few instead of the function of the State, or the coöperation is by a band of exploiters for their own enrichment at the expense of the public. The high charge for telephones, due to monopoly rates, is one of many cases in point, as also are the prices charged by the Armour Company. The trusts and the privileged monopolies are content with nothing short of the acquisition of as large an amount of wealth as it is possible to wring from the people—all that the traffic will stand, is the standard rule of the trusts. More than this. The great corporations have become great and powerful enough to pack government and render efficient legislation impossible. The people are suffering from extortion on the one hand and inefficient service on the other.

In contemplating the above story, descriptive of how hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of fruit was wasted in the strawberry belt of North Carolina, we are forcibly reminded of the striking cartoon by Ryan Walker, which we published in the April ARENA, picturing "the farmer and the consumer and they who came between."

It is for the American people to say how much longer they will submit to be victimized and plundered by the corrupt corporations that, through union with political bosses and machines, have packed the government with their tools, and who, by contributions to campaign funds or the threat of withholding the same, secure practical control of the political machinery to such a degree that they dominate government. Moreover, it should be remembered that the despoiling of industry of its just reward is not the only, or indeed the chief, evil of this "government of the corporation through the machine for the exploiting of the people." The corruption of the people's servants, the driving into private life of incorruptible statesmen, the destroying of the high moral ideals in political and business life, and the virtual defeat of the ends of democracy,—these are the things which are resulting from the present reign of corrupt wealth through machine-rule and which render long silence or indifference on the part of any citizen a moral crime.

How Protection Enriches The Few And Impoverishes The Many.

NOT LONG since, in conversation with a popular educator, now located as principal of a high school in California, but who until recently has resided for several years in Honolulu, we inquired about the condition of the Hawaiian Islands since they came under the flag of the republic. To our surprise our informant declared that the conditions were far less prosperous now than before the annexation. "The chief reason for this unhappy change in affairs," continued our friend, "is found in the enormous increase in the cost of imported articles, and the fact that the small tariff formerly levied went to the treasury of the Islands, and consequently the people received the benefits; while now, tariff receipts go to the national treasury at Washington."

"But is there any great increased cost in the things imported?" we inquired.

Our friend smiled as he replied: "A printing outfit which was bought in the United States under the old *régime* and delivered in Honolulu for sixty-five dollars, to-day would cost what at the time of its purchase it would have cost the purchaser if he had lived in San Francisco and bought it to be operated in the United States, namely one hundred and five dollars. A sewing-machine now costs more

than one-third more than the identical machine cost before the Stars and Stripes floated over the island."

These he cited as typical examples of the increase in the cost of living without any increase in the benefits commensurate with the loss sustained.

While all nations were on equal footing, the over-rich American trusts and monopolies sold their goods in Honolulu as they do in England and other foreign lands to-day, at a fair profit, but at a far less price than they impose upon the Americans, because the latter are helpless, owing to the tariff wall. So in Hawaii, as soon as the islanders became the victims of our tariff for the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many, they had to pay the exorbitant prices rendered possible only because of the power of corrupt wealth wielded by privileged interests for the continued oppression of the masses. These facts remind us of the recent panic in the ranks of the tariff-fed trusts and monopolies, when some time ago Secretary Taft merely mentioned his determination to buy such things as might be required for the prosecution of the Panama canal in the cheapest markets until Congress directed him to do otherwise. His simple declaration created consternation in the camp of the protected trusts and other privileged interests that are battling for the lion's share of the hard-earned money of the American people. The hope of these vampire interests, as does the hope of the absolutism of the Czar and of all grossly unjust evils, lies in smothering free discussion. England sought to suppress the agitation of the colonists; the slave oligarchy sought to suppress free discussion of the question of slavery; and the Republican party, since it has become dominated by trusts and the slave of political bosses, has sternly suppressed all honest efforts to have the question of protection brought fully before the bar of human reason. The action of this party in silencing the issue raised by Governor Cummings of Iowa, and the more recent similar action of the Republican machine of Massachusetts, are typical of the attitude of the party in the presence of an issue that will not bear the search-light of investigation. Now Secretary Taft's action has raised the interrogation point. Hence the alarm throughout the priesthood of the trusts and protected interests. One fact brought out by this controversy is sufficient to explain why the multimillionaire trust-magnates are so fearful of free discussion of the question.

Secretary Taft will have to buy large quantities of steel in order to prosecute his work. He can purchase the steel rails needed in London at twenty dollars per ton. These rails are made by the American Steel-Trust and are sold at a profit in London at twenty dollars; but if Secretary Taft buys the steel rails of the steel-trust in America he will have to pay the same shameful extortion that is exacted by this robber-monopoly from every American user of steel rails,—namely, from twenty-eight to thirty-three dollars a ton, or from eight to thirteen dollars more than the same rails will cost him on the other side of the Atlantic, made by the same company.

Here we have at once a concrete exhibition of the beauties of protection and an illustration of how a few men are amassing untold millions of dollars at the expense of the American people,—millions which enable them, by expending a small fraction of the same, to control political machines, dictate the selection of officials, and in a large way govern the destinies of the nation. Well did the great sugar-trust magnate, Mr. Havemeyer, observe that the tariff was the mother of the trusts. He might have added that it and the public-service corporations are the two chief causes of governmental debauchery, corruption and the betrayal of the interests of the people.

A Typical Example of the Methods of Special-Pleaders for Private Ownership of Public Utilities.

We have, heretofore, had occasion to call attention to the palpable example of special-pleading for private-ownership of public-service companies by the staff-correspondent of the Boston *Herald* who is visiting European cities and reporting on the results of municipal-ownership. If this writer held a brief for the gas and street-railway monopoly, it would, we think, be difficult for him to make stronger special pleas or to more effectively forget to mention the points which private corporations desire overlooked.

A striking example of this special-pleading was exhibited in his report on gas in Brussels. Here municipal and private companies exist side by side, and there are certain facts which any report that pretends to be fairly informing must contain, which this writer seems to have wholly overlooked in his anxiety to show that

though the municipal plant furnishes gas cheaper than its great rival, the saving is due to the special advantages it enjoys. One of these things, which should have been stated, was, how much the city treasury realizes from the municipal plant, and how much the city has realized since its establishment. These important facts are entirely omitted. He also fails to show what the people were paying for gas when the city entered the field in competition. A report that pretends to be anything like a full and fair showing of this question, which omits such vital points as these, must necessarily be discredited in the minds of all thoughtful persons, and can only be gratifying to such public-service companies as the street-railways of Boston which realize a net earning of from three to four million dollars every year.

This writer finds that the principal private corporation, the Imperial, makes different prices for gaslight, heating and power. In our currency these correspond to seventy-seven, sixty-six and fifty-five cents per thousand cubic feet. The city charges seventy-three cents instead of seventy-seven for lighting, while its charges for heat and power are the same as that of the Imperial. Three cents on a thousand feet, he holds, means little, but those who know how hard are the lines of the people in the Continental cities of Europe will realize that three cents means much.

Again, the *Herald's* correspondent argues that the reason the city is able to charge less is because it covers the best territory in the city. This may be, and doubtless is, true, but how can the reader form any idea of the comparative advantage of the two kinds of ownership when he is kept in the dark in regard to vital facts, as for example, the profits which the city realizes from the gas-plant, for profits there are. Again, there is no intimation that the municipal-ownership has had anything to do with the reduction of gas from something over a dollar per thousand feet, when the city entered the field, to seventy-three cents to-day. Yet no fact is better proven than that so long as private corporations enjoy municipal rights undisturbed by the threat of competition and especially of public-ownership, the people are made the victims of shameful extortion.

Still another fact is ignored by this writer and all other special-pleaders for private-ownership, and that is, the removal through municipal-ownership from its influence on municipal government of the most powerful corrupting influence in modern public life. The strength and backbone of the Durham ring of Philadelphia was the gas and street-railway companies. The power which made Boss Butler's corrupt ring in St. Louis well-nigh invincible was the great street-railway corporations, and so in almost every instance where the people have been oppressed and the civic life debauched by corrupt rings of grafters, the chief strength and dependence of the rings in the fight against the champions of clean government and just taxation has been the public-service companies seeking special privileges in the ownership and operation of public utilities.

ONE UNHAPPY RESULT OF IMPERIALISM.

Uncle Sam in The Role of Weyler.

A STARTLING and melancholy illustration of how rapidly a republic founded on moral ideals may fall into a condition of ethical torpor when either commercialism or imperialism gain ascendency over the moral idealism that is the oxygen of civilization, has been afforded by the comparative indifference with which the testimony of almost incredible outrages perpetrated by the responsible constabulary in the Philippines has been received by the religious and secular press, by statesmen of both the great parties and leading clergymen and educators.

It was the revelations of the barbarism practiced by Weyler and the misery undergone by the helpless Cubans in the reconcentrado camps, more than anything else, which rendered possible our war against Spain for Cuban liberty. Without the sanction of the moral element, which was stirred so profoundly by the horrors and brutalities described, the strength of public sentiment would have prevented any aggressive action on the part of our government.

Even the most thoughtful of those who believe that war is ever criminal will grant, we believe, that the great mass of Americans favored war against Spain from purely human-

itarian feelings and motives, and because the masses held to the doctrines of the Great Declaration that every people had a right to govern themselves.

War, however, brought to the front the spirit of militarism and imperialism, and also revealed in a startling manner how thoroughly privileged interest and all elements dominated by sordid commercialism have become intrenched in government. Two evils against which democracy must be ceaselessly vigilant are imperialism, or lust for temporal dominion, and sordid commercialism, or lust for wealth. When either or both of these gain a preponderating influence in government, the ethical sensibilities of the people become deadened, and the nation rapidly falls into a moral lethargy absolutely fatal to free institutions.

Of late there have come several reports of inhumanity and criminal brutality being practiced against the Filipinos by the accredited officers of our government. One of the most circumstantial and discreditable of these was found in the testimony brought out under oath in the trial instituted by Colonel Baker for libel against the editor of *El Renacimiento* of Manila. The suit was brought because of the publication of the charges of cruelty to persons suspected of having been guilty of secreting arms or entertaining friendly relations with the revolutionists whom our officials like to characterize as brigands. A brief outline of the case was thus reported in the Boston *Herald* of August 18th:

"The defendants introduced much testimony to show that prisoners had been half-starved and tortured, and very painful stories were told of experiences in the reconcentrado camps, repetitions of what Cubans suffered under Weyler, only that sun exposures in the climate of the Philippine Islands were far worse in every way and aggravated by the pest of flies.

"Very sensational testimony was given by one Francisco Garcia, who was thrown into jail at Bakoor on the 16th of May last and freed on the 22d. He does not know why he was imprisoned. An American by the name of Carpenter jailed him.

"Carpenter took him before another American, who spoke to him, but not so that he could understand.

"After being released, Ramos, an inspector of the constabulary, told Garcia that he must find Felizardo, a brigand. Garcia was again imprisoned, and carried to the house of Inspector Ramos, and efforts were made to elicit a confession from him. When Ramos saw Garcia he kicked him in the breast. Ramos ordered the prisoner to a room, and with his handcuffs on he was obliged to crouch in such a manner that his knees were even with his chin.

"They then knocked him over on his back, and, taking a large basin of water and a filthy cloth with which they first wiped up the room, forced this into Garcia's mouth, pressing it closely over his face, Arsega forcing his knees against Garcia's breast. Ramos and Gamboa tied the prisoner hand and foot against the wall. Gamboa then crushed Garcia's feet with his own, while Ramos struck him on the breast with the butt of his revolver, and every time the prisoner opened his eyes they poured the drippings from a lighted candle into them.

"As the prisoner confessed nothing, they repeated the tortures at intervals. Twice during their continuance Garcia lost consciousness.

"He suffered great pain during his torture in the left ear, and he is now quite deaf in that organ. The prisoner showed the court his scars and wounds, his left side all black and blue, deep nail and finger-marks on his neck, his breast sore, inflamed and suppurating from the blows of the revolver, and his right side showing two ribs broken as the result of the kicking. After seven days' imprisonment, Garcia was liberated. Directly he sought out Dr. Stuntz, to whom he told his story.

"It might seem that the prosecution may collapse, inasmuch as Colonel Baker, the plaintiff, in his testimony declared that he did not think the original articles in *El Renacimiento* were written with malice intent, and contradicting himself because he had first asserted that *El Renacimiento* was a paper hostile to the government."

It was precisely similar outrages to those described in the sworn testimony brought out in this case that caused the wave of horror and indignation to sweep over our nation when the atrocities were made public that were being perpetrated near our own borders by Weyler in the interests of the despotic Spanish throne. That, however, was while our nation was still under the moral idealism of the Declaration of Independence, and while we held to the doctrine so happily phrased by

President McKinley, when he characterized "forcible annexation" as "criminal aggression." Since the rise of the spirit of militarism and imperialism and the rapid and arrogant advance of corporate wealth, the great public-opinion organs and influences, with comparatively few exceptions, have become significantly silent and the people, failing in aggressive leadership, appear to be rapidly sinking into a condition of moral lethargy which cannot fail, if it continues, to prove fatal to democracy.

Crimes against humanity, such as described above, are revolting and intolerable when perpetrated by brutal and selfish despotism, but they become a thousand-fold more heinous and demoralizing when committed by a nation pledged to freedom, justice and fraternity, for then they not only outrage the weak and so constitute a crime against humanity, but they also inflict a deadly sword-thrust into the vitals of democracy. Less than ever is the present a time for sleeping. Every man and woman should now become a missionary for freedom and democracy such as were our fathers in an earlier day and such as liberty demands of all her children at the present crisis if they would be quit of guilt.

RUSSIA AND JAPAN.

The End of The War and What Japan Has Gained By The Conflict.

IN MAKING the great concessions for the sake of peace and largely in deference to the wishes of enlightened civilization, Japan has proved herself a moral victor as well as a great world military power. Never before, we believe, has a triumphant nation with money in her treasury and ample resources to prosecute a successful war, and with the great prestige that comes with a series of victories, risen to the moral heights evinced by the Mikado's government when, rather than sacrifice more lives and prolong a war which would rob hundreds of thousands of homes of their staffs and supports, she yielded the great point of indemnity—a point which with a money-mad western nation would be counted all-important.

Yet Japan's action in peace has accorded with her conduct from the opening of the war, which has at every point been characterized by a degree of enlightenment, humanity and wisdom rarely if ever before evinced by a great nation engaged in a sanguinary struggle. Japan emerges from the war, we believe, with a cleaner moral record than any Christian nation has ever shown at the end of a bloody conflict, and her achievements since the war opened have given her a prestige and power far greater in value than any monetary indemnity. At the opening of the conflict she was regarded as a weak nation, utterly incapable of coping with Russia, while on every hand predictions were freely made that the world would behold frightful exhibitions of savagery on the part of the Japanese when the fury of battle had aroused the sleeping passions of the people.

The results have proved precisely the opposite of the western world's predictions. The government of the Mikado has vindicated her claim to be accounted one of the great military powers of earth, and what is far more important, she has evinced in her treatment of her foe and as a victor a higher degree of civilization than her most loyal friends in the western world dared to hope—a degree incomparably greater than that displayed by so-called Christian Russia.

Furthermore, the material benefits won by the conflict are of inestimable importance. She has driven Russia from Manchuria. She has broken the hitherto all-powerful sway of the Czar in the Far East, which had become a deadly menace to Nippon, and thus has secured all for which she felt compelled to war. She has secured a protectorate over Korea. This opens the hermit empire to Japanese enterprise and will, we believe, prove an inestimable blessing to the Koreans as well as a source of great wealth to Japan. A Japanese company will take over the Russian railways south of Harbin, while Russia cedes to Japan Port Arthur and her Manchurian leases. This gives to the government of the Mikado the extremely important strategic points that Russia so long coveted and

finally obtained by craft, fraud and an enormous monetary expense. The war will open Manchuria to the rapidly expanding commerce of Japan, affording a large and rich market for the Yankees of the Orient. The southern and by far the most important half of Sakhalin Island is retained by Japan, and, finally, Japan is to have equal fishing rights with Russia in Siberian waters. This again means much to Japan, as it will yield an enormous annual revenue to the people. Japan is also to receive remuneration for the care of all Russian prisoners.

It is clear, therefore, that the government of the Mikado emerges from the conflict with a material and moral prestige far greater than her most ardent friends anticipated when the war began, while she has now at her command markets and territory that will afford an outlet for her products and, measurably at least, for her surplus population. Moreover, there can be little doubt but that Japan will largely command the markets of China in a short time, and this war has drawn the two empires closer together than ever before in their history.

President Roosevelt's Work as a Peacemaker.

We have frequently had occasion to criticize President Roosevelt, owing to his passion for the "big stick" no less than his inconsistent and reactionary acts in regard to internal affairs. It therefore affords us special pleasure to be able to speak in the strongest terms of praise regarding his conduct in promoting the peace between Japan and Russia. But for his brave and unconventional course and his tactful and persistent efforts, Manchuria would to-day be the scene of renewed carnage and we should probably be witnessing a second stage of a war unparalleled in history for the destruction of human life—a stage marked by slow retreat on the part of Russia and a policy of waiting that in the end would have sorely taxed Japan's resources both in men and money. To the President, therefore, honor and gratitude are due for his exhibition of true statesmanship. In this case he has furthered the cause of enlightened civilization, and for it he deserves and will receive great credit.

RUSSIA'S ENFORCED CONCESSION TO THE SPIRIT OF LIBERALISM.

The New Consultative Assembly.

It is difficult to conceive of a more meager concession to a nation's urgent demand for a voice in government than the new so-called national representative assembly of Russia; and yet the departure made in this concession is sufficiently great and pregnant with future possibilities to justify in part at least the claim of those who hold that it is the most significant advance-step made in Russia since Alexander II. emancipated the serfs in 1861. It is true that the new assembly is merely consultative in character, yet it is an elected body, while the four great councils which have hitherto constituted the real government or bureaucracy have been made up of appointees of the Czar and have been responsible only to him. To have a body responsible to the people, consulting and insisting upon certain kinds of legislation, is unquestionably an advance step, and the histories of autocracies and monarchies since the revolutionary era is such as to leave little doubt but that this concession will lead to more democratic reform. Democracies and liberal monarchies have time and again, when the people grew indifferent or subservient to interested or privileged classes, responded to reactionary influences; but in despotic lands the people, when once sufficiently aroused to compel an advance movement, are in little danger of relapsing into indifference until their rights are at least safeguarded to a reasonable degree. So we incline to believe that the new assembly, in spite of the wish and intention of the unwilling Czar and the bureaucratic tyrants, will prove more than an empty mockery or a concession given under pressure of fear only to be withdrawn when the period of peril seems over.

The Russian government for over a century has been administered by four great councils appointed by the Czar. The most impressive

and probably the most important of these is the Council of the Empire, consisting of more than four-score members and four princes of the blood, while the ministers of state are *ex-officio* members of this body. The so-called Senate comes next in its importance. It is divided into six sections, one having charge of the promulgation of executive laws; two divisions act as courts of cassation; another section is concerned with the preservation of order, and others have special spheres of action and clearly-defined labors to perform. The third council is the Holy Synod, which has charge of all religious affairs. The head of this council is one of the most important personages in the realm, owing to the power which the church wields over the imagination of the people, from the most ignorant peasant to the Czar; for the members of the royal family of Russia no less than the most ignorant of the people are victims of gross religious superstition. The present Procurator-General of the Holy Synod, M. Pobiedonostseff, has time and again proved more powerful than the Czar, swaying the weak and vacillating autocrat and exerting a baleful, reactionary and despotic influence as inimical to the real growth of Russia as it is fatal to human progress, enlightenment and justice. The last of the great councils is known as the Council of Ministers. It is composed of thirteen appointees of the Czar.

The new assembly is expected to consult with these four councils, and when the voice of the two great sections agree there is little doubt but that the Czar will acquiesce; yet when there is a divergence of opinion, as is likely to be the case in most instances, the Czar is, judging from his past conduct, likely to side with the reactionaries if he dares to do so. With a constantly increasing pressure of public sentiment, however, it is probable that the assembly will become increasingly powerful—so powerful, indeed, that in a short time it will be impossible for either the Czar or the bureaucracy to disregard its voice.

The Czar reserves the power to adjourn the assembly at his pleasure, and in the innovation the government has been careful to safeguard the autocratic power of the head of the nation. But how long will the people be satisfied with the shadow and not the substance of a popular governing assembly? That is the vital question.

A HISTORY OF THE MASTER-TRUST.*

A Book-Study.

I. VIRILE HISTORY INSTINCT WITH MORAL POTENCY.

THE WRITER who, dealing with contemporaneus history, finds that in order to be a faithful chronicler it is necessary to present certain ugly facts that have been often ignored or glossed over, owing to the wealth, power, prestige or popularity of those who have grievously sinned against the eternal moral verities, must necessarily be far more careful to verify his facts and to present them fairly and accurately than the conventional historian who deals in glittering generalities, glosses over the crimes of the living and elects to play the popular part of prophecying smooth things, glorifying the men and epoch with which he deals. For in the first instance the conscientious historian or reformer knows full well that his every statement will be examined by those eager to discredit his work and that all that wealth and influence can do will be done to destroy the force of his revelations. For this reason the effective writings or utterances of those who lead nations up the spiritual Alps —those who awaken the sleeping conscience of church and state and from time to time make possible those moral revivals that rejuvenate peoples and save nations, have to be rooted and grounded in truth. Happily for the cause of civic and social righteousness, the two distinguished writers who have compiled histories of the Standard Oil Company have been conscientious and careful authors imbued in a large way with the judicial spirit, and who were not content to deal with the subject either superficially or hastily.

Henry D. Lloyd spent ten years in the careful and painstaking labor of preparing that great book, *Wealth versus Commonwealth*, the John the Baptist of the present ethico-economic awakening, and after it had been prepared he submitted it to eminent lawyers conversant with the facts, in Pennsylvania, Ohio and elsewhere, as he was unwilling to go before the world stating as true anything that the facts did not amply warrant. It was our good fortune to know Mr. Lloyd, and for a period of twelve or fifteen years we carefully followed his splendid and loftily unselfish labor for the republic and her people, and we know of no nobler, more eminently just, selfless or truth-loving thinker in the ranks of the people's loyal champions than was this high-minded, conscience-guided patriot, who, though possessing wealth, elected to dedicate his life to the furtherance of the cause of justice and social righteousness.

Valuable and essentially standard as was Mr. Lloyd's *Wealth versus Commonwealth*, its worth is not comparable to that of Miss Tarbell's history, for several reasons, chief among which may be mentioned the depressing effect it produces on the mind of the reader. Then again, Mr. Lloyd's writings do not possess the elements of popularity—the fascination and, if not brilliancy, at least the strong, picturesque quality that invests the work of Miss Tarbell with a charm that lures the reader from page to page, making history a living tale throbbing with human interest and pregnant with those indefinable suggestions that call forth vivid mental pictures at every turn. *The History of the Standard Oil Company* is one of the most important contributions that has been made to the vital historical and conscience literature of our opening century. The absorbing interest of the work, the masterly marshaling of facts and the careful handling of details are only surpassed by the judicial spirit that is preëminent throughout the work. The author has succeeded to a remarkable degree in rising above all personal feelings and in presenting the facts as the evidence revealed them. This and the painstaking care in examining and sifting her data, which required six years of continuous labor, renders the work invaluable; and the fact that though no work of the past few years has been submitted to more searching examination than this history and that none of the essential facts have been successfully controverted, further establishes the authoritative character of the work. But valuable as is the history as a record of facts, its greatest worth at the present time of ethical awakening lies in its fearless unmasking of moral criminality masquerading under the robes of respectability and Christianity. It more than any other work of recent years has served to draw a

* *The History of The Standard Oil Company.* By Ida M. Tarbell. In two volumes. Cloth. Price, per set, $5.00 net. New York: McClure, Phillips & Company.

sharp line of demarcation between the friends of sound morality, Christian ethics and justice, and the posers, the pharisees and the materialistic opportunists, who subordinate the ethics of the Nazarene to greed for gain. In the author's admirable preface she thus states the reasons for selecting the Standard Oil Company as an illustration of the curse of monopoly:

"It was," she observes, "the first in the field, and it has furnished the methods, the charter, and the traditions for its followers. It is the most perfectly developed trust in existence; that is, it satisfies most nearly the trust ideal of entire control of the commodity in which it deals. Its vast profits have led its officers into various allied interests, such as railroads, shipping, gas, copper, iron, steel, as well as into banks and trust companies, and to the acquiring and solidifying of these interests it has applied the methods used in building up the Oil-Trust. It has led in the struggle against legislation directed against combinations. Its power in state and federal government, in the press, in the college, in the pulpit, is generally recognized."

II. THE WONDER-TALE OF FAIRY-LIKE TRANSFORMATION WROUGHT BY A GREAT DISCOVERY.

The opening chapter, dealing with "The Birth of an Industry," reads almost like a romance born in the daring brain of a genius. In 1858 that part of Pennsylvania afterwards known as the Oil Region was a forest-clad wilderness sparsely settled, because its rugged and rocky expanse offered small inducement to settlers and home-builders. True, here were found a number of lumbermen who "every season cut great swaths of primeval pine and hemlock from its hills, and in the spring floated them down the Allegheny river to Pittsburgh." And yet fourteen years later this region that had been shunned by "the great tides of western emigration" had been transformed into one of the busiest sections of the nation. "It was the discovery and development of a new raw product, petroleum, which had made this change from wilderness to market-place." This discovery "had not only peopled a waste place of the earth," but it had "revolutionized the world's methods of illumination and added millions upon millions of dollars to the wealth of the United States."

Petroleum, it is true, had been long known to travelers and settlers. The various tributaries of the Allegheny and the springs throughout northwestern Pennsylvania and elsewhere had been covered with a dark-green, evil-smelling oil which the Indians held to be possessed of marvelous healing properties; and acting on this hint, it was utilized by enterprising men and exploited as a sovereign remedy for the ills of human flesh, long before its value as a luminant or lubricant was suspected, or before man dreamed that nature held vast stores of oil in her treasure-vaults to be yielded on demand for lighting and heating the favored republic. Under the name of "Seneca Oil," "American Medicinal Oil," and "Kier's Petroleum, or Rock-Oil," hundreds of thousands of bottles were sold throughout America and Europe. At length, however, men who were engaged in the manufacture of salt and were compelled to drill artesian wells, encountered such great quantities of this oil that frequently it rendered the wells useless. Time and again it had been noted that the oil was inflammable, and as the century approached its meridian the more enterprising of those encountering the oil began to experiment with the product for lighting purposes and also as a lubricant.

In 1854 George H. Bissell, a graduate of Dartmouth College, became impressed with the commercial possibilities of petroleum. He organized a company and leased land on which several oil-springs were located. "He then sent a quantity of the oil to Professor Silliman of Yale College, and paid him for analyzing it." The report confirmed Mr. Bissell's anticipations. It declared that "from the rock-oil might be made as good an illuminant as any the world knew. It also yielded gas, paraffine, lubricating oil." "In short," declared Professor Silliman, "your company have in their possession a raw material from which, by simple and not expensive process, they may manufacture very valuable products. It is worthy of note that my experiments prove that nearly the whole of the raw product may be manufactured without waste, and this solely by a well-directed process which is in practice in one of the most simple of all chemical processes."

Ultimately the company formed by Mr. Bissell, after a reorganization and change of name, began active and practical operations under the management of E. L. Drake. Wells were sunk, oil in quantities found, and the first

steps taken in the realization of one of those great world-influencing discoveries that made the nineteenth century the golden age of discovery and inventive progress. Moreover, the finding and utilization of oil was most opportune. For years the whaling industry had been on the wane. Ships, it is true, scoured the northern and southern seas in search of sperm oil for illuminating purposes, but the whales were becoming more and more scarce, and the gravest apprehensions were being felt lest no means should be found for supplying the people with a luminant when the whales should be extinct. The discovery and refining of petroleum therefore was rightly hailed as something of inestimable importance.

Its potential value to those who received a title to the land was early appreciated, and as by magic the wilderness blossomed with life. Fortunes were acquired in a day, owing to civilization's short-sighted and unjust policy of permitting private ownership in land. "A young doctor who had buried himself in the wilderness saw his chance. For a song he bought thirty-eight acres on the creek, six miles below the Drake well, and sold half of it for the price he paid to a country storekeeper and lumberman of the vicinity, one Charles Hyde. Out of this thirty-eight acres millions of dollars came; one well alone—the Maple-shade—cleared one and one-half millions. On every rocky farm, in every poor settlement of the region, was some man whose ear was attuned to Fortune's call, and who had the daring and energy to risk everything he possessed in an oil lease."

With the discovery of oil on a large scale arose a number of serious problems that had to be met. Storage and transportation, refining and manufacture—these and other questions demanded instant solution; but the keen and daring intellects that had been drawn as iron is drawn by the magnet to the new El Dorado were equal to every problem that arose. In 1864 Samuel Van Syckel opened the first pipe-line with relay pumping-stations, and thus presented the solution to one of the gravest difficulties that faced the oil-producers. As early as 1865 oil refining and the utilization of the by-products of petroleum was well under way, as at this time William Wright, who prepared a study of "Petrolia" published by Harper Brothers, visited and commented on the petroleum industry as he found it in the oil region.

"Mr. Wright found some twenty refineries between Titusville and Oil City the year of his visit, 1865. In several factories that he visited they were making naphtha, gasoline, and benzine for export. Three grades of illuminating oil—'prime white,' 'standard white,' and 'straw color'—were made everywhere; paraffine, refined to a pure white article like that of to-day, was manufactured in quantities by the Downer works; and lubricating oils were beginning to be made."

Thus we see "men were found from the beginning of the oil business to wrestle with every problem raised. They came in shoals, young, vigorous, resourceful, indifferent to difficulties, greedy for a chance, and with each year they forced more light and wealth from the new product. By the opening of 1872 they had produced nearly 40,000,000 barrels of oil, and had raised their product to the fourth place among the exports of the United States, over 152,000,000 gallons going abroad in 1871, a percentage of the production which compares well with what goes to-day. As for the market, they had developed it until it included almost every country of the earth—China, and the East and West Indies, South America and Africa. Over forty different European ports received refined oil from the United States in 1871."

These interesting facts in relation to the oil industry in its infancy and before any sinister and powerful monopoly organization had loomed large above the horizon, are important to be remembered in view of the attempt of the apologists for the Standard Oil Company to credit the triumph and utilization of the oil industry to the genius and skill of the master-brain of the conspiracy for the destruction of all oil competition.

Nor were the marvelous victories of the pioneers in the oil fields confined to mastering the great problems upon which the success of the oil industry depended. Here, as is always the case where the strong-box of nature is opened by man and great wealth is offered for the taking, came hordes of gamblers, whiskey-sellers and women of loose morals. Whole streets in the towns were given over to dance-halls, gambling-dens and saloons in the early days. But when the work was well under way the sturdy spirit of Anglo-Saxon morality asserted itself. "Decency and schools!" was the cry that sounded through-

out the oil region. Soon "a shanty with a school-teacher in it was in every settlement. It was not long, too, before there was a church, a union church. To worship God was their primal instinct; to defend a creed a later development.

. . . . . .

"Out of this poverty and disorder they had developed in ten years a social organization as good as their commercial. Titusville, the hamlet on whose outskirts Drake had drilled his well, was now a city of ten thousand inhabitants. It had an opera house, where in 1871 Clara Louise Kellogg and Christine Nilsson sang, Joe Jefferson and Janauschek played, and Wendell Phillips and Bishop Simpson spoke. It had two prosperous and fearless newspapers. Its schools prepared for college. Oil City was not behind, and between them was a string of lively towns. Many of the oil farms had a decent community life. The Columbia farm kept up a library and reading-room for its employés; there was a good schoolhouse used on Sunday for services, and there was a Columbia farm band of no mean reputation in the Oil Regions.

"Indeed, by the opening of 1872 life in the Oil Regions had ceased to be a mere makeshift. Comfort and orderliness and decency, even opportunities for education and for social life, were within reach. It was a conquest to be proud of, quite as proud of as they were of the fact that their business had been developed until it had never before, on the whole, been in so satisfactory a condition."

Such, in the briefest outline, was the marvelous transformation of the wilderness and the triumph of man over the gravest obstacles. Victory had crowned the labors of the oil pioneers. The rude camps had changed into thriving, prosperous and joyous towns and cities. Men were happy in the consciousness of victory and the fruits of success; they were buoyant with the promise of greater things to come.

"But suddenly, at the very heyday of this confidence, a big hand reached out from nobody knew where, to steal their conquest and throttle their future. The suddenness and the blackness of the assault on their business stirred to the bottom their manhood and their sense of fair play, and the whole region arose in a revolt which is scarcely paralleled in the commercial history of the United States."

III. THE OIL VAMPIRE AND ITS MASTER-SPIRIT.

"An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man."

"The American Beauty rose can be produced in its splendor and fragrance only by sacrificing the early buds which grow up around it."

On the very threshold of this work the reader is confronted by these two striking quotations, one from Emerson's *Essay on Self-Reliance*, the other an extract from an address delivered by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in defence of the heartless "system" that had so mercilessly crushed, blasted and blighted the hopes and ruined the fortunes of other men in order that a few intellectually acute and morally obtuse personages might become multimillionaires.

Shortly after the oil region became aflame with excitement and enthusiasm, and while the problems of transportation and refining were being so rapidly and successfully solved, as we have seen, the cities of Cleveland and Pittsburgh came under the contagion. Refineries were builded and the oil traffic soon promised to become a commanding industry in each municipality. Among those in Cleveland who early realized the potential wealth in the oil business was a shrewd and taciturn young man whose acuteness of intellect was as pronounced as was his lack of any realizing sense of the binding force of the Golden Rule and the ethics of the great Founder of Christianity upon her professed followers. This young man was marvelously gifted by nature with the capacity for planning campaigns, for organizing close corporations, and for persistently, relentlessly and mercilessly pushing forward the fully matured plans so long as success promised to crown the endeavors, while being equally gifted in the power to patiently wait or bide his time when circumstances arose which thwarted for the moment the work upon which he had set his heart. No man in the annals of the nineteenth century possessed these elements in greater degree than did John D. Rockefeller, and he knew how to keep a secret. The dark plots and sinister plans that were weaving themselves into settled policies in the silent chambers of his brain were never betrayed in unguarded moments. The laboratory of his mind was a hidden world to all, save as he chose to give those close to him necessary in-

sights from time to time of the colossal plans that had taken possession of his thought-world. Had he been a Christian in the true meaning of that term, had he been ethically great as he was intellectually strong and shrewd, John D. Rockefeller might have become one of the greatest and noblest men of the ages; and although the distinction of being the richest man in the world would not have been his, he would have won the love of his age and people,—aye, and have lived in the love of all oncoming ages. More than this, he would have known the joy, peace and measureless satisfaction that can only be realized by those who make the Golden Rule the supreme guide of life—those who make the moral verities take precedence over material gain or ends. The hush-money given so shrewdly and successfully to educational and religious institutions, which represents but a fraction of the acquired wealth, cannot in the nature of the case yield deep or abiding satisfaction to the soul of the giver, for the reason so impressively stated by Lowell in *The Vision of Sir Launfal:*

> "Not what we give, but what we share,
> For the gift without the giver is bare."

Unhappily for America and for Mr. Rockefeller, intellectual acuteness was not balanced by moral development, and therefore he was potentially a dangerous man long before the shadows of the South Improvement Company and the Standard Oil Company began to darken the prospects and bode ruin to the hard-earned fortunes of scores of men who through industry, perseverance and business sagacity had gained a competence, but who were not on their guard for enemies who fought in the dark and who depended on stealth and unfair advantage for the ruin of their competitors. A leading political manager, in referring to Mr. Rockefeller, characterized him as money-mad; and indeed, there is a well-known form of mania wherein an idea gains such possession of the brain that it subordinates all other things and obscures all sense of moral proportion, and we think that no thought-mastery is so baleful in this respect as the desire for gold or the lust for power. Greed for gain and thirst for dominion will destroy all realizing appreciation of moral values, deaden the voice of conscience, blunt the spiritual susceptibilities and dry up the well-springs of divine love, of compassion, nobility and moral rectitude as does no other master-idea, unless it be that of gross sensualism. The man who is money-mad is lost to the higher things of life.

Now young Mr. Rockefeller was possessed of many most admirable traits. He was thrifty, frugal, temperate. He was industrious and unafraid of honest toil. But in the formative hours of life no noble mind had brought him under the compelling influence of that life of love and service that made the penniless Galilean the most powerful influence in the current of human history. No Wesley or Whitefield had unmasked his thought-world and revealed to the lad his moral pauperism in so far as it related to a vital recognition of ethical verities. No one during the all-important formative period had taught him that Jesus made the Golden Rule the supreme test of life and aspiration, and that this fact could not be ignored by those who believed that He spoke a divine truth when He said: "What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" And in the absence of this spiritual instruction and inspiration the youth had grown to think more and more of the acquisition of gold.

Seeing the possibilities of the oil business, he early engaged in it and his legitimate labors were richly rewarded. From the profits which he in common with other pioneer refiners were making, it is easy to predict a handsome fortune that would have made the enterprising and industrious young man independent and a master-spirit among the high-minded men of affairs who scorned to take unfair advantage of competitors or acquire money not earned justly and aboveboard. But already the glitter of gold had thrown its powerful fascination over his mind, that in effect was not unlike the influence of the Rheingold in the famous legend, when once it was wrongfully taken from its rightful place—a fascination that became as irresistible as was its power to curse and blast all who succeeded in acquiring it. Wanting the steadying power of a high and noble idealism and yielding to the materialistic theory that already began to obtain in the business world, young Mr. Rockefeller set out to become the master of millions, regardless of the ethical rights of others. His penetrating vision enabled him to realize the enormous revenue that would accrue to the master-spirit who should establish a monopoly in this world-necessity. Great savings could be realized at every turn, while the consuming millions would be placed at the complete mercy of the monopolists. And so we find the young com-

mercial Titan early setting out to form a corporation that should in time become all-powerful, with himself as the absolute master-spirit.

In the early stages of the work Mr. Rockefeller was necessarily very much in evidence. Later he is more in the background, except in crucial moments or when it was necessary to consummate some great object for the furtherance of his ambitious dream for world-dominion in the oil industry. But at all times, from the beginning, we see the presence of one master-brain and the ceaseless operation in devious ways of one strong and tireless mentality working out with the precision that comes only through the building of that which has been previously thoroughly and perfectly planned in every detail.

It is not strange, therefore, that men everywhere identified John D. Rockefeller with each bold, daring or masterful stroke in the war for the destruction of all competitors, even when he remained in the background. Moreover, from the inception of the ambitious scheme, Mr. Rockefeller was the controlling influence who at any moment could have prevented any act that might have been proposed but which was contrary to his desire. In the light of these facts and the history of the development of the Standard Oil Company it is more than probable that most of the aggressive movements which marked the gigantic scheme early took shape in his brain and were gradually wrought out on the loom of his imagination while the corporation was still in its infancy; and we can easily imagine the mental processes of such a brain in the presence of such possibilities.

Here was a new field for the acquisition of fabulous wealth. The fortunes that were being realized legitimately and upon the old-fashioned principle of "Live and let live" suggested the almost limitless wealth to be acquired if competition could be destroyed and the many who were rapidly growing rich should be ruined for the further enrichment of the favored few.

To obtain a monopoly of the industry in Cleveland was the first step, and if all those engaged in the business should have united, putting their wealth into the one organization on the basis of their present earnings, or by any other equitable arrangement through which all were to be served alike, the profits of all could have been greatly augmented by the large savings that would have resulted. But here, judging from what soon transpired avarice doubtless whispered in the ear of her willing slave: "Make a combination on the most favorable terms possible with a few firms, and then compel, under penalty of the destruction of their business, the others to come into the company on *your* terms, irrespective of the demands of equity; while if any refuse, their commercial destruction can be easily compassed in short order."

Such a scheme, though it did violence to every principle of Christian ethics, though it was directly opposed to all principles of justice and fairness and would mean the wronging of many men out of their honestly-earned wealth, would add enormously to the unearned and unholily acquired wealth of the master-spirit and of the few persons whom he had deemed it necessary to take into the enterprise at its inception.

It is an oft-noted fact that when once a man has elected to disregard the demands of those eternal fundamental ethics upon which the moral order rests and which are essential to a permanent civilization, one evil step quickly leads to another; and this dream of wealth to be gained by indirection had soon acquired such complete control over the mind of the young man that he was ready to eagerly take advantage of another dishonorable method for commercial aggrandizement. To obtain a monopoly it was all-important to gain special privileges through secret rebates from the railways, by which all competitors would be placed at a serious disadvantage; and if in addition to this well-nigh invincible weapon, such pressure or inducements could be brought to bear upon the railway interests as to lead them to consent to the morally infamous plan of turning over to an interested few a large proportion of the rate charged the competing oil men, the destruction of competition would not only be assured, but a continual flow of the wealth earned by others would be poured into the pockets of the favored ones without their being at a dollar's expense. This dream, which was early discussed by the interested few in connection with the organization of the South Improvement Company, must have opened before the imagination of Mr. Rockefeller visions of wealth and power that would prove well-nigh illimitable.

Bad and unfair as was the scheme for secret rebates and enormous as was the advantage which would accrue from such an arrangement, far darker, more cruelly unjust and essentially diabolical was the plan for drawbacks from the innocent and ignorant com-

petitors. Its successful operation would necessarily prove a knife-thrust into the vitals of all competitors, which in a short time could not prove other than fatal to their commercial life; while all the time during the death-grapple, when the victims, innocent of the character of the wound, would be heroically struggling for life, the treasury of the foe would be daily fattened from the hard earnings of the victims against whom the black-handed conspirators had passed secret sentence of death.

Such in brief was indeed the scheme of the men who made the Standard Oil Company the greatest and richest monopoly in the land, and though it is probable that many of the details were suggested by kindred spirits, the master-mind that coördinated all plans and perfected the cruel "system" for the destruction of the competitors was John D. Rockefeller—the originator of the enterprise and ever its controlling spirit.

IV. THE FULFILMENT OF THE DREAM.

The dream of world-dominion was successfully realized along the lines indicated above. The independent refiners were given the opportunity to stand and deliver their goods, if they were content to take a fraction of what their business would have been worth under fair competition. If they refused, they were crushed. A typical example of this character was seen in the experience of Robert Hanna, one of the Cleveland refiners. When Mr. Rockefeller's plan had progressed far enough for him to feel that he was in a position to ruin the oil refiners or compel them to sell at fifty cents on the dollar of actual valuation, based on the earnings of their plants, he approached them one by one. Mr. Hanna at first refused to part with his refineries. "I do not want to sell," he said.

"You can never make any more money, in my judgment," said Mr. Rockefeller. And he added this sinister remark: "If you refuse to sell it will end in your being crushed."

An investigation convinced Mr. Hanna that he was powerless, so he followed the example of most of the victims. The works of his firm had cost $75,000 and they had earned thirty per cent. a year on the investment. The Standard Oil Company would only allow $45,000 for the plant, its good-will and business. "This was," said Mr. Hanna in a sworn affidavit, "truly and really less than one-half what they were absolutely worth with fair and honest competition in the lines of transportation."

The methods by which Mr. Rockefeller and the few confederates who organized the South Improvement Company planned the absolute destruction of all competitors, and their own enrichment through the death-struggle of the other oil men, can be easily understood from the following brief statement by our historian, based on the indisputable evidence brought out under oath at the various public investigations:

"The open rate from Cleveland to New York was two dollars, and fifty cents of this was turned over to the South Improvement Company, which at the same time received a rebate enabling it to ship for $1.50. Again, an independent refiner in Cleveland paid eighty cents a barrel to get his crude oil from the oil regions to his works, and the railroad sent forty cents of this money to the South Improvement Company. At the same time it cost the Cleveland refiner in the combination but forty cents to get his crude oil. Like drawbacks and rebates were given for all points."

Another provision in the contract with the railways was that the full way-bills of all petroleum shipped should be sent each day to the South Improvement Company. "This, of course, gave them knowledge of just who was doing business outside of their company—of how much business he was doing, and with whom he was doing it. Not only were they to have full knowledge of the business of all shippers—they were to have access to all books of the railroads."

Well might Mr. Rockefeller remark, as according to Mr. Hewitt's testimony he did remark: "I have ways of making money that you know nothing of." In view of these facts it is not strange that the Standard Oil Company soon became paramount in the oil business. On this point Miss Tarbell observes:

"The Standard had a greater capacity than the entire Oil Creek Regions, greater than the combined New York refiners. The transaction by which it acquired this power was so stealthy that not even the best informed newspaper men of Cleveland knew what went on. It had all been accomplished in accordance with one of Mr. Rockefeller's chief business principles—'Silence is golden.'"

These instances of the methods of Mr. Rockefeller and his confederates are strictly typical. A large portion of the more than eight hundred pages that make up this work

are given to the sworn statements of witnesses, to the citing of instance after instance, case after case—all giving additional emphasis to the unparalleled record of moral infamy of the master-spirits who, dominated by money-madness, ruthlessly destroyed the fruition of the long and hard labor of competitors, and at last placed the nation at the mercy of a soulless monopoly.

V. THE FALLACIOUS PLEA ADVANCED BY THE MONEY-CONTROLLED APOLOGISTS.

Unfortunately for Mr. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company, the various national and state investigating committees have given the American people in the most authentic form the history of the infamy of this great monopoly and its master-spirits. Therefore the hireling ministers and educators who care more for gold than for Christian ethics or the moral integrity of the individual and nation, are inventing all kinds of apologies and excuses for the moral outrages committed, while the most ingenious but false and fallacious statements are advanced as justification for the Standard Oil Company and its methods. Miss Tarbell in a recent article on Mr. Rockefeller notices these various attempted defences of the master-spirit in the Oil-Trust in the following admirable manner:

"Perfected methods of oil transportation, refining and marketing—yes, but these methods were *not* his invention. They were the invention of those who sought to live free of his domination, and which he seized by force and strategy when they had been proved to be valuable. Is it for the good of the commerce of the community that the men who possess the blood and courage of the pioneer or the brains of the inventor should be discouraged and suppressed by being deprived of a fair share of the profits of their labors?

"Cheap oil? Mr. Rockefeller's fundamental reason for forming his first combination was to keep *up* the price of oil. It has been forced down by the inventions and discoveries of his competitors. He has never lowered it a point if it could be avoided, and in times of public stress he has taken advantage of the very misery of the poor to demand higher prices. Nobody has yet forgotten the raising of the price of oil in the coal famine of 1902. Even the coal barons themselves in that winter combined to see that the poor of the great cities received their little bags of coal promptly and at reasonable prices and in preference to rich patrons. But the price of oil and the price of oil-stoves went up. Does it pay the public to trust the control of a great necessity of life to such a man?"

VI. THE DEMORALIZING EFFECT OF CONDONING IMMORAL ACTIONS.

Evil and essentially unjust and immoral as was the action of the Standard Oil Company in its rebates, drawbacks and other reprehensible acts; cruelly unjust and destructive as were these things to the independent oil interests; and unfortunate for the people at large as has been the possession of monopoly power which has enabled a few men to acquire almost incredible fortunes at the expense of the people, the crowning injury has been wrought in the lowering of the commercial and political ideals of the nation and the paralyzing of the moral susceptibilities of church and school. If a nation is to enjoy a glorious destiny and perennial youth, its people must be dominated by high moral convictions. A civilization that surrenders such noble ethical ideals as dominated the fathers for the savage, brutal and unethical theory that might or cunning make right, sells its birthright for a mess of pottage or, Faust-like, barters its soul for a fleeting phantom and virtually commits spiritual suicide.

We to-day are at the parting of the ways. Upon the acceptance or rejectance of the immoral theory of the business and political ideals, or the "system," of which the Standard Oil Company is the father and master-spirit, will depend the victory or defeat of the last and greatest experiment in government based on moral ideals, justice, freedom and the theory of brotherhood—an experiment which for many years made this nation the greatest moral world-power on earth.

For this reason no true man can remain indifferent in the presence of the battle between the ethics of the great Nazarene and the moral ideals of enlightened civilization on the one hand, and the money of Mr. Rockefeller and others of his class on the other. The hush-money of the acquirers of wealth, bestowed on churches and schools, is exercising so demoralizing an influence on preachers and professors that unless the moral susceptibilities of the people are speedily awakened the church and the school will become infected with the materialism of the market, and sordid greed will more and more hold sway over the imagination of the young, to the rapid deterioration of the individual and the nation.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Clue to the Economic Labyrinth. By Michael Flürscheim. Cloth. Pp. 548. London, England: Swan Sonnenschein & Company, Ltd.

THIS work will prove of real value to thoughtful economic students who dare and who care to study all sides of social, political and economic philosophy. The author is a broad-minded and careful student—a man who has made the new political economy a subject of exhaustive investigation and who has come to accept the philosophy of democratic socialism as the most just, equitable and practical theory for a civilization which is to endure and which has reached the present stage of development. His work differs markedly from most volumes of similar character. It is one of the most lucid and reasonable works that has been written. Subjects that in the hands of most able writers, and especially German thinkers, are abstract and dry, here are presented in so clear and interesting a manner that the reader finds no difficulty in following the writer, and is entertained and informed at every step. This element of lucidity is only surpassed by the broad and tolerant spirit of the author. He may not agree with other reformers, but he is not blind to the value of their work, and he treats them and their views in that fine and liberal spirit which should ever be present, but which is rarely in evidence in writings on social and political economy. Thus, for example, though believing that the single-tax would prove inadequate to meet the exigencies of present economic and political demands, he is heartily in accord with many of Mr. George's chief contentions and is not slow to render a glowing tribute to that great and single-hearted social philosopher. This fine spirit pervades the whole volume. Moreover, the author is a true democrat, and though the reader may not, and doubtless will not, agree with all his views, his work as a whole is instinct with the spirit of true democracy and is dominated by the ideal of the Golden Rule. He is a strong advocate of the referendum,—"an urgently demanded reform which no real democratic country ought to be without." Moreover, he is essentially practical. He believes in doing rather than talking, and in adopting the step-by-step plan for reaching the goal as the method by which the most rapid progress can be made without the danger of forcible revolution. In his advice to Socialists, he says:

"Their ideals will be far better served by a little less talk and more work. Less talk of the final aim and more work for immediate steps towards that aim. Millions who fight shy of them when they preach their socialist or communist state will cheerfully help when they go to work to lay the foundations of a thorough social reform. Nobody will hinder them from keeping before their eyes their great goal: the brotherhood of men, but if they want to do some real good, they will speak less of this brotherhood and do more practical work towards establishing it. . . . There are no through tickets obtainable to the socialist State; we have to book from station to station.

"The first two stations are *land nationalisation* and *curreney reform.*

"But the admission to the booking-office must be fought for before any ticket is obtainable; the people must obtain the power to mould their own destinies, independent of despots, whatever their name; and it is not always the traditional despot who proves the most dangerous. In the Anglo-Saxon world it is not the king but the party-boss who is most to be feared. The practical democrat in our country will not fight for a republic, but for the *proportional vote*, the *referendum and initiative*, the *elective executive*, never mind whether there is a figure-head above this executive or not."

Land reform, money reform and practical voluntary coöperation, our author holds, are objects which, next to direct-legislation, should receive the hearty support of the friends of human progress.

The volume contains eleven long chapters devoted to the following subjects: "Wanted, A New Gospel," "The Land," "Money," "The Effect of a Scientific Paper Currency," "Free Trade or Protection," "Banking,"

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

"Interest," "Capital and Capitalism," "Democracy," and "Socialism." It is a book that all earnest-minded students of political economy and economic advance should carefully peruse.

World Organization. By Raymond L. Bridgman. Cloth. Pp. 172. Price, 50 cents, net. Boston: Ginn & Company.

TWO MIGHTY world ideals are in active conflict. The one is the reactionary, provincial and essentially savage concept which aims at a return of the old feudalistic ideal, with the difference that in the Middle Ages the war-lords were the dukes, the barons and feudal chieftains who dominated small areas and who strove by the "big-stick" policy to become more and more powerful; whereas, to-day, the reactionaries seek by the same savage methods—by increased armament and vastly augmented military burdens—to secure to their several nations the same kind of supremacy through the might of brute force and intellectual cunning which marked the feudalism of the Dark Ages. The opposing world-ideal seeks to increase the power and binding force of international courts of arbitration and congresses for the peaceful and practical federation of the world along lines that will render war between nations as unjustifiable as in civilized states war with pistol, knife or gun is unjustifiable and intolerable between the individual citizens in a nation, and which will respect the rights and sanctity of nations and further all world-movements that make for the development and happiness of the individual and the advance of true civilization throughout the world—movements such as have already been accomplished by the International Postal Union, and from which all peoples are to-day enjoying in greater or less degree the beneficent fruits. This great movement of the practical idealists for the realization on earth of the prayer and the dream of the founder of Christianity is perhaps the most inspiring and promising world-work that engages the attention of earth's foremost ethical leaders. It is a movement that will also take from civilized lands their most crushing, useless and demoralizing burden—the vast expense incident to sustaining men and measures dedicated to human slaughter and the devastation of the lands of the earth.

The present volume is an important contribution to the literature of peace and progress. In it Mr. Bridgman discusses the subject of world organization in the clear and able manner of one who has thoroughly mastered his theme.

Among the principal subjects considered are: "The World Constitution," "The World Legislature," "The World Judiciary," and "The World Executive," each subject occupying a chapter. "World Legislation Already Accomplished," "World Business Now Pending," "Forces Active for World Unity," and "World Organization Secures World Peace," are other very important chapters.

To most persons many of the facts presented in this volume will come as a revelation. Especially will this be true of the practical achievements made toward world federation and the astonishing results that have been accomplished in the direction of international legislative and executive business. The case of International Postal Regulation is a typical and striking illustration of this character, while the progress made toward international arbitration is dwelt upon as indicating the nature and trend of a world-movement that, if the friends of peace everywhere will persistently and steadily uphold, will soon lead to a permanent supreme court of arbitration whose decisions will carry binding power on all nations and which in a short time will render war well-nigh impossible.

Friends of peace and all who realize the new demands imposed on civilization by the growing realization of the solidarity of life and its inescapable duty and obligation will find this volume of interest and practical value. It is an important contribution to the literature that makes for a permanent upward-moving civilization.

The Man of the Hour. By Octave Thanet. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 477. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS novel considered as fiction merits special notice. It is one of the best romances of the year, and in spite of an occasional unfortunate expression and some loose phrases, which even the canons of realism would not justify, it is a better piece of literature than most American novels of the present. As a sociological study, it is impossible to speak in such favorable terms, for though there is much that is fine and true in its spirit, and though we believe that the author desires to

be fair and just, she has signally failed at many points. This failure seems to arise from a confused and superficial view of the subject she essays to treat and the casting of her story in a mould consistent with the *ex-parte* views of such enemies of organized labor as Messrs. Parry and Post and of such writers as Mr. Ralph Easley of the Civic Federation. To be guided by the opinions of such thinkers or of men of their ilk is to commit one's self to a one-sided view of the social question, which in spite of honest intentions on the part of the author cannot fail to prove injurious, as they are misrepresentative in character. Thus, there is much of that confusion pervading this work, in reference to Socialists, Anarchists and Nihilists, that a few years ago was a marked feature of the literature of reactionary thought. Again, the author has chosen as the master-spirit among the radical union leaders a man who is at once an unprincipled grafter, a downright thief, and a brutal murderous character, and subtly she conveys the idea that the radical wing of the social reformers and of labor unions are either selfish or irresponsible, or are committed to a policy of violence, all of which, as a matter of fact, is false, although, of course, all classes of society hold in their midst the Judases and the Benedict Arnolds, but we believe that nowhere are such characters less typical than in the ranks where she places them as master-spirits.

In the author's opposition to governmental ownership of the railways again we behold the superficial thinker who parrots long-exploded theories of the interested classes. On the same grounds that she opposes governmental railways she would, if consistent, oppose the government operating the post-office. Thus, while in many ways the spirit of the book is fine and the author gives evidence of a wish to be just, it is clear that she has taken her opinions from partisans of capitalistic classes and from the school committed to palliative reforms, such as the work carried forward by associated charities—a school which shrinks from radical and fundamental measures for the securing of justice to all the people.

The story deals with the life of a boy, the son of an American manufacturer and a Russian princess. The father is a typical American capitalist, a man who has made a large fortune in manufacturing agricultural implements, and who, as a landlord, does not scruple to summarily evict his poor tenants when adversity overtakes them and they are unable to pay their rent promptly. The wife, though a Russian princess, was a Nihilist, who through her love for the people and her horror of the oppression and injustice of the despotic bureaucracy, is so opposed to privileged classes as to render her position in Russia insecure. To get her out of the country before the authorities transported her to Siberia, her family encouraged the suit of Mr. Winslow, who at the time was in Russia in the interest of his manufactures. The princess came to America expecting to see the principle of freedom, justice and fraternity everywhere in evidence. She was disillusioned, and to her supreme distress her husband shared views far more in accord with those of the Russian bureaucracy than those she entertained. Ultimately, long after the birth of their son, Johnny Ivan, the husband and wife separated, the wife going to Switzerland where she died. The father married again, and Johnny, with intense love for his mother and respect for his father, grew up sharing his mother's sympathy for the poor and many of her social views. When the father died, Johnny was left with only one hundred thousand dollars from his great estate, but the will provided that if when he attained the age of thirty he should still be in possession of this amount, he should come into the bulk of his father's fortune. Otherwise, the stepmother should enjoy it. Johnny, who by this time is graduated from Harvard, identifies himself with the revolutionary section of the labor unions in Chicago, and is relieved of his money by a band of parasites and rogues who pose as militant Socialists and labor leaders. A walking-delegate, who has little sympathy with the ideals of the Socialists and who is painted in glowing colors such as the capitalists always paint the labor-leader who acts in accordance with their wishes, is held up to the admiration of the reader, and through him and Johnny's stepmother and his old sweetheart, the boy is reclaimed from his lost estate as a social reformer and transformed into a capitalist magnate whose first act is to run a lot of negro strike-breakers into his father's factory and break up a strike then in process. He is almost killed through the instrumentality of the villain, who, while posing as a social reformer, robbed Johnny. Finally, the reclaimed capitalist marries his little playmate sweetheart, is reconciled to his stepmother, and all ends happily.

Return. By Agnes MacGowan and Grace MacGowan Cooke. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 544. Price, $1.50. Boston: L. C. Page & Company.

Return is a capital love-story, one of the very best romantic novels of the year. The scenes are laid in Charleston, Savannah and in the outlying country between these towns and St. Augustine and also west of Savannah. The period chosen is the stirring and often thrilling time early in the eighteenth century when General Oglethorpe was heroically laboring to build up a prosperous and Anglo-Saxon colony in Savannah and to hold in check and so far as possible defeat the ambitious aim of Spain.

The tale opens in Charleston, S. C. The heroine, Diana Chaters, a famous beauty and a notorious flirt, has at last been caught in the snares of a gallant as perfidious as herself. She is deeply in love with this last suitor. A magnificent church-wedding has been arranged, but at the church Diana receives a note from the man she expected to marry her jilting her. The blow to the girl's pride almost dethrones her reason. She has heretofore been more a body without a soul than aught else, a woman prominent for her beauty and charm of manners. She has captivated men on every side only to spurn them when their love has been won. Now, she has received like treatment from the only man she has ever cared for. In humiliation she flees to Savannah where she is welcomed by General Oglethorpe, long a strong friend of the family. At this period her one desire is to marry some courageous young man and induce him to wreak vengeance on the lover who has discarded her. In pursuance of this plan she weds a brilliant, noble, courageous but high-spirited young Virginian named Marshall. Soon after the wedding the husband finds that his wife has never loved him. A bitter scene is followed by the departure of the young man to fight the Spaniards and the Indians. Then comes war, days and weeks and months of bitterness to Diana. At length a little son is born, but ere this event, the father disappears during a fierce fight among the Indians and Spaniards. Whether, however, he had been killed or taken prisoner, no one knew, although his body was not found among the dead. The long period of waiting, the coming of the little child and the news of the disappearance of her husband serve to break the foolish pride and destroy the self-adulation and soul-destroying egotism of Diana. From out the night-time of pain, sorrow and bitterness she emerges as one reborn. Her soul has been quickened, and during the waiting time she has learned to love her husband with all the intensity of a naturally strong nature. At length she sets out with her babe in search of him. Long and tireless are the journeys, but at length the glory of love's full fruition comes to the reunited ones.

Though the story is first of all a love romance, and is chiefly concerned with the history of Diana Marshall and her husband, there are numerous characters interspersed through the story who play important parts in the romance. A delightful chapter is devoted to Whitefield and his great work at Savannah.

The realist will find as little in this work to praise as he finds in the novels of the elder Dumas. The scenes, the times, the customs and the people are, it is true, very unlike those with whom we are familiar, but this is true of all novels of the romantic school which picture life of other days, and those who delight in an absorbingly interesting love romance over which the glamor of romanticism is cast, will enjoy *Return.*

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

MR. MOODY AND THE CONSERVATION OF MONOPOLY: The paper by Mr. JOHN MOODY, which we publish this month, will attract general attention. The author's exhaustive work, entitled *The Truth About the Trusts*, which appeared in 1904, received, we believe, more extended notice than any similar economic discussion of recent years, and his position as a well-equipped thinker is such as to insure a general hearing for him on any question relating to social, economic or political problems. Furthermore, though a strong individualist, he is an outspoken reformer, who represents a large body of intelligent and earnest thinkers, who believe that the single-tax in connection with efficient measures for securing the benefits of direct-legislation, through the initiative and referendum, would destroy the evils from which the social organism is suffering, and that by the adoption of these measures, equality of opportunities and of rights can be best attained. We take pleasure in presenting the views of Mr. MOODY because they are the thoughts of a high-minded social reformer of the individualistic school. We think he is in error in some of his conclusions, as for example, his belief that the public-service com-

panies and monopolies wish governmental control. This point we have elsewhere noticed at length. Furthermore, it seems to us that Mr. MOODY, in common with other earnest thinkers, fails to realize the difference between a monopoly owned and operated by all the people for the equal benefit of all the people and a monopoly enjoyed by a few persons for the enormous enrichment of the few at the expense of the masses who produce and consume.

Proportional Representation in Switzerland: In this issue we give another paper in our series of ideal democratic measures for conserving popular government. Mr. TYSON is probably the ablest American advocate of this important reform which is operated so satisfactorily in Switzerland, Belgium and in several other countries of the globe.

Mr. Mills on the Denver Utility-Trust and Municipal-Ownership: We doubt if America possesses to-day the peer of the Hon. J. WARNER MILLS among her ablest trained legal minds who are committed to public-ownership and the reclamation of the natural monopolies from the commercial brigands who are corrupting the public servants in every department of government and shamefully robbing and oppressing all the people. The paper which we publish this month is long, but it is of so startling and circumstantial a character that it is safe to say that all serious-minded Americans interested in civic purity and good government, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, who begin the paper will not only peruse it to the end, but will eagerly await the concluding section which will appear in the November ARENA. Never, we believe, has a more startling or concrete example of the actual operations of the true anarchists been published than is found in this notable contribution to the literature of civic righteousness. Mr. MILLS is one of the most careful thinkers among our leading lawyers, but he also possesses the rare merit of being thoroughly fearless when he is assured of the truth of his evidence and the justice of his cause. His incisive statement of the case for public-ownership is clear and convincing, while his revelations of the infamy of the water-works plunderers and their baleful influence over courts and legislative bodies, ought in themselves to awaken the most slow-thinking of our people to the imperative need of the public taking the natural monopolies out of the hands of corporations, who more than all other sinister influences have debauched government and corrupted the people's servants and who through these evil practices have been able to rob and oppress the people in a manner that under many liberal monarchies would have occasioned revolution if attempted by the ruling sovereign.

The American Doctrine of Shipping Rights: At the present time, when the menace of a ship-subsidy is again threatening the nation, a clear, comprehensive, and informing historical survey of the shipping doctrine of the early history of our republic and its results is at once timely and of great importance to all persons interested in the real advance of the shipping interests but who are also the uncompromising foes of ship-subsidies, steals or other forms of grafting by which a few over-rich individuals are ever seeking to loot the public treasury for private gain. Mr. BATES is one of the best informed authorities in America. His two large volumes, *American Marine* and *American Navigation*, published by HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY, of Boston, are without doubt the most exhaustive treatises on the subject that have appeared.

The Uses and Abuses of Italian Travel: Our readers will derive much pleasure and profit from Mr. CARL VROOMAN'S thoughtful paper on Italian travel. After completing his education at Harvard, Mr. VROOMAN held for some time a position as Regent of the Kansas Agricultural College. Later, he has spent much time in the Old World devoted to study and research. For several months he has been in Italy and Switzerland. The paper on Italian travel will be complemented by an equally interesting paper on Switzerland which we hope to find room for in our November issue.

Mr. Elwell's Paper: Mr. ELWELL'S description of the advance made by a young sculptress in New York and the fine illustration of her first important work, molded without any assistance, will prove inspiring to many young people who have the courage and determination to succeed in spite of serious obstacles. "Mart." is now in Paris, and the progress she is making confirms the expectation of her master and friends who have followed her remarkable progress. Mr. ELWELL is one of our really great artisst whose noble work has enriched various art-centers of the New World and who, it is to be hoped, will give the world many more of such distinctly great creations as his DICKENS group, "Egypt Awakening" and "Intelligence Subduing Brute Force."

The Woman's Club Movement: Mrs. ALMA A. ROGERS' paper will deeply interest tens of thousands of American women who are actively engaged in the various important club-work being carried on throughout the republic. There can be no question but that the woman's club movement has exerted a great influence in broadening, educating and developing American womanhood.

A Pastoral of the Hills: We take great pleasure in calling the special attention of our readers to MARIE ANTOINETTE MCKIM'S fine story. It cannot fail to delight lovers of that fiction which is at once literature and a faithful reflex of present-day life and conditions. We believe this to be the best short story, with the possible exception of Miss DROMGOOLE'S *The New Year's Watch*, that has appeared in THE ARENA in recent years. We predict that Miss MCKIM has a brilliant future before her if she devotes her attention to literature. Besides being a delightful creation from a literary view-point, there is here present the spirit of human interest and sympathy which will appeal to all fine natures.

Our Book-Study: This month we have given a somewhat extended review to Miss TARBELL'S important history of the Standard Oil Company, because we believe this to be one of the most valuable conscience-works of recent decades.

A Correction: In Hon. J. WARNER MILLS' article in this issue, on page 382, thirty lines from the top of the first column, after the name of GUY LEROY STEVICK, the name W. C. KINGSLEY was omitted. On page 384, nine lines from the top of the second column the figures reading 1905, $2,500,000 should read 1904, $2,295,424.

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F. EDWIN ELWELL IN HIS STUDIO

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"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

The Arena

VOL. XXXIV. NOVEMBER, 1905 No. 192

THE BOURNVILLE VILLAGE EXPERIMENT: A TWENTIETH-CENTURY ATTEMPT AT HOUSING THE WORKERS.

BY LYRA DALE TRUEBLOOD.

"A small contribution towards the solution of a great problem."

IN THESE modest words Mr. George Cadbury, the founder of the model workingmen's village at Bournville, England, describes his great philanthropic scheme for the betterment of the condition of the working-classes. We hear much in these days about model tenements, cottage-homes and garden-cities, and the proof that they are practicable, beneficial and successful is being demonstrated in this little English village. We Americans are doing much towards alleviating the wretchedness and misery that prevail in the crowded slums of our cities, but we have yet a great deal to learn about the housing problem and how to solve it.

Mr. George Cadbury, senior member of one of the largest cocoa manufacturing companies in the world, Cadbury Brothers, Ltd., of Birmingham, England, is the man to whom this model village owes its existence. As an employer of many thousands of men and women, Mr. Cadbury found himself in direct contact with the sad struggle for existence in which so many finally succumb. Bad environment seemed to him to be largely the cause of the evils to which the laboring classes are subject, and he determined, so far as lay in his power, to provide a practical remedy. The spirit in which he has grappled with the problem may be best described in his own words. In the deed by which he conveyed the estate to the Bournville Village-Trust, he thus sets forth his object:

"The Founder is desirous of alleviating the evils which arise from the insanitary and insufficient accommodation supplied to large numbers of the working-classes, and of securing to workers in factories some of the advantages of outdoor village life, with opportunities for the natural and healthful occupation of cultivating the soil." And further, he has in mind "the amelioration of the condition of the working-class and laboring population in and around Birmingham, and elsewhere in Great Britain, by the provision of improved dwellings, with gardens and open spaces to be enjoyed therewith."

In a word, he believed that the remedy must be sought in putting the people into the country and removing them as far as possible from the close, narrow and ill-smelling streets and alleys of the crowded city, where vice and sin lurk at every

Photo. by Thos. Lewis, Birmingham.

SYCAMORE ROAD.

turn, and where a high degree of moral and physical welfare is absolutely impossible.

A considerable portion of his estate of several hundred acres at Bournville was set apart for the carrying out of the plan. It would have been difficult to find a more admirable location. Among the beautiful hills of Worcestershire, four miles southwest of Birmingham, where the fresh, invigorating breezes blow continually, where the grass, the trees and flowers flourish in that profusion and verdancy found nowhere else as in England, where the sky-lark "singing still doth soar, and soaring ever singeth," the most ardent lover of nature would find himself charmed and uplifted. To the poor man from the city, who has spent his life cooped up by day in a factory and by night in a crowded tenement, with scarce a sight of a blade of grass to refresh his weary eyes, the change must seem like a realization of all his dreams of happiness. Such surroundings and associations would ennoble what had before been drudgery, and turn the most menial tasks into a pleasure and a delight.

The beginnings of Bournville date from 1879, but practically the whole of the present village was founded in 1895. From the first it was determined to provide against any possibility of overcrowding by stipulating that every house must have a garden, that no building must cover more than a quarter of the ground on which it was erected, that the streets must be wide and well-shaded with trees and that abundant provision should be made for parks and recreation grounds. No child was to be more than five minutes' walk from a play-ground.

By 1900, three hundred and fifty cottages had been erected, and in December of that year Mr. Cadbury turned over to the "Bournville Village-Trust," as an absolute gift, the revenues all to be used for the benefit of the community, the entire estate of four hundred and eighty-five acres of land, including the village of Bournville, the total value being about one million dollars, to be held and administered in accordance with the Deed of Foundation, to which reference has already been made. None of the revenue is to return to the giver or his heirs.

Photo. by Thos. Lewis, Birmingham.

MARYVALE ROAD.

A few clauses from the deed will further illustrate the object of the Founder, and the underlying principles on which the Village-Trust is based. The suggestions for the use of the property are "given by way of illustration only, and not to limit the Trustees' discretion." They provide for the "provision, erection, adaptation or improvement of buildings, and the acquisition of land in any part of Great Britain." "It is the desire of the Founder that so far as possible such dwellings may occupy about one-fourth part of the sites on which they are respectively erected, the remaining portions to be used as gardens or open spaces in connection with such dwellings." "If practicable," it is desired that the rents "be fixed on such basis as to make them accessible to persons of the laboring and working-classes, whom it is his desire to attract from the crowded and insanitary tenements which they now inhabit, without, however, placing them in the position of being recipients of a bounty."

As to factories and shops, "no such factories shall occupy in area more than one fifteenth part of the total area of the estate on which they may be built." The Trustees have full powers to make all kinds of improvements, to invest funds, lease land, build schools, hospitals, churches, libraries, gymnasiums, and to found similar institutions. All "schools and institutions which the Trustees may build must be so organized as carefully to exclude sectarian influences, and so conducted as to avoid denominational jealousy."

One of the most interesting portions of the deed is that dealing with the question of the sale of intoxicants. Although it is the Founder's "intention that the sale, distribution or consumption of intoxicating liquor shall be entirely suppressed, if such suppression does not in the opinion

THE VILLAGE POST-OFFICE.

of the Trustees lead to greater evils," still there are provided conditions under which buildings may be used for the sale of such liquors. It is strictly stipulated that "the unanimous consent in writing of all the Trustees shall be a necessary precedent to the grant of the license or other permit, and such consent shall be given, withheld, or have any condition as to hours and quantities of sale, or any other matters attached thereto as the Trustees may determine. . . . And all net profit arising from the sale of intoxicating liquor shall be devoted to securing for the village community recreation and counter attractions to the liquor trade as ordinarily conducted." When one considers the character of the men who compose the Trust it hardly seems probable that Bournville should ever become other than a purely temperance town. Its success thus far without a public-house proves that the latter is not a necessity to the workingman, as is so often maintained.

Finally, "the administration of the Trust shall be wholly unsectarian and non-political, and there shall always be a rigid exclusion of all influences calculated or tending to impart to it a character sectarian as regards religion or belief, or exclusive as regards politics, and it will be a violation of the intention of the Founder if participation in its benefits should be excluded on the ground of religious belief or political bias."

Since the village was put in the hands of the Trustees in 1900 the work of erecting cottages has gone steadily forward, until now there are over five hundred, with a population of about two thousand five hundred. Of these five hundred houses only three hundred and fourteen belong properly speaking to the Trust. At first it was the intention to sell the land and cottages and thus give to the workmen the incentive of possessing their own homes. Under this plan one hundred and forty-three cottages were sold. To this scheme there appeared in course of

time many objections. Finally it was abandoned, owing mainly to the difficulty of being sure that all such property would continue to be administered by its new owners in accordance with the Founder's desires. There was also the danger that builders would buy up cottages for purposes of speculation, and if the property were once actually sold there would be no means of preventing such an abuse.

Now the houses are let only to tenants (return tickets being issued to workmen at half-price,—four cents), and there are many people of independent means who have come to live at Bournville because of its attractiveness. The Trust will erect houses to suit the wishes of prospective tenants.

The proportion of householders working in the village itself is 41.2 per cent.; in villages within one mile of Bournville, 18.6 per cent.; in Birmingham, four miles

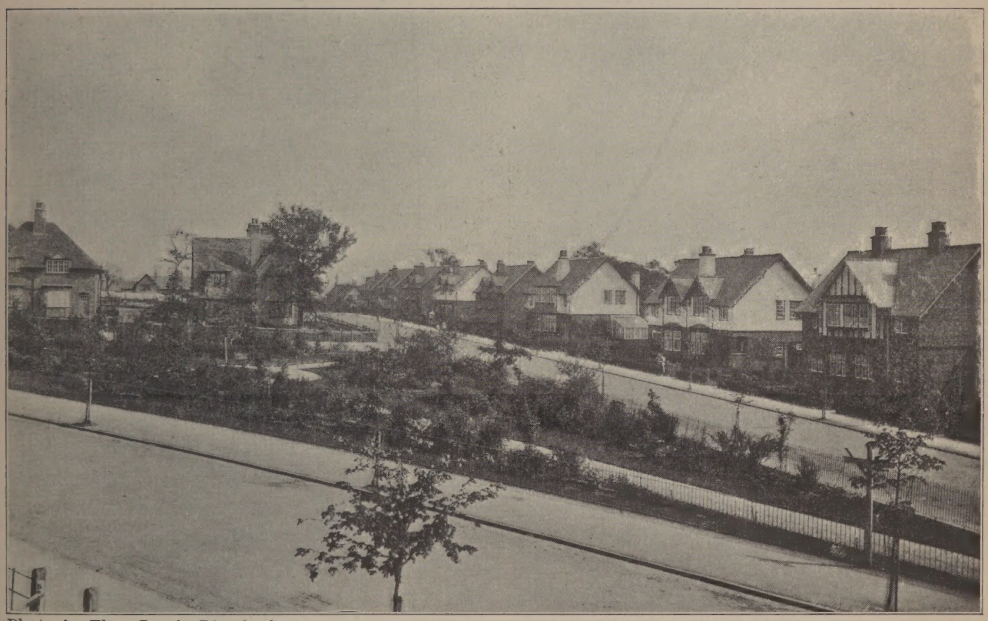


Photo. by Thos. Lewis, Birmingham.

THE "TRIANGLE."

who pay weekly rent. The rents range from a dollar and a half a week, taxes included, to three dollars, not including taxes. A few larger houses rent at a higher rate. The city of Birmingham supplies gas, water and sewerage to the village.

Many people have an idea that the village is solely for workingmen, and especially for those who are in the employ of the Cadbury Cocoa Company, whose works are situated near Bournville. Only about half the householders are engaged in this employment, others work either in neighboring villages or in Birmingham distant, 40.2 per cent. The various employments are well represented. There are:

Men employed in factories,.....	50.7 per cent.
Clerks and traveling men,.....	13.3 "
Mechanics, carpenters, bricklayers, *et al.*,.....	36.0 "

It now remains to speak in detail of the village. It has been laid out with great attention to picturesqueness and artistic beauty. The roads are forty-two feet in width and are all planted with trees. There is already a village green, an extensive playground, and a reservation for parks, while plans are being made for

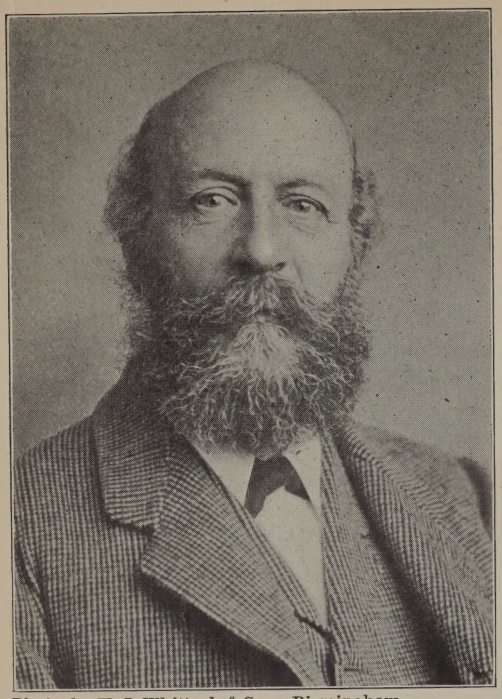


Photo. by H. J. Whitlock & Sons, Birmingham.

GEORGE W. CADBURY.

additional grounds as soon as the increase of population shall demand it.

Six hundred square yards is the size of the average garden surrounding each cottage. These gardens, or yards, as we should say, are laid out by the gardeners of the estate when the houses are built, so that the tenant finds his garden ready for him when he takes possession. Gardening classes for young men are maintained, and the professional estate gardeners are always ready to make suggestions to the tenant, although he is responsible for the appearance of his own garden. A usual arrangement is to have six or eight apple and pear or other fruit trees at the back of the garden, and these form a protecting screen against the curious neighbor, where the houses are set back to back. In front there is a small grass-plot with flower-beds, shrubs and other ornamental plants. There is very little of the high hedge or brick-wall which so mars the beauty of the street-views in most English towns.

The Trust has borne in mind that comfort and good appearance must not be sacrificed to profit, and there are none of the so-called model tenement-houses, or houses built in endless rows on the same pattern. Simplicity and the avoidance of unnecessary ornamentation are the only means taken to reduce expense. Far less cost would have been involved if the tenement-house plan had been adopted, but the Founder's wishes have been continually borne in mind to provide "gardens and open spaces to be enjoyed" with the cottages.

The cost of the entire home, including the erection of the house, the laying out of the grounds, etc., varies from eight hundred and seventy-five dollars to three thousand five hundred dollars, according to size and elaborateness. Clear returns of four per cent. are realized on the outlay.

The cottages are either detached, semi-detached or in blocks of four. Great praise is due the architect, Mr. W. A. Harvey, for their artistic appearance and the great variety of the architecture employed. In an article on "Cottage Homes" he says: "The idea of a cottage-home that I have always endeavored to keep in view is one in which beauty is based on utility, and though with the artisan class it is perhaps most difficult to gain this end, an adherence to it must sooner or later tell. On the whole, my experience at Bournville has been that the residents in the cottages have shown a remarkable readiness to catch the idea and spirit of a homelike simplicity, and it is evinced in such details for instance as their manner of furnishing the rooms, in their adopting suitable and artistic curtains to the casement windows," etc.

In most of the cottages built before 1900 there are two sitting-rooms, a kitchen, three bedrooms and the usual closets. Some of the larger houses have one or two additional bedrooms and a bathroom. In the last three years cottages have often been built with one large sitting-room in place of the two small ones, a kitchen with a bath sunk in the floor, three bed-

SEMI-DETACHED HOUSES—LINDEN ROAD.

rooms and sometimes an attic. A few very small cottages with two bed-rooms are being built, and only small families will be allowed to occupy these.

It has been said in jest that we in America build our bathroom first and then add around it such living-rooms as are necessary. The average Englishman has not yet grasped, to the extent that we have, the idea of the necessity as well as convenience of a bathroom with all the modern equipments. In a certain English town with which I am well acquainted there are still being erected in the suburbs new and modern houses without bathrooms, intended primarily for the accommodation of lodgers. A student searching for rooms went from house to house in the vain endeavor to find one with a bathroom, and was told by each landlady: "No, Miss; we do n't have a bath, and you won't find one in any of the houses in this neighborhood. You 'll have to be content with a portable tub." This will explain why so much stress is laid on the advantages of Bournville in this respect. Here the bath is considered one of the essential parts of the model house.

Many novel schemes have been thought of in order to get the bath compressed into as little space as possible, and two ways are now in use. Some of the baths are either sunk in the kitchen-floor beside the hearth and covered with a board which can be utilized for various purposes, or not sunk but simply covered and so arranged as to admit of being used for a table or a seat. Another plan is to have a patent adjustable-tub with a hinge at the bottom of one end, so that it may be raised and lowered like a folding-bed, the upper part being fitted with shelves and used for a cupboard. A more elaborate arrangement is that of a combined scullery bath-range and boiler. The range is situated in a fireplace between the kitchen and bathroom, and has an oven on one side of the grate and on the other a twelve-gallon boiler. The coals can be raked down under the boiler and thus hot water be obtained for either kitchen or bathroom use. Clothes may also be boiled in it, a great convenience

Photo. by Thos. Lewis, Birmingham.

BLOCK OF FOUR HOUSES—HOLLY GROVE.

to the workingman's wife. The bath-room has about thirty-six feet of floor-space and contains a full-size iron enameled bath-tub, supplied with hot water from the boiler and cold from the cistern.

English methods of heating seem to us rather crude and unsatisfactory, but the open coal-fireplace has such charms for them that they are unwilling to supply its place with more modern inventions. The fireplaces are beautifully planned in these houses, with tiled hearths and artistic chimney-pieces.

Casement windows add greatly to the homelike attractiveness of the Bournville cottages. They open on a center-pivot, both inwards and outwards, and thus the labor of cleaning them is made much easier. Of course there are no cellars or basements to these houses; such a thing is rare in any kind of a house in England. Care is taken, however, to build the floors with proper ventilation beneath, so as to prevent dampness from collecting under them.

Health being an important item in showing the value of these model villages, it is interesting to compare the death-rate of Birmingham with that of Bournville. In 1901 the rate in Birmingham was 19.9 per thousand, as compared with 8.8 here. The officer of health says in his report for 1900: "I have in my previous reports made mention of the model buildings on the estate which has been laid out by Mr. George Cadbury. I cannot refrain from again mentioning how much I admire the system he has adopted. . . . I cannot speak too highly of these dwellings, and I can only hope that we may be able to keep all dwellings as far as possible up to this standard."

A proof of the fact that the workmen appreciate Bournville and its advantages is that a house never stands idle a moment. Applications are continually coming in,

even when it is known that every house is already occupied. The waiting-list is always large.

There is great interest taken by the citizens in the advancement of all causes that tend to promote the well-being of their village. A village council has been organized, whose members serve voluntarily, and are elected by ballot. It has done a great deal to stimulate corporate action and unity of civic interest. Under its control are the children's playground and the public baths, and it has taken great interest in the development of gardening. It is in reality a sort of coöperative society, which purchases plants and bulbs, owns gardening tools to be let out, has a loan library of books on horticultural subjects, arranges flower-shows, and plans lectures in winter and excursions in summer.

A site for school-buildings has been chosen and plans are rapidly going forward for excellent educational advantages for the children. On this point, too, we must bear in mind that England has not made the advance in public education that we have, and free schools are not with them the first thing to be provided.*

On the initiative of the Birmingham John Ruskin Society, the Trustees have presented a site for the erection of a memorial building to John Ruskin, to consist of a lecture-hall, picture-gallery and library, with reading and class-rooms. This is now nearing completion.

Although not included in the Bournville estate itself, there are several institutions connected so closely with it as to constitute an integral part. These are the almshouses, the recreation-grounds connected with the cocoa-works, and the home for girls employed in the factory. The almshouses were founded in 1898. They are thirty-three in number, and are built about a quadrangle. Each contains a sitting-room, bed-room and kitchen. They are furnished ready for occupancy, and the tenants are supplied with gas, coal and water, and medical attendance, free of charge. Preference is given to former employés of the Cadbury Company, but others are also admitted, the only requirement being that the applicant must have a certain fixed income sufficient to provide food and clothing for himself. Rents from thirty-eight cottages, built for this purpose, furnish an endowment fund by which the almshouses are maintained.

There are recreation-grounds adjoining the village, that for girls consisting of twelve acres, with a gymnasium, swimming-bath, tennis courts, cricket and hockey-grounds; while the one for men has fourteen acres with similar equipments. Every girl employed in the works is required to take a certain amount of exercise in the gymnasium each week, under trained supervision. A healthier, happier-looking company of workmen and factory-girls would be difficult to find.

A boarding-house for those girls who are orphans or who must live away from home, is maintained under the direct supervision of the management. About forty are now accommodated in Bournville Hall.

Bournville proves conclusively that working men are willing to leave the town and live in country surroundings, that they will live four miles or more from their place of employment, provided the means of transit are good, and that they can and will take an interest in the cultivation of their gardens and the care of their homes. It is above all an object-lesson, teaching clearly the tremendous possibilities of advance in the direction of improving the condition of the laboring-classes.

A garden-city is now being laid out in another part of England, and Mr. Cadbury has been consulted at every step, as it was felt that his practical knowledge in such a matter was greater than that of anyone else. The hope is that to this new garden-city both manufacturers and employés will be attracted. In order to

* Accounts have just reached America describing the ceremony of the laying of the corner-stone of the school-building, which is to be one of the finest in all England, and certainly the best-equipped in the Midland counties.

gain the laborer it seems essential that the employer be first induced to come. Thus the influence of Bournville is working like leaven in more than one locality in England, until we may be fairly assured that it will one day permeate and change the slum sections of their great manufacturing cities, where conditions are far worse than in this country.

When we have exhausted all our schemes for relieving the congested portions of our cities by improving conditions on the spot, perhaps we shall come to realize that there is yet a more excellent way. The factory can be removed bodily to the country, and thus the problem be solved, and comfortable and healthful homes be furnished for the workman near his work. "Back to the soil" is the watchword in these days of the stress and strain of town-life, and better, happier and purer homes can there be provided close to the heart of nature. To Mr. Cadbury we are deeply indebted for showing us his way of solving the problem which is troubling us all so sorely.

LYRA DALE TRUEBLOOD.

Boston, Mass.

POSSIBILITIES OF GOVERNMENT RAILROAD CONTROL.

BY JOHN BURTON PHILLIPS, PH.D.,
Professor of Economics and Sociology in the University of Colorado.

IT WAS the work of the sixteenth century to solve the problem of religious liberty. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought forth political liberty. The problem for the last two centuries has been to bring to all the blessings of industrial liberty. Little progress has as yet been made in this direction. Industrial disturbances show that the problem is daily becoming more and more important. The right to work is not accessible to all citizens. Various schemes have been brought forward to secure in greater or lesser degree a chance for all to get a larger share in the industrial world than modern conditions afford.

Chief among the obstacles that at the present time prevent democracy in industry are those that result from the operation of quasi-public corporations. The private operation of these industries results in discriminations that lead to the ruin of the small dealer, destroying competition and enabling the favorite to build up a great monopoly.

Of all quasi-public industries, the railroad is, perhaps, the greatest cause at the present time that is operating to prevent equal opportunities in modern industry. The industries of the country are more dependent upon the railroads than upon any other one condition, and the way in which these are managed is the greatest power to create or destroy democracy in industry.

In the private management of quasi-public industry the one object kept before the mind of the manager is always: "How will I secure the greatest returns?" He is always thinking about what the traffic will bear. If a certain rate will not bring in the greatest amount of money, such a rate cannot be fixed. It is the same in considering the effect of any contemplated improvement in the service. If it does not appear that it will increase the revenue, it is not to be considered. Life-saving devices are not to be thought of if they do not assure a money return. This is well illustrated in the case of the automatic coupler. The railroads would not adopt it till after a quarter of a century of agitation and only when they were finally compelled by Congress. It was

a question of social welfare, and the railroad is operated for the purpose of making money, and accordingly social welfare is a secondary consideration.

Under government control it is reasonable to expect that in the operation of the railroad the effect on national welfare as well as the mere earning capacity of the business would be considered. It is quite possible to imagine cases in which the money return might in some measure be sacrificed for the benefit of the nation as a whole. This is the way the post-office is managed at present. It is better that there should be a slight deficit and that it be made up by general taxation than that the rates of postage should be raised to make the post-office a self-supporting institution. One of the interesting cases illustrating this point is that of the local *rundreise* tickets in Switzerland. In that country it is possible to get a ticket good on all the railroad and steamboat-lines, limited to two weeks or one month, for ten and twelve dollars respectively. It is possible that this price does not pay the expense of carrying the passenger, but the prosperity of that country is largely dependent upon the amount of foreign travel and therefore the importance of selling tickets so as to encourage this is the same as cheap postage in the United States.

At present in the United States there is little thought of the social effects that may be produced by freight-rates. In adjusting the rates at which various commodities are to be carried, it is wise to consider the social importance of the commodities. For carrying some things the rate should be very low, while in the case of others whose social necessity is not so great the rate can be kept higher. It has been pointed out by some thinkers that there are commodities that are so indispensable to the welfare of the population that they should be supplied at a minimum of cost. The government has provided some things that are of transcendent importance to the welfare of the community. Among these is a supply of pure water. It may be that there are other commodities that should be provided at the lowest possible cost on account of their importance and among them might be mentioned coal. It has been argued that coal should be transported at a very low price.

With government control of the transportation industry, the rate for carrying this commodity could be fixed in some measure according to its social effects. It could be placed very low and the deficit made up by a higher rate on some other commodity. If the rate for carrying coal had been fixed so low that it would not yield any profit to the railroad companies, they would not have bought up the coal-lands in Pennsylvania at so high a price in the hope that they were to make fortunes by carrying the coal to the seaboard. It is a matter of common knowledge that the railroad companies in the anthracite regions purchased these lands at more than they were worth in the hope that by monopolizing the outlet from the mines they would be able to control the price of coal. They paid so much for the lands that some of the companies have not been able to pay any dividends to tl eir stockholders. The attempt to get money for dividends by various methods of curtailing expenses in the mines is what led to the disastrous coal-strike. All this trouble might, perhaps, have been avoided if there had been government control of rate-making and a rate for the transportation of coal placed at so low a figure that there would have been little or no profit to the companies in securing a large business in carrying that commodity. Between managing a quasi-public industry like the railroad to secure the largest financial return and managing it to secure the greatest social welfare, there seems to be an irrepressible conflict.

It is important that the people should make their influence felt in the control of those forces that have most to do with their social and industrial welfare. At the present time when quasi-public industries are wholly under private control, it is difficult to do this. Devices to pre-

vent loss of life have not come as rapidly as the public has thought they were needed. Frightful railroad accidents entailing great loss of life are of frequent occurrence. On January 8, 1902, there was an accident on the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad in Park avenue tunnel in the city of New York. Seventeen persons were killed and thirty-four injured. The accident was caused by the tunnel being full of smoke at the time. It has been full of smoke for years. At once a strong public sentiment developed demanding that the only means by which in the future such casualties might be prevented be immediately adopted by the railroad company. This is the equipment of the line in the city with electricity. The company proceeded to investigate. Nothing has been done about it as yet. It is reported that the road will soon be equipped with electricity, but no definite date has been fixed. Under government control it is possible that this improvement might have been introduced much earlier. There ought to be some way in which public sentiment might make itself felt in cases of this kind without being obliged to await the pleasure of a corporation in so important a matter as that of safeguarding the lives of the people.

If the government interfered more largely in the management of railroads there would be a check on the wastes that are so common in that industry. There are instances of the duplication of railroad lines not for the legitimate purpose of transportation but for the purpose of selling out to the competing company. The best example of this is the West Shore railroad in the state of New York. This road was not built for the purpose of carrying freight or passengers primarily, but for the purpose of selling out to the New York Central or sharing in the profits of a pool. For the first year or so after it was finished passengers were carried at very low rates as was also freight. The Central had to compete. At length it decided to buy out the West Shore and thus the rate-war came to an end. Here was a great waste of labor and capital in the building of a new railroad that was not needed. Energy was taken from productive industries and used to injure another industry. Government control would have prevented this waste.

Government control of railroads might be such as to guarantee that all possibilities of industry along the line of the road would have a chance to be developed. Under the present system of privately-managed roads it is possible for the manager to ignore completely the desires of certain localities and take no steps to secure the development of industry there. A railroad manager may be anxious to sell the stock of his company at a high price and after a few years leave the road entirely in the hands of other owners. To do this he will curtail operating expenses and cut down the amount of money for improvements and thus allow the road to deteriorate, but will meantime be able to pay larger dividends to the stockholders and thereby raise the value of the stock. Persons anxious to develop industry along the line are made to suffer for the sake of the speculator in railroad stock.

In modern private industry it can hardly be expected that the affairs of a large corporation will be so managed as not to give some patrons an advantage over others. The railroads are immense corporations competing with each other to secure business and earn dividends for their stockholders. More than in anything else the railroad manager is interested in the quotations of the stock of his company as they appear from day to day in the Wall-street reports. A good showing there is what assures him his position and also his standing in the railroad world.

Pressed as such men constantly are by fierce and relentless competition, they are always on the alert to secure new business or to increase old. Giant corporations are endeavoring to secure special rates from the transportation lines. Some of the combinations are stronger than the others and can therefore bring a greater

pressure to bear on the railroad companies. The result has usually been that the larger corporations have succeeded in getting special reduced rates from the transportation companies. In this way they have been able to starve out their competitors who have been compelled to pay higher rates for their transportation.

It is well known that many trusts are in large part the creation of discriminating railroad rates. In the histories of the Standard Oil Company much of the strength and prosperity of this combination is attributed to its ability to secure rebates from the railroads. No independent refiner can compete with the Standard if he does not have the privilege of shipping his oil at as low rates as this company. The rebate is said to be still in existence and in cases where it is not the rates are so fixed as to favor the Standard.

Even if the railroad companies would abandon the practice of granting rebates, this would not guarantee an equal opportunity to shippers. There is nothing to prevent a trust from getting control of a railroad. When a trust gets control of a road it can make such rates as it chooses. High rates would destroy the opportunity of the independent producer and also the possibility of a rival combination to the trust. The Standard Oil Company is at present represented on the boards of directors of nine great American railroads. At the present rate of profit for a few years more, this trust will be able to secure a controlling interest in most of the great railway systems of the country. Thus intrenched, its power would be well-nigh impregnable.

When railroads are under private control, it will be necessary for them to transport goods at a lower rate between competing points than between points from which there is but one railroad. This leads to unfair discrimination between places. The cities at the competing points will grow at the expense of smaller places along the line. Farm land becomes less valuable and manufactures will not be established at places where there is no railroad competition. This condition puts enormous power in the hands of the railroad manager. Sometime ago freight rates between the Colorado cities of Denver and Boulder were fixed so high that merchants in Boulder hauled their goods from Denver in wagons, a distance of twenty-nine miles. This condition of affairs did not tend to encourage the growth of Boulder.

With the combination of railroads into great systems the rate-making power has also become concentrated. At the present time it is said that the freight-rates between all points west of the Mississippi river are made by five men. The power therefore of these five men in determining the development of this part of our country is incalculable.

If the government guaranteed that the rates from competing points were the same on all railroads, and that there were no rebates given and no discriminations of any kind between the various shippers, the methods of securing traffic would become very different from what they now are. There would cease to be the temptation to make these secret rates and, in consequence, the only methods by which the railroads might compete would be by improving their service, courtesy of employés, and by generally pointing out the advantages of their particular line.

While desirable results of government management of railways are possible, it is not to be thought that the advantages enumerated in this paper can be at once attained by any government. We are not advocating government ownership or management in the United States at the present time. With our present politics and civic ideals, government ownership or management of transportation would in all probability prove a disastrous failure. There appears to be no good reason, however, why the present conditions of transportation cannot be improved by some increase in the government's power over railroads.

John Burton Phillips.

Boulder, Colo.

GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT—THE VITAL DEMAND OF DEMOCRACY.

By George H. Shibley,
Chairman National Federation for Majority-Rule.

RECENT revelations in our political history clearly indicate that the dominant national issue in this country should be the overthrow of machine-rule by establishing the people's sovereignty, which means the establishment of a direct-vote system for instructing representatives, or the installation of a people's veto (through the optional referendum), and a direct initiative. Until the people possess a final power as to legislation the sovereignty will continue to be vested in the few who compose the party-machines and supply the campaign funds. The improved system is guarded representative government.

The splendid features of this system are but little understood, for most of the research work has been done by professors whose income is dependent upon the trustees of universities the funds of which are largely contributed by monopolists, or by professors in state universities whose tenure of office is dependent upon party politicians. Glorious exceptions are the writings of Professor Frank Parsons, Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, Professor John R. Commons, Dr. C. F. Taylor, and others. But the most striking sentence that has ever been written concerning the people's sovereignty was penned some eight years ago by Professor Jesse Macy, of Iowa College, in a letter from Switzerland to his students.* After examining the Swiss institutions from the standpoint of an expert in political and social science, he declares:

"We cannot be too prompt in reaching the understanding that what we now recognize as democracy is something absolutely new on the face of the earth."

*See the *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1896.

This is the statement of a mature and level-headed scientist. What is the feature that justifies such a startling statement—a statement which contradicts not only the standard works on political and social science, but that emphasizes that which even the Socialist party leaders ignore? The answer is that *the Swiss people are the sovereignty power, and they operate through representative government.* That is the something which is absolutely new on the face of the earth.

What are the changes in the representative system that are caused by the establishment of the people's sovereignty? In the first place bear in mind that the primary change is the establishment of a people's vote through the optional referendum, and the establishment of a direct initiative. *The final power is in the people.*

Some of the striking advantages of these purely democratic measures to safeguard popular government and make democracy an actual fact as well as a popular theory, may be briefly summarrized as follows:

(1) It is no longer profitable for special interests to invest funds in the nomination and election of representatives, for these officials are shorn of power to finally enact legislation of any character, except emergency measures. The representatives can only recommend. The people, however, adopt nearly all the recommendations without a direct vote, for the system is the optional referendum.

(2) There is no incentive to lobby for special-privilege laws, for the passage of such a law by the legislature would meet with a people's veto. "The first effect of the referendum in Oregon," writes the Hon. W. S. U'Ren, "is the comparative

absence of charges of corruption and partisanship in the legislature."

The Oregon legislature, however, refused to give all the affirmative relief that had been promised at election time. A direct nomination system had been promised, but the party-machine refused to give it. A local-option law as to intoxicating beverages had also been promised, and this, too, was refused. Immediately, however, after the adjournment of the legislature, the several interests that had been pushing for these two reforms each printed its bill that had been defeated; they then printed copies of a direct initiative petition, pasted them to their bills, and each circulated several thousand copies throughout the state. After a time the required eight per cent. of signatures was secured for each measure, and the bills went to a direct vote of the people. The direct-nomination system was adopted by a three to one vote, and the local-option measure—the sovereignty of the people as to local measures concerning the liquor question—was established, but by a majority of only two thousand votes, for the management had failed to draw the bill for local-option as to *all* questions. Had they done so, the self-interest of all classes would have caused a sweeping victory.

The submission of a woman's suffrage amendment to the constitution was planned, but a delay in starting the direct initiative petition necessitated the postponement of the vote till the state election of next year—1906.

The result in Oregon affords a practical illustration of the effective operation of popular sovereignty in one of our great commonwealths.

Turning to Switzerland, we find that the people's sovereignty through guarded representative government has existed long enough to bring out clearly its splendid features.

The legislators really represent the people's interests, and their recommendations are nearly always adopted without a vote by the people. Furthermore, these representatives are experts. But, best of all, they are uninstructed, just as are the lawyer and the architect of the sagacious business man; and these expert representatives are continued in their positions as long as they are fitted to discharge their duties, just as are the expert advisers of business men.

Such is the system, not only in the federal congress and cantonal legislatures of Switzerland, but also in the executive departments. The heads of the executive department of the Swiss federal government are elected by the national legislature, and are elected term after term. Since 1874, when the people's veto was adopted, *not a single member of the federal council has been obliged to retire involuntarily.* Thus these executive officers are more free to exercise their own best judgment than is the manager of a private monopoly, for he must cater to the majority of the stockholders and a majority of the board of directors; whereas the Swiss heads of departments are absolutely free to ask for such legislation as they personally believe to be for the best interest of Switzerland. Furthermore, whenever there is a change in the men who own a majority of the stock in a private trust, there is sure to be a change in the presidency of the corporation—a change in the management; but in Switzerland the expert manager continues as long as he is able to serve. And there is no fossilism, for the heads of sub-departments and each clerk are free to offer suggestions, while the federal assembly is the dominant power.

The fundamental reason for these high qualities in the executive department is that the legislative power is not vested in a party organization. The final power is in the people, who therefore leave their agents to exercise their own best judgment, each recommendation being accepted or rejected as thought best. But before the recommendation reaches the people from the cabinet officials, it passes through the body of experts in the federal

assembly, where the procedure of sifting out the salient facts is practically ideal, as the following analysis shows.

The duty of a congress or legislature is to remove such legal restrictions as impede progress, and to apply such legislative measures as will promote the public welfare. Conditions are ever changing. Manifestly the procedure for getting at the facts and principles in connection with proposed legislation is all-important. Here the Swiss have advanced far beyond the dream of Bellamy or of any writer who has had to rely upon imagination.

In Switzerland a greater degree of academic freedom obtains in the colleges, universities and schools than in any other country on the face of the globe; and this fact suggests another important departure from the non-democratic order as found with us. Each proposed change in legislation is subject to the criticism or advocacy of whatever interests are specially affected, which can bring forward the latest word which academic freedom and research have unearthed. This takes place in committee. Afterward there is fair and full debate in committee and in the house, followed by a recorded vote by the expert representatives, who exercise their own best judgment. Then such laws as are enacted lie before the people for ninety days after the adjournment of the legislative body, during which time a petition signed by five per cent. of the voters can carry any one or more of the measures to a campaign and vote by the people. When the measures are being thus considered, either after adjournment or during the campaign which precedes a vote, there is an absence of party prejudices, for the control of the government is not at stake and each individual and organization looks at the proposed law from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest. That, too, is ideal, for wherever a majority vote is in accordance with real self-interest it promotes the general welfare. The people look at the proposed law from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest because the actual facts in the case are brought to their attention. This is accomplished because the system is such that the ruling power—the people—has no incentive to deceive itself. When the time arrives for the referendum vote there is no vote-purchasing, for there is no thought of enacting a special-privilege law (except for a natural monopoly, such as the location of a railroad or county seat), and with no special privilege at stake there is no incentive to purchase votes at referendum elections.

The direct initiative is yet to be described—a most important part of the system. It was adopted in federal Switzerland in 1891. Some declared that the people would thereby be induced to undertake visionary schemes. Only three measures, however, have been put to vote, and two of these were rejected. But the mere existence of the direct initiative has kept the representatives from continuing the intrenched privileges, such as the private-ownership of the paper currency and private-ownership of the railways. *This potential power of the people through a right to the direct initiative is exceedingly valuable.*

Think for a moment what this direct initiative system is. It is a highly-developed court for the trial of social questions. Eight per cent. of the voters can file a bill at any time, which will result in the taking of testimony, the hearing of arguments and a vote by the expert representatives, followed by a campaign before the people and a vote.

Reviewing as a whole the system of guarded representative government, it is seen, (1) that it secures in practical operation a truly democratic government; (2) that it secures the highest character of public service; while (3) it gives the nation the benefit of expert service in the working out and application of the principles relating to social, political, industrial and educational development.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

Washington, D. C.

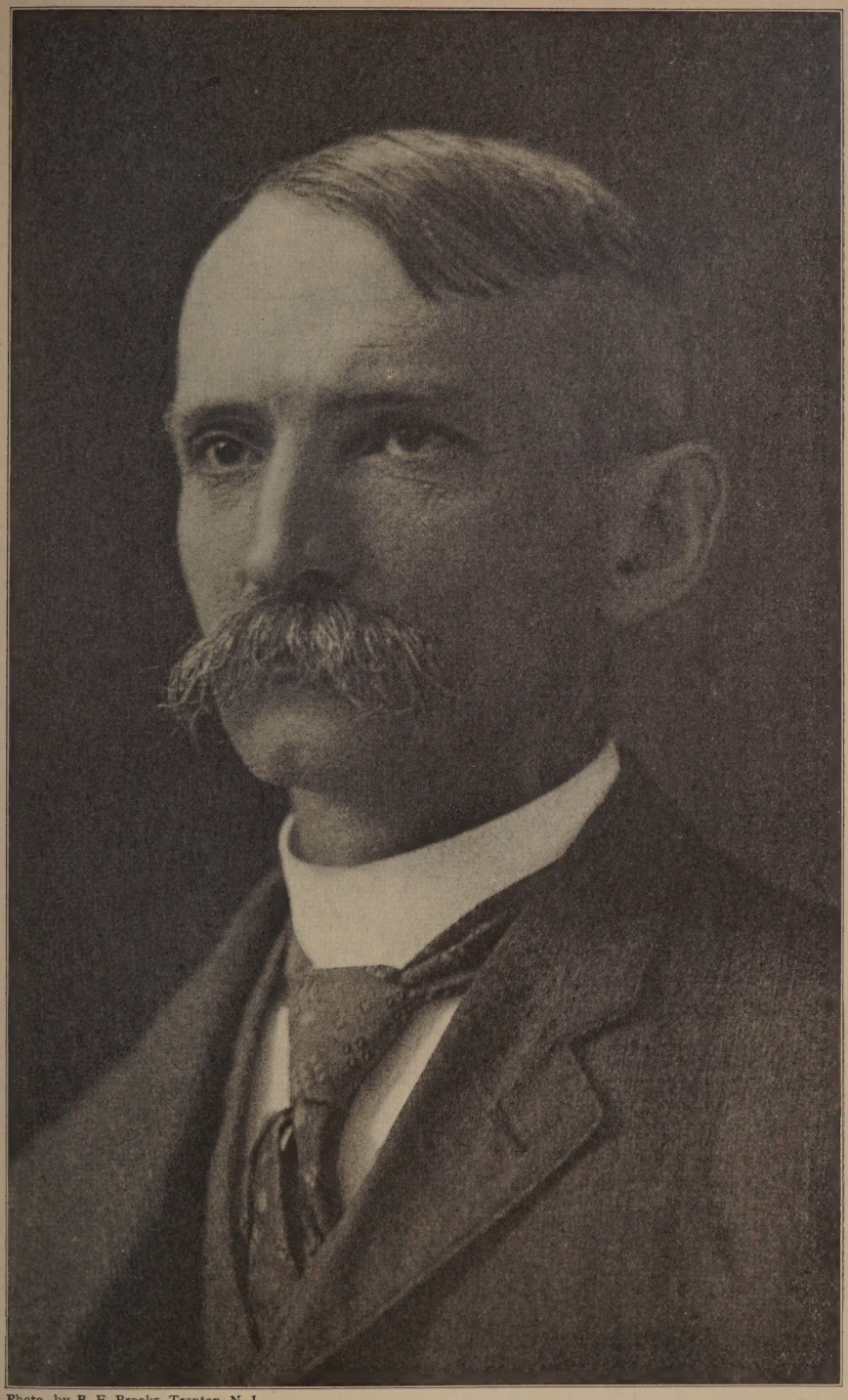


Photo. by B. E. Brooks, Trenton, N. J.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
BRIGHTON BRANCH.

SOCIAL SCARECROWS.

By Linton Satterthwait.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY GARNET WARREN.

A STUDY, however superficial, of the world's social progress must carry the conviction that phantom dangers have played an important part in retarding society's growth and development. While, doubtless, it is nature's rule that the tides of human progress should ebb and flow, there have been periods of stagnation on the social sea when the currents of human thought were balked of their natural, healthful movements, because baseless fear like "birds of calm sat brooding on the charmed wave."

The shrinking, through dread of social upheaval, from progressive change may be ascribed to ignorance, but it would be unjust to charge it to the illiterate. Wisdom does not always attend on learning and oftentimes the world's intelligence resists the growth of its knowledge. It was the fear of the astronomers and scientists of his time that led Copernicus to withhold publication of his system of planetary movements until its correctness could be demonstrated beyond the power of even great scholars to refute. The learning of his day combined to force Galileo to recant his announced discovery of the revolution of the earth. It was the accumulated wisdom of the medical profession which stubbornly resisted the promulgation of Dr. Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood. Ideas now so commonplace that the child imbibes them before the kindergarten stage is passed, once appalled learned men. Thus the progress of our race up from the level of brute life to what we may claim to be at least a fair beginning of civilization, has been over the protests and many times against the cruel opposition of forces which believed themselves protectors of society. These social guardians stood aghast at the prospective triumph of ideas of such merit that now all can see that no man of thought should have feared them any more than a man in his senses would flee from the stuffed sentinels of our cornfields. The specters of social disaster conjured up to frighten timid souls were, indeed, but veritable scarecrows. The nursery of these imaginary social catastrophes has been among that class of vested interests which in their varying forms though constant nature, may, perhaps, be called collectively the conservative and aristocratic elements of society.

It would be folly, however, to disparage the great services of these conservative influences as a check to the popular impulse to inconsiderate change. It is well, in the interest of orderly progress, that the impetuous ardor of youth is tempered by the deliberation of mature age, that over against the charm of novelty is ever set the love of repose. It is fortunate for us all that a taste and reverence for what is old should put to the proof him who would supplant it with something new. It is altogether good that there be a social inertia not too easily overcome by the forces of movement and of change. But a sane, a beneficent conservatism must be reasonable. While it may and should demand of the radical evidence of the soundness of his principles it should and must, in turn, be willing and able to demonstrate the validity of its acts when finally it rejects the proffered effort at reform.

In a contest between reasoning conservatism and an intelligent radicalism we may hope to attain the *juste milieu*, but when conservatism becomes irrational "stand-pattism," there is danger either that by the successful resistance of the one there will result moral dry-rot and widespread social corruption, or by the victory of the other over stolid, brute-like opposition there will follow extravagances

THE GOD OF THE "STAND-PATTERS."

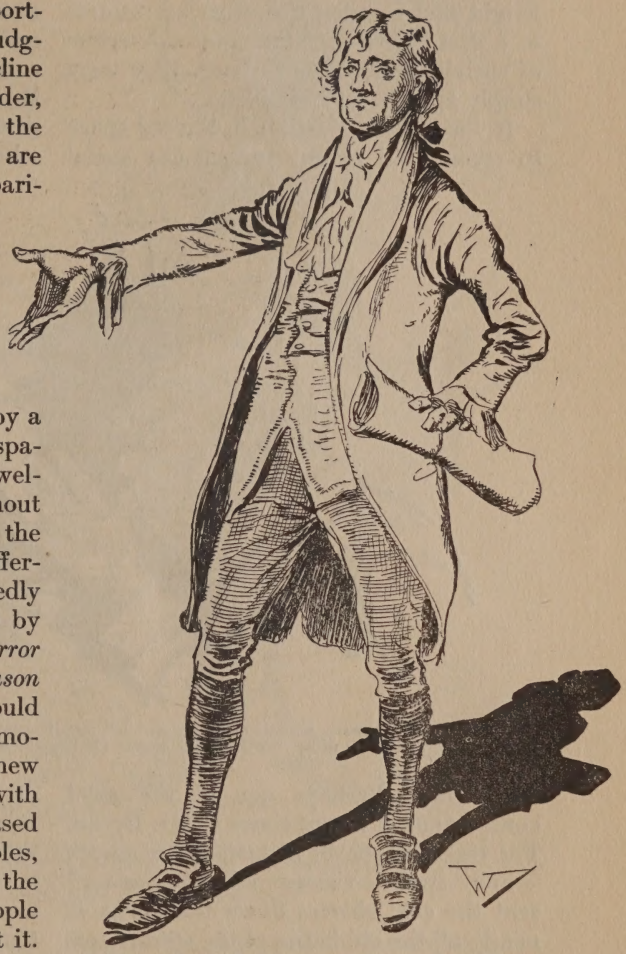
The sacred idol of privileged interests, resting on the backs of the producing and consuming millions, has been one of the chief sources of the enormous fortunes of the few who through the privilege the tariff gives have been enabled to compel the Americans to pay more than others for the same goods. Whenever broad-visioned and unselfish statesmanship seeks to lift this modern idol from the backs of the people, the beneficiaries of the tariff raise the bogie of commercial disaster, which they strive to make the people believe would follow in the wake of a lower tariff.

of uncurbed reforming zeal to be succeeded, in turn, by a swinging of the pendulum back to the reactionary extreme, with its attendant intellectual paralysis and moral decay.

It is, therefore, of the highest importance that they whose interests and judgment—not to say prejudices—incline them towards the established order, should take heed lest they fall into the error to which conservative classes are all too prone, of mistaking a mere apparition for embodied social peril, for by so doing they will deprive the public of their friendly aid and sympathetic counsel in the formative process of inevitable social change.

Let us, in the words of England's poet-laureate, not be "scared by a sounding name." Let new ideas, transparently false though they may seem, be welcomed into the arena of discussion without that feeling of panic which prompts the lodging of their advocates in jail. Jefferson, in his first inaugural address, pointedly rebuked his panic-stricken opponents by declaring that with perfect safety "*error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.*" And we should show our faith in democracy and democratic institutions by giving to every new social theory a fair and full hearing, with the calm assurance that unless it is based on sound social and economic principles, and is reasonably likely to promote the general welfare, the masses of our people can never be prevailed upon to adopt it. We must assume and presume that the average intelligence, when actually exercised, will work out sensible results. To have less faith than this is to discredit democracy.

There is no call for a general hysteria when there looms above the horizon a social movement whose sponsors challenge the correctness, or even the righteousness, of our own long-cherished views and ideals. A general study of the historical instances of social fright over mere scarecrows would be as instructive as amusing. The abolition movement in this country is an illuminating instance. The mob of Boston gentlemen who dragged Garrison through the city's streets,



"Jefferson, in his first inaugural address, pointedly rebuked his panic-stricken opponents by declaring that with perfect safety 'error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.'"

and the almost contemporaneous mob of Philadelphia citizens who burned Pennsylvania Hall, alike bore witness to the fact that society is disposed, even in the persons of its natural leaders, to scent social danger where only deliverance from evil is at hand, and to crucify its truest friends in the mistaken belief that they are its worst foes.

The movement for the repeal of the

corn-laws of England, with which some of the proudest names of the nineteenth-century English history were identified, is another conspicuous example. Aristocratic England believed such men as Bright and Cobden were the forerunners of a destructive socialism and subverters of social order, while in truth they were simply apostles of civic justice.

It would be impossible in limited space to recount all of our present-day social scarecrows. Perhaps one of the most conspicuous of recent times is Mr. Bryan. For years, whenever he opened his mouth—and spoke—visions of "Bryanism" sent the cold shivers down the backs of nearly all the old ladies of the sterner sex, and yet we now see him one of the stanchest supporters of the President's domestic policies, while his ideas of financial honor can scarcely suffer in comparison with the lately-revealed financial principles of many of his severest critics, who seduously stimulated the belief that his success would usher in a social cataclysm. It may not seem over-rash to suggest that even had Mr. Bryan been elected President, the rains would have continued to fall upon the just and unjust alike, and every patriot with a job would have clung to his salary as long as possible and thus helped to steady our globe until it should have ceased its wobbling.

Another scarecrow, which is keeping many of our martially-inclined citizens awake at nights, is the fear of invasion by some foreign power. This scarecrow, if a mixed metaphor may be permitted, is the favorite bird of our strenuous President. It can inspire with terror only where there is a lack of faith in the reality of Christian civilization and progress. It may be within the range of possibility that some adventurous Raisuli might launch a fleet of cat-boats and sailing unexpectedly into New York harbor attempt to carry off Mr. Rockefeller, or some other multi-millionaire, in order to secure a ransom of "tainted money," but no sane man would worry over that possibility; nor, in my judgment, is there any greater reason in that fear of foreign aggression, the possibility of which is made the excuse for a studied effort to divert the nation's thoughts from the culture of the arts of civilization to the contemplation and exaltation of the "pomp, pride and circumstance of glorious war."

"For years, whenever he opened his mouth—and spoke—visions of 'Bryanism' sent the cold shivers down the backs of nearly all the old ladies of the sterner sex."

Another particularly amusing social scarecrow, whose tattered clothes with

the straws protruding from the sleeves are frequently presented to our view, is the fear that should the ballot be given to women there would be a general overturning of our social system and a destruction of family life. This is not a plea for woman's suffrage. I believe there is much that can be said in favor of equal suffrage and doubtless much that might, with truth, be said against it, but I do not think I have heard a word or read a line in opposition which approached the dignity of argument. Let the reasons urged for and against equal suffrage be calmly weighed with that gravity which becomes the consideration of the question of extending the suffrage to one-half of our adult citizens, and let those who fear that social and domestic chaos would come from permitting women to register by the ballot their opinions on public questions, be reassured by the declaration of a woman's suffrage woman "that so long as human nature remains the same, so long will woman cling to men and babies lie in women's laps."

"Mr. Bryan's ideas of financial honor can scarcely suffer in comparison with the lately-revealed financial principles of many of his severest critics, who sedulously stimulated the belief that his success would usher in a social cataclysm."

Another familiar scarecrow is the one conjured up by those who are alarmed at the theories of the single-taxers. The horrors of confiscation, with all its lurid possibilities, are held up to our startled view with the result that comparatively few of us have given to the followers of Henry George an honest hearing. And yet their system, so far as it has been revealed, is based upon the fundamentally just proposition that he who by industry creates shall enjoy the fruits of his labor. If that system can be shown to be practicable and the people should think it desirable in practice, one need not fear but that a way can be found to put it in operation without greater social injustice than is the inseparable accompaniment of the present taxing system.

Another scarecrow is the fear of industrial ruin, perhaps blight on the crops and the spread of murrain among the cattle, if the sacred tariff-schedules should be modified with the view of making it more nearly possible for American citizens to dispose of the products of their own labor as they may desire. This privilege appears to be closely akin to one of those absolute rights of individuals, the securing of which forms the basis of all constitutional government, but the prospect

"It may be within the range of possibility that some adventurous Raisuli might launch a fleet of cat-boats and sailing unexpectedly into New York harbor attempt to carry off Mr. Rockefeller . . . in order to secure a ransom of 'tainted' money."

of its realization probably would fill entire communities with terror. It is evident that belief in magic is still fondly cherished, and to the believers this scarecrow is very real. It would appear that the working of economic laws is thought to be controlled by parallels of latitude and longitude, and that what one may advantageously do with his own west of a given meridian or south of a given parallel, if done east of that meridian or north of that parallel would be injurious in the extreme. From the founding of our government absolute freedom of interchange of property—modified by railroad discrimination—has existed within our borders and now prevails over an area almost as large as Europe. This unqualified liberty of action in the disposal of one's acquisitions within our boundaries is admittedly beneficial to the nation as a whole, though no doubt, at times, destructive to some, and it is hardly likely that partial liberty of action in such disposal of one's belongings across the boundary-lines would give to our prosperity a final overthrow. Let those whose imaginations have been fed on the spectral horrors of unrestricted trade, reflect that no statistics have yet proven that the auspiciousness of seasons or the fertility of the soil is affected by tariff-rates, and that the industrious farmer applying his labor to the responsive soil, when rain and sunshine favor, is the source of all our prosperity, the creator of our national wealth.

Another scarecrow, most inconsistently set up, is the danger of dire social consequences should there be a general municipalization of public utilities,—more especially of the transportation service of our cities. Inasmuch as nearly all of our cities have in some degree adopted municipal-ownership, it would seem to be merely a question of practical expediency as to the extension of the system. Yet the supposedly unfavorable report on municipal-ownership made by Mr. Dalrymple, of Glasgow, is exultingly seized upon as demonstrating the futility and the danger of the movement in favor of public-ownership of public utilities in the United States. What Mr. Dalrymple seems to have really done was to tell us, in a courteous way, what was already known to intelligent Americans, that, in general, our municipal politics are too corrupt for the present extension of governmental activities. More general municipal-ownership under existing conditions might mean simply more general corruption. Under a city government conducted on the basis of graft, any department, probably, would be better in private hands. In fact, either the graft or the government itself must be abol-

"Another scarecrow which is keeping many of our martially-inclined citizens awake at nights is the fear of invasion by some foreign power. This scarecrow, if a mixed metaphor may be permitted, is the favorite bird of our strenuous President."

ished. For under corruption unrestrained government breaks down. Its functions are perverted and with inverse activities its machinery, which was designed for the protection of the people, becomes the instrument of their spoliation. Thus in Philadelphia the police department—which all will concede should be a proper subject of municipal-ownership and whose primary function is to guard virtue and uphold the law—became an organization for the propagation of vice and the promotion of lawlessness and crime. Yet the failure of a system of publicly-employed police in Philadelphia did not show that there is social danger in "municipal" police. It merely proved that corruption can make any public department a menace to the public. The good sense of the American people can be trusted to see that if it be decided to adopt more extended municipal-ownership, the methods of administering city governments must first be reformed and that their civil service must, as a matter of paramount concern, be wrested from the grip of spoils-mongering politicians. Men in their senses will cry out, not at the danger of municipal-ownership, but at the peril from the corruption which makes municipal-ownership undesirable.

Still another scarecrow is the fear of socialism if our railway systems should, as seems probable, ultimately pass under state or national ownership and control. Doubtless many good people regard the proposition to nationalize the railroads as fraught with extreme peril in its social-

istic tendencies, and yet these same good people daily walk and drive on highways maintained by the public for their free use, under a system more viciously socialistic, by far, than would be the maintenance and operation of our steam and water-highways through public-ownership, for the public use, at the charge of that part of the public actually using them. Public-ownership may or may not be desirable, but let the question be considered and decided in accordance with the actual situation and not in the fear of the ghost of "socialism."

Then there is the movement in favor of socialism itself. Surely, it will be said, the advocates of socialism are the foes of social order, and to be alarmed at their propaganda is not to be frightened at a scarecrow. And yet there is no reason why the socialists should not be given a patient, even sympathetic, hearing. It is neither wise nor just to meet their appeals with denunciation and to reply to their arguments with epithets. I own that I am not convinced that, with human nature as it is, their schemes can be practically applied so as to relieve social misery and distress, yet, in spite of the vagaries and extravagances of some of their members, their movement bears evidence that it is inspired by a desire for social justice, and undoubtedly it finds its chief strength and support to-day in the existence of social injustices which we all must recognize, however much we may honestly question the remedies proposed. The more intelligent and cultivated socialists profess to believe that the principles of Christianity can be applied as a working system in every-day practical life. This belief is so foreign to the dominant spirit of the times that perhaps we may smile at their simplicity, but we can hardly, with good taste, decry their faith.

Even socialism, then, may be regarded patiently by us all, in the serene confidence that should the movement ever command the support of the body of the nation, it will be when and because the system will have become such that we can tolerate, yes, possibly even welcome it.

The thought, then, upon social scarecrows is this: That whatever social change, now or in the future, may be urged, we should refuse to be frightened from the exercise of our reason in testing its merits or defects by hysterical predictions of calamities to come. I grant that we should preserve a conservative attitude of hesitancy towards the most plausible of advocates, as did Æthelbert of England when he replied to Augustine, who was preaching the Christian religion to him: "Your words are fair, but they are new and of doubtful meaning."

We should be sane ourselves if we would insist upon and expect sanity in others. We should, if we are loyal Americans, have faith in democratic institutions, in the ultimate righteousness of democracy—a faith proof against the attacks of a popular hysteria, a faith grounded in reason and justice.

> "Like a statue solid-set
> And moulded in colossal calm."

All this faith, however, is based upon an *if*—a pregnant *if*—that our democracy be not corrupted. For if the people be corrupted, then there is no rock of civic faith to which the believers in democratic ideals can cling. This is no scarecrow. The peril from corruption is as real as the blindness of our conservative classes to its reality is profound. The danger of this corruption, however, springs not from those who are crying for social changes, but it comes from among those who flaunt scarecrows in our faces to deter us from social change.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.
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A PHYSICIAN'S VIEW OF THE DIVORCE QUESTION.

By A. D. Bush, M.D.,
Professor of Anatomy and Gynecology in the New Orleans University.

WHEN so much is being written on the conservative side of the divorce question, it is perhaps appropriate that an examination should be made of the matter from the more liberal standpoint, if for no better reason than the clearing away of some of the rubbish always about a mooted question. Clergy are discussing, synods are solemnly debating, and legislators are deliberating the increasingly momentous question. Opinions range from the rigidly strict view of the Roman church, refusing to recognize divorce on any ground, to the free-and-easy laxity of the ultra set who urge as sufficient grounds pretexts well-nigh anarchistic; but the opinion most widely expressed is that divorce should be granted on one ground only—namely, where the defendant to the suit has been proven guilty of the statutory offence of adultery. For this offence divorce may be obtained in any state except South Carolina, where the marriage contract is held inviolable. This is the opinion vigorously upheld by the majority of the Protestant churches, and the opinion that many are earnestly desirous to have crystallized into a federal law. But that this opinion is not so generally held by the laity is sufficiently evidenced by the varying state-laws fixing the status of the marriage relation. Aside, however, from the divergence of laws which apparently make ethics a matter determinable by temporal or geographical relationships, it may fairly be inquired if this limited opinion is strictly defensible.

It is immediately apparent that in a discussion of this kind, some common ground must be first taken. There must ordinarily be established a basis of absolute justice which shall serve as a criterion for estimating the value of any evidence used in establishing any claim. No legal enactment can serve as such a criterion, for man-made law, when not, as in the great majority of instances, the conclusion of the moment's expediency, is but the consensus of fallible temporal opinion. Neither will tradition suffice, since tradition but represents the opinion prevailing at the time the doctrine was formulated. Obviously, moreover, the moral code laid down in any of the sacred writings will not be adequate, since, aside from ethnic and autochthonic limitations, such ethical systems are in some respects mutually exclusive, and claims of superiority by the one would not be tolerated by the others. More specifically still, the principles ascribed to Christ may not be accepted as ultimate truth; since (unto those who accept the divinity of Christ) eminent Bible critics declare it impossible to determine whether any given precept is the word of Jesus or an interpolation by compiler or commentator; and (for those who do not accept Christ as divine) any precept may contain in itself the same elements of human fallacy as are noticeable in the Gadarene story. A further difficulty exists in the discrepancy between the law as enunciated in Matthew 5:32, and that given in Mark 10:2–12. Some deeper, more nearly universal, standard must be sought; one independent of time or place, and dependent on man's mind for interpretation only. Such a criterion is found in nature.

The fundamental destiny of man, as far as is directly cognizable, is the reproduction of his species. Except self-preservation, no other duty is paramount, no other impulse so imperative. It follows, then, that parenthood is the inherent right of every normal creature. To this prerogative are united, by necessity, other

privileges. If a woman (one sex alone will be considered, for the sake of brevity) —if a woman has the natural right to become a mother, she has the related right, limited by her environment, of securing for her child the best possible father. Moreover, she has the right—which the State should selfishly guard—of bringing that child unto life and maturity under the best attainable conditions for the perfecting of a worthy citizen. Again, if an unborn child can be said to have any rights, it, as a potential parent, has the right to be nobly conceived and well born; and, as a corollary, the child, once born, has a right to as elevating an environment as local conditions can possibly allow. The major premise being granted, and its related inferences being of necessity conceded, it inevitably follows that any enactment which interferes with the attainment of truest parenthood is not only unjust to the individual, but is inimical to the highest welfare of the State. There should be no legal violation of the spirit of the natural law—the right of each normal individual to progressive parenthood.

A majority of the states recognize as sufficient grounds for divorce the following: adultery, cruelty, desertion, drunkenness, conviction of felony, neglect to provide, and impotency; a few recognize mental unsoundness as ample reason for separation. Of all these, the Protestant church denies sufficiency unto any but the first; and it must be confessed that this denial is based not upon sweet reasonableness, but upon a declaration of Scripture and an alleged fear that any other ground imperils the safety of the home. The Scriptural reason cannot obtain since, aside from the question of its authenticity, it denies to a deserted woman, for instance, the natural right to a motherhood for which she was destined. If Christ really spake the words ascribed to him in Matthew 5:32, he must have spoken with no greater authority than when he referred to Jonah's sojourn in the cetacean's interior; for no command from a court of Absolute Justice would take so little cognizance of a woman's natural equity. A God of Justice would not deny to any woman her right to the heritage of motherhood solely because she had previously been unfortunate in her loving. Justice does not demand punishment but kindly guidance unto future improvement, and so would not repress the woman but would encourage her that her virtues might be transmitted unto future generations.

As to the imperilling of the home, it is difficult to discern wherein the man who leaves his wife and family to the cold mercies of the world, or who cruelly abuses her, is any less guilty of ruining the home than he who longs for the spouse of Uriah; and children can develop far more healthfully in a step-parent's home where love abounds than in the unwholesome atmosphere of conjugal infelicity. He who is cruel unto his wife and thereby interferes with the proper evolution of her destiny, and instills potential cruelty in the minds of their offspring; he who deserts his wife, thereby depriving her of a spiritual coadjutor and a legal coëfficient; he who by habitual drunkenness or felonious misdemeanors renders himself morally unfit for begetting offspring or assisting in their training; he who neglects to provide for his wife, thereby forcing her to borrow of her maternal energy for the maintenance of daily existence; he who is physically unable to consummate the pact, or is mentally incompetent to propagate brains,—each and all violate the purpose of marriage and infringe on the other's rights. By our criterion of justice the legal wife of such an individual has an inborn right to disconnect herself from him and become united to one who will complete the fundamental epochs of her evolution. This right, when purposively fulfilled, results not in an imperilment of the social fabric, but in a true elevation of the home and the State. The old idea that such a marriage involves adultery is

based on an artificial conception of the content of adultery. When a man has forfeited his marital privileges, by that forfeiture he becomes morally dead to the woman, and by a divorce decree is in essence so pronounced legally. Her subsequent marriage is in no wise dissimilar to the remarriage of a widow. The moral elements are in each case identical.

But if the Protestant position is untenable, what shall be said of the Roman Catholic, which has a stronger Scriptural warrant than the Reformer's? The Catholic position is founded on the alleged words of Christ as recorded in the tenth chapter of Mark's Gospel, by which words the marriage tie is made indissoluble. What, then, has an aggrieved wife no recourse? Replies Rome: If they cannot abide in peace together, let them dwell apart; there can be no divorce. And so this woman, endowed with all the beautiful potentialities of divine motherhood, must either bring into the world lust-conceived offspring, or, because of having ignorantly accepted a man, be henceforth deprived of her inherent rights! Is this justice? Is this our highest conception of equity? Do we thus conceive a God of Truth who would so deny a creature's destiny? "They are one flesh! What God has joined together, let no man put asunder!" But God is Good; and by the evidence of their very infelicity, it is proven that God—*i. e.*, Good—did not join them together, and that they were never truly married. A legal physical tie existed, but never were they united in that exalted spiritual sense which is implied when we say that the Highest Good has joined together. A priest may have spoken those words of Scripture, but without sealing a spiritual bond. The facts of nature show a higher warrant; and they demand that the pious assumption which makes acts of the church *de ipso facto* acts of God be relegated to the limbo of worn-out pretensions.

Following nature still as a guide, it is immediately evident that any attempt to cure the ills of society by locking those ills within is unscientific and unavailing. Divorce laws are but as oases to succor weary stragglers in a matrimonial Sahara. To remove the spring and the palms will not rid the land of its sandy wastes. Some more intelligent policy must be adopted. Many urge greater restrictions on the embarking pair; and this might decrease somewhat the present difficulty, opposed as are such plans to the usual polity of a government ("It was once declared in the British House of Lords that to try to prevent marriage was the blackest of all political sins"). But there is but one true solution—a long, seemingly-endless task, to wit: the reclamation of the desert. Not until fathers and mothers adopt a life consecrated to the welfare of their children; not until the State teaches the physiology of life and its relation to the well-being of the individual; not until the individual learns to live, not in the cellar but in the high temple of his being—will marriage become in truth a holy institution. Not until marriage shall have become idealized to the *art* of reincarnating the noblest attributes of the parents, will divorce-courts and laws have faded away. Until then, since reproduction is a human destiny, and since each has a normal right to the highest environment thereto, let us seek not those laws of repression which injure both man and the State, but those higher laws which, while following natural leadings, yet ever serve to uplift and ennoble.

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TWO SOULS IN ONE BODY: A REALISTIC BUT SCIENTIFIC ACCOUNT OF A TRUE PSYCHOLOGICAL CASE.

By William Lee Howard, M.D.

THE RECENT case of an eminent professor who was found acting as a waiter in a Bowery dive, is not such an extraordinary example of double personality as may at first appear. As the science of physiologic psychology, that study of the function of the brain—the mind—which is based on physiologic knowledge, is more and more understood, these weird and distressing cases of alternating personalities are becoming of the utmost importance. To the general reader, cases of women who have lived as men and men who have lived as women, are more or less familiar. But these are not true cases of double personalities, for these individuals always retain the same mental and psychical attitudes; the masquerading is for some personal reason, but their egos are constantly under their own and only control. A true example of double personality is where one body contains two souls. These souls are distinct entities and unrecognizable to each other. This dualism causes, at certain intervals, dissolution of unity of the existing personality, and makes hell a subjective reality. One personality takes possession of the body at certain periods, the one in command playing its sinister *rôle* as absolute ruler of the body; then, as though exhausted by its fiendish moral holocaust, hides in some dark, remote recesses of the brain while its twin soul, perhaps the power of a God-fearing man or virtuous maid, solemnly guides and owns the body until the jealous other ego again violently and suddenly breaks forth in its commanding power. Which, in such a case, is the real person you know?

Some of the cases that have come under my observation suggest atavistic traces of savage life; some, growth and outbreak of less remote inheritance whose germ-cells retained the potentialities of a criminal or a bad, loathsome woman.

The body and mind that friends call a woman may at certain periods break away from home, and as a tramp or lewd person wander abroad with no realization of its other personality; then, after weeks or months, it will return to its other self, its publicly-accepted form, with no recognition of its past self, the ambulant female hobo. You cannot, from a scientific view-point, say she is insane during these periods, for each is a distinct personality sane in itself. Which is the true self? You would be inclined to say the period of goodness and morality, but may not this be an artificially developed personality and the real personality the one in which she reverts to her ancestral or barbaric life of the past? Likewise we may have the quiet, law-abiding man suddenly disappear from his community, all trace of him lost for weeks. Unexpectedly he returns, a physical wreck, unable to tell of his whereabouts during the interval, his mind a blank—a hiatus—concerning his reasons for leaving a cheerful home and loving family and with but a dim, hazy memory of what caused him to return. An unaccountable murder has taken place meanwhile, one that mystifies the shrewdest of men. The body and hands of the murderer are now living the moral, upright life; his present self is ignorant, innocent of what the incarnate savage personality that controlled him has done. This beast-self is what was passed on to him in germ-cells, and its acts are ancestral revenge, or perhaps the hunger for human blood, a savage appetite that must be satisfied. His sudden disappearance was an echo of ancient forays. Why should some be so cursed

that the flood-gates of atavism are periodically opened and the animal instincts of a remote past pour over the instincts of reason and for a certain length of time stop the song of life?

These cyclic psychoses are partly explainable, but only to those who have a full and broad understanding of biology and physiology. One fact I wish to distinctly stand forth before telling the true story of one of these single bodies with two souls; that is, that crime is misdirection and often amenable to discipline, but alternating personalities with complete blotting of egos is a psychologic problem not yet controllable.

The time has arrived when in the name of truth and justice, for the sake of those who come after us and for the making of a stronger feeling of brotherhood, certain facts should be given publicity. Too long have facts of vital importance to humanity been hidden among the bookshelves of narrow-minded physicians or secretly locked up by modern cant and hypocrisy. It is puritanical cowardice to refrain from telling facts occurring in Nature's many warnings, and if by plain speaking I can drop a hint of instruction as to the curse of a bad inheritance, I care not if I shock the smug doctor or the many assuming prudes, both of whom have, the one obscured, and the other perverted, facts happening in the reproduction of the human race. Many will ask, after reading the following story of Jennie and Karl: "Was anything like this known before?" Yes; medical psychologic literature is full of analogous cases. One case reported long before science seriously took up this study was that of one Laport, who at sixteen was predominantly a girl and at sixty-five a man.

In a room facing one of the old squares, where still reside many of New York's original and real aristocracy, sits a young man reading a theological work. His figure is slight, and as he rises and goes toward the window there is the appearance of the diligent student. His feet are small and his hands delicate. As he walks he gives you the impression of adolescent awkwardness. But the man is twenty-eight years old and a theological student. Knowing this you will say, if you are a medical man, that his physical appearance is due to arrested development. There is nothing displeasing in face or form, except that to the athlete the man would appear as a fit subject for exercise. The table is piled with books in orderly disorder. The daily and weekly papers are scattered on a divan, and pipes and tobacco litter a small table. There are a few college photographs hung on the walls, as well as one or two excellent examples of the modern French school of paintings. The room in all its appurtenances and effects is masculine; it has a positive atmosphere.

The man runs his slender fingers through his long, blonde hair, takes up a pipe and after lighting it commences to read aloud. His voice is pitched in a low and well-bred tone. It shows cultivation by the control and cadence. It is humanly masculine. The reading is difficult; it is done with decided effort; one notices this by the restlessness of the man and the verbal repetitions. Gradually his head drops between his hands, great tremors convulse his delicate frame, his body shakes and his limbs spasmodically writhe. He passes his hands over his chin twice, thrice, then constantly, nervously, passionately. His hands, anon his fingers, are seeking something. Oh! how piteously they try to search out some sign, some hope that it is not so. In despair a strange voice cries out: "No, no; I am no longer a man. See, see, see; there are no signs of a beard where you know there were yesterday. Yes, it stopped growing last night! Oh, this horror, horror. Mother of Mercies! cannot this vampire thing, my soul-sister, be killed, crushed in me? Something dim but body-chilling hangs over me. I have been told——Oh, this beast of me; this foul monster of a fouler ancestor. Stop!"

—and now the voice had some resemblance to the former reader—"Do n't, do n't *you* go. Good God! what will you do with my body this time?" There was a moaning sigh, the hands tore at the neck in agonizing despair, then the hyphenated personalities rolled the body into the student's chair. Deep silence and tremors are the only objective signs you see of the fearful struggle going on in the helpless frame. The two persons in this one frame of flesh have strengthened themselves by years of fruitless contests. One has lived its calm and studious life for the past four weeks, but now must give way to its cursed soul-partner. There is a final struggle, for "the worm that never dies" has entered and now owns for its beastly orgies the obedient body. As this is taking place there seems to be an echo of the dying entity of the man, for the student voices the invective of a decadent son upon a sire, but for whose vices he might have been normally born. The curses on his father are as haunting and characteristic of our modern stupidity in allowing the unfit to marry, as the curse of Atreus' time for ancient Greece. Then, as though Death himself had rallied to the piteous call, the student Karl falls to the floor. With fixed eyes he remains for a moment motionless. Then a great, startlingly great, change comes over the body. A flush appears on his cheeks and the smile of a woman controls his now reddened lips. Fear and horror have fled, and joy is rampant through the wide eyes of desire. The Prince of Darkness has sprung from his abode and the *man* no longer exists; a woman's soul has entered and her character is devilized.

On the approach of darkness a daintily-attired young woman leaves the house and takes a cross-town car. Her gown is of fine silk and laces. Handsome rings are on her fingers and valuable jewels are on her wrists and around her neck. Her feet are incased in pretty and artistic stockings of silk, over which are little, white-kid shoes. As she gracefully lifts her skirts it is seen that her lingerie is of elegant material, in fact much time, thought and money have been given to these details. She leaves the car at Eleventh avenue and mincingly picks her way across the street. Her walk is remarkably graceful, her figure and movements pleasing and her actions modest and innocent-appearing. It is a dark night, but she seems to know her way, for there is no hesitancy when she reaches a big gate that is the entrance to a wood-yard. The gate is open just enough to allow a small person to slip through, and in goes Jennie. As she passes up the small alleys made by the lumber-piles she is greeted by low and coarse voices:

"Hello, Jen. Soy, Jennie, me solo; de gang 's waitin'."

"Cut dat out, youse, er Red Mike 'll chuck yer," shouted an authoritative tough. "Let his bunch of glad rags 'lone. Yer want ter hike yer graft?"

Jennie made no reply but fearlessly and happily went on. Emerging at the other end of the yard she crosses a narrow, dirty street to a basement-entrance, where stood two specimens of Hell's Kitchen's gang.

"All ter de good, Jen.," one remarked as the girl lifted up her skirts and descended.

She entered a dark, opprobious den of shame, the "hang out" of Red Mike's gang, "The Sheeny Skinners." Before she could distinguish distinctly those around her she was roughly picked up and thrown with force on a wooden-bench. She was then vilely cursed, and as the foul, red-headed tough grabbed her up again he bit her. A sigh of rapture was her response. Again he caught her and furiously clasped his filthy hands on her neck, while he pushed and twisted the girl into a corner. She remained motionless, as though mortally injured. One of the beetle-browed degenerates in this human sty approached her and lifted a hand with the intention of taking the rings from her fingers. Her idol, wolf-brained Mike, sprang at him hitting him as he bent over, following the blow up by a

vicious kick on the head, rendering the brute unconscious. In a few moments Jennie rose, embraced the leader of the gang and unclasping a handsome gold garter gave it to her master.

Five days after, late in the night, a tawdrily-dressed, wan, old-looking woman dragged her way along the streets. She was repulsive to look upon and shook and muttered like one who had been on a protracted alcoholic debauch. One eye was closed by an ugly-looking wound, while numerous marks and bruises were on her face and neck. She had walked from Eleventh avenue, not having car-fare. She found the basement of the student's house and mechanically felt in a corner, where, covered by dirt, she found a key. Miserable now, without any clear recognition of a distinct personality, this mere connecting link of two souls entered Karl's room. It looked around in a dazed, inquiring manner, then suddenly, as though impelled by some inward fury, began to tear off the rags of the woman. Every piece of clothing on her bruised body was torn aside and hurled with rabid vehemence into a corner. Then came deep-welling cries of fear, interspersed with the moans of a hidden but beaten spirit. A moment of silence ensued, but was soon broken by a loud, strident call, accompanied by a rush into the adjoining bedroom where the racked body was literally thrown on the bed by some powerful and unknown force. There were visible tremors in the muscles, the facial expression changed from weariness to fright, then to wonder. There was the shaking of a severe chill which merged into the rigidity of death, followed by complete relaxation as the maleficient soul of Jennie passed into space, but only to gather again in course of time its hell-born fury.

Three days after this dissolution of Jennie, Karl leaves his room. His eyes are bright, there are no marks of violence on face or body, but there is the three-days' growth of beard. Karl takes up the book where Karl left off reading, and now the mind of Karl has no trouble in working the problems set before the student.

William Lee Howard, M.D.
Baltimore, Md.

THE VITAL ISSUE IN THE PRESENT BATTLE FOR A GREAT AMERICAN ART.

AN EDITORIAL SKETCH AND A CONVERSATION WITH FRANK EDWIN ELWELL.

By B. O. Flower.

SEPTEMBER the sixth was one of those glorious early autumn days when, after a period of heat and rain, nature waves her magic wand until the oppressive humidity vanishes before the clean, fresh, invigorating breeze charged with the ozone that makes all sentient beings thrill with new life. I was seated on the broad veranda of the charming home—I use the term advisedly—of the eminent sculptor, Frank Edwin Elwell, at Weehawken, New Jersey. About two hundred feet below us the Hudson, freighted with ships, boats and barges, flowed into the ocean. Beyond was the pulsing, throbbing, restless life of the New World's chief metropolis.

My journey had led me to the home of the man around whom of late the friends of unfettered and vital art—a noble, free art, worthy of the New World and the great Republic—had so enthusiastically rallied because there had suddenly arisen the old and yet ever new struggle which

at different points and in ever-varying forms is constantly being waged between the light and the darkness, progress and reaction, democracy and imperialism; between freedom, originality and sincerity, and sordid, craven bondage, servile imitation and the shallow artificiality that caters to ignorant and vulgar wealth and ever

> "Crooks the pregnant hinges of the knee
> Where thrift may follow fawning."

I wished to express my gratitude—the gratitude that every true democrat must feel, for the man who has become the storm-center in a battle big with possibilities for a great American art and upon the issue of which hangs far more than many of our most sincere artists realize; for it is fundamental in character and is therefore intimately related to all the other kindred battles that are going on along the firing-line of progress and which hold a vital relationship to advance, freedom, character and democracy.

The war that is on to-day is one, though the armies are many; and though they are fighting on different highways, the eyes of the leaders are consciously or unconsciously riveted on the same glorious goal. In political life democracy or the genius of free government is combatting reaction, class-rule, militarism and imperialism. In the domain of economics the battle is between the people and privilege—between the millions of producers and consumers demanding equality of opportunities and of rights, and the favored few who through monopoly rights and other special privileges are becoming the overshadowing peril of the Republic. In the field of literature the practical idealists and the friends of enlightened veritism are alike warring with the reactionary dilettanteism which, innocent of moral virility, seeks the smile of privileged interests by substituting the vicious formula, "Art for art's sake," for those of "Art for justice and utility" and "Art for progress." In religion the conflict is between the spirit and the letter, freedom and bondage. Here on the one hand we have the forces that are attempting to bring man back to unquestioning allegiance to iron-bound creeds and dogmas, or to the authority of the church that assumes through fallible men to render infallible dicta; and on the other hand we have those who hold that the letter killeth and the spirit maketh alive, that the cage confines and makes ineffective the free, soaring mind, and that in the great fundamental moral verities and spiritual truths that must ever be the foundation of character and that from religion's shrines have been the inextinguishable lights that in all ages have shone through the darkness of superstition, dogmas, ignorance and fanatical bigotry, is found the true Grail that exalts, purifies, ennobles, enriches and glorifies human life. And finally, in the realm of art the battle is being fought between those who stand for sane and normal freedom and who though true to the basic principles of art refuse to be copyists or imitators, holding that this land and age should produce an art great enough to embody at once all that is finest and best in the art of other lands and times while shadowing forth something of the soul of democracy—something of the larger, truer life of our day, and, on the other hand, those who for the favor or the lucre of parvenue wealth are ready to subordinate the vital demands of art and those who, imbued with the soul-stagnating spirit of modern commercialism or the reactionary spirit of organization, would form a trust where the measuring-rod of mediocrity would become paramount and where, however pure and sincere might be the motives of the founders of such a trust, the result would inevitably sooner or later lead here as elsewhere to favoritism counting more than merit and in subserviency to the master or ruling spirits in the organization being essential to success.

I had come to the home of Mr. Elwell to have a conversation with the eminent sculptor and the honest and fearless man whose recent expulsion by brute force from his honorable position which he

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INTELLIGENCE

F. EDWIN ELWELL, SCULPTOR

had filled with conspicuous distinction, by one accounted a tool of the worst element in New York art life, had served to emphasize afresh the character and import of the great battle that is being waged at the present time in the art centers of America between the forces of progress and those of reaction. Here again the gauntlet had been thrown down by a sordid, brutal, commercialistic element at the feet of genius and art; but here, as time and again in the past, men of character, genius, independence and thought had been quick to realize the peril lying in the arrogant presumption of reactionary elements and of that gross commercialism that imagines that the possession of wealth entitles it to imperial and autocratic power, and from every hand artists and the friends of art have rallied to the side of the sculptor.

As seated with Mr. Elwell I was looking over the scores upon scores of letters received from eminent men—sculptors such as St. Gaudens, for example, William Ordway Partridge and others prominent in various fields of artistic endeavor—I said to my host: "These letters, the loyal stand taken in the papers by the finer and better element among our artists, and the enthusiasm with which they have come to your defence in the studios, at banquets and in the clubs, remind me of the stirring days when Victor Hugo aroused the fiercest opposition of fossilized classicism and electrified Young France by his outspoken demand for liberty in art, which was quickly followed by the literary revolution known as romanticism. At that time the reactionaries sought in every way in their power to crush Hugo. When he wrote his play 'Marion Delorme,' they appealed to the censors and the king to prevent its publication, on the grounds that besides being in violation of the ironclad rules that governed the classical compositions, it might impair the stability of the throne and the established order. Accordingly the play was suppressed. Nothing daunted, Hugo immediately wrote 'Hernani.' Here they employed the same tactics, but Young France had become thoroughly aroused and the rising tide of public indignation warned the king that however much he might wish to become 'the law,' it was not a propitious time for him to attempt further interference; so the play was announced. Then Hugo learned that the hired *claqueurs* who were always employed to help a play on the first night from becoming a failure and without whose services an opening performance was supposed to be foredoomed to failure, had been hired by the classicists to 'queer' the production by applauding out of season. Then Théophile Gautier gathered around him one hundred of the brilliant young virile authors, sculptors, artists and critics of the day, including Alexander Dumas, De Vigny, Emile Deschamps, Sainte Beuve, Soumet and Alfred de Musset. These young champions of romanticism volunteered to become the *claqueurs* for Hugo, and arrayed in gorgeous but fantastic garments secured prominent places in the theater. The classicists also turned out in full force, determined by the aid of the hired *claqueurs* to prevent the performance from having the semblance of success. During two acts almost pandemonium reigned at times, the romanticists cheering to the echo, the classicists hissing and deriding. With the third act, however, the splendid play, splendidly presented, captured almost the entire audience. The applause was thunderous and drowned all opposition. Long before the play was over it was evident that romanticism had won a great victory, and from that hour it became a powerful force for freedom in literature, art and mental research, and incidentally a mighty aid to democratic progress.

"So when I read the ringing words of our sculptors and friends of emancipated art in defence of you, your work and your position, and furthermore, when the splendid spectacle was presented of artists who have long differed from you coming out bravely for the standard of artistic truth, —when, for example I heard of a well-

known young artist exclaiming in a studio to a large gathering of fellow-sculptors: 'O, it we only had his backbone, if we were only half the man he has been in all these years of his just fight for the freedom of our professional life, we would do art that this nation would be proud of,'—I say, in view of all this I have been not only impressed with the striking similarity of the present revolt to that of the literary revolution in Europe in the early half of the last century, but I see and feel again the advent of one of those moral awakenings which presage victory for those who are battling for freedom and truth. Do you not feel that the outlook is brighter to-day than ever before for the emancipation of art from the thralldom of the trust spirit and of sordid commercialism?"

"In many respects, yes, but the battle is by no means won," exclaimed the sculptor. "The splendid protest of our leading artists and the general encouragement given me by fellow-workers and those competent to speak, certainly indicate a growing realization of the importance of honest and artistic character. On the other hand, we must not underestimate the strength of the opposition or imagine a victory is won because of this refreshing exhibition of the strength of the movement for freedom and untrammelled art. If honesty and artistic character are to be superseded by arrogant commercialism, it will not be long before the death-knell will be sounded for art in America, for the materialism of the market is fatal to the creation of beauty and to the highest mental happiness."

"The really great of all ages have felt the spell of art that breeds humility in its presence and fosters respect if not reverence for its high-priests."

"Yes, art depends so much on the caliber of the soul that one would naturally imagine that there would be continual effort on the part of wealth to regain somewhat of the soul-feeling lost in the pursuit of what at best is merely a means to an end."

"It has been reported that one sculptor of considerable notoriety has said: 'An artist has no business faculty and does not, therefore, know how much harm he may do to business and the commercial side of art by honesty of artistic feeling and expression.'"

"Ah!" exclaimed Mr. Elwell, "there is the existing trouble. Men of ability are prone to use their artistic talents for purely business purposes and to attempt to destroy those who do not agree with them, forgetful apparently that art can only exist by that amount of artistic character inherent in the nature of the artist. They forget or ignore the fact that art, to live, to continue to be art, must depend for its very life on artistic character."

"When commercialism," I observed, "drunken with success on a low or sordid plane, assumes to dictate conditions for or to circumscribe art, literature or life, it becomes a death-dealing influence, blighting and withering all things that yield to demands born of selfishness and wanting in mental and spiritual insight."

"That is very true, and it is pitiful to see that which is flimsy, artificial and wanting in all the elements of true greatness frequently extolled, while real, honest sincere, true and great work is made the object of attacks by immoral conventionalists who descant on morality and affect to be shocked at anything that is not conventional."

"It is the old warfare," I ventured to observe, "between the artificial and characterless servants of conventionalism, wealth and power, and the men of real genius and imagination who make sincerity and fidelity to truth paramount, refusing to sacrifice their manhood to the whims of mediocrity. As it is to-day, so was it during the Renaissance, when Aretino, notorious for his foul mind, attacked the great work of Michael Angelo on the ground of its being immoral. In referring to this, John Addington Symonds observes that, 'Aretino, who delights in depicting all kinds of unveiled impurity, was much offended at the chaste nudity of true art.'"

"Yes," said the sculptor, "there are thousands upon thousands of people, many of them prominent representatives of the present order, who have plenty of morals and who on the purely external side of life are perfectionists, but who have no character. We have plenty of artists who are laden with a kind of superficial morality, who would not offend a custom of society, but who have no artistic character; and the proof is found in their work. There is in every line the hard commercial instinct, the cold touch of conceited morality, but little or no artistic character—that sublime quality which raises a work of art out of the commonplace and makes it truly great—that spiritual sense that is inherent in the soul of the artist and which is imparted to all works that live. There is no mart where it can be purchased. It cannot be stolen or tricked into shape by some cunning manipulator. It must be directly wrought out of the fiber and sinew of the human soul."

"Do you believe that the battle for the emancipation of art will continue to be waged until it has won?"

"Certainly. This fight for the preservation of freedom and the integrity of American art life will be waged with increasing energy. It will make little difference what the attitude of artistic corporations may be. Their position in the past has not affected artistic genius; it will not in the future. These massive storehouses of antique art are of profouud value to the race, but above them and transcending their highest value is human genius. Let them be used to curb artistic inspiration, however, or to reduce art to a commercial basis, and their real function ceases."

"Your course has proved one thing very clearly: You will not sacrifice your integrity of character or yield principles to curry the favor of arrogant commercialism."

"Why should any artist of character care for those paltry dollar-worshipers? He knows that it is from the great middle-class and the laboring man that he receives his just recognition and from those human beings who still have the power to feel, to lift the mind from the sordid plane of greed and to enjoy other things than the death of other souls. It is true, now and then a man of great wealth finds in art what he has missed elsewhere. Then he, too, becomes humble before genius. He, too, admits that all his wealth is as nothing beside this wonderful spiritual power to create the beautiful."

"I have heard it said lately that because certain artists were honest, they were 'marked men.'"

"Of course," interrupted the sculptor, "they are marked for slaughter by those who have 'graft' burned into their low foreheads. These over-educated, slippery thieves abhor honesty and it is an uncomfortable thing to see any semblance of honesty in their vicinity. In art, however, we must learn to lift the eyes and the mind from that which is sordid, we must turn our backs on greed and try to forget criminality and feel a little with the soul of the true artist."

And after a pause he continued: "Wall street is no better than the chief gamblers in the game, but art is as great as the human soul which it sometimes expresses. After commercialism has sapped all manly instincts, has dipped its hands into the warm blood of the common people, has robbed child-life of its birthright of freedom and education, and has, metaphorically speaking, cut the throats of friends for the extra half-shekel, what then? Must it seek to make art its plaything, its tool, something for ignorance to toy with and cast aside because it has not the wisdom to know its worth?"

"If the friends of art are true to the ideal—loyal to their mission, do you not think that the time will come when even the most sordid of those who are mad with the gold-craze will come to see and feel the higher, finer, truer things of life?"

"Yes, there is an end even to filthy thinking. There comes a time when the tiny spark called the soul flames up and

burns away a part at least of the sordid accretions in the mind. The soul in man is master. It is the great artist, the creator, the giver of life, the Holy One, the Truth, the Light. We all have this common mother, the sublime Isis, who gives birth to our creative minds. We may drag our birthright in the mire, we may bury it in ill-gotten riches, yet it still remains with us; and one day Isis, the Mother of the Universe, will say to us as she did to Ra, the Mighty God:

"'Tell me your true, honest name.'

"And the great God Ra was wroth and replied with terrible insolence:

"'I will not. I am the Great God.'

"Then the God Mother spoke thus:

"'Suffer, great God Ra, until you tell me your real name, until you are honest with me.'

"And the Great God of the Universe was very angry and violent, because he was God, but the pain continued and he suffered greatly. Then one day he said to the Mother Isis:

"'I will tell you my true name; I will be honest with you and with the whole universe, O Creator of the Beautiful!'

"And he told her his true and honest name, and the pain vanished.

"Great as was Almighty Ra, he was not greater than creative honesty.

"Some day these high and powerful ones will be asked their true names, and they will be obliged to give them, for it is the law of the universe, and the Holy Mother of all Beauty is above us; we are her children."

As Mr. Elwell spoke his whole face lighted up with the indefinable radiance born in the soul overmastered by the truth, and I was strongly reminded of the power of the ideal to develop and transform a life and to give to one the power of ten thousand. This one man in the Art Museum, standing alone, firm as a rock, for what all sane people must admit to be right, has no doubt influenced hundreds of artists who for various reasons have not been able to take a firm stand and hold it long enough to powerfully impress the craft,

And while I looked upon the happy countenance of the artist I was reminded of another day, now twelve or thirteen years since, when in his studio on Eleventh street in New York I had spent a few hours with him. He had then but recently completed his noble work entitled "Intelligence"—a work that any sculptor might be justly proud of, compelling in its appeal to the artistic senses and rich in symbolism and suggestive truths. Yet I remember that even in the presence of this noble creation, a note of sadness and disappointment sounded in his voice. Not that he was discouraged or on the point of yielding, for he was born and reared in Concord, Massachusetts, in the days when Emerson, Thoreau and Alcott were master-spirits, and into his moral fiber there had entered too much of the old Concord spirit for it to be possible for him to show the white feather when moral principles were involved. But he seemed at that time to lack that serene and indomitable faith that makes man irresistible; and mentally measuring the distance between the man of twelve or thirteen years ago and the man seated before me, I felt as I have seldom realized how potent in the evolution and development of manhood is the influence of high ideals and a noble wife when they are made a working part of life. Here was the man, as resolute as of old, but the years had given him the faith that brings joy and serenity. He is younger far today than he was a decade since. The ideal has steadily companioned his feet and in all that is finest and best he has steadily grown as the years have silently fled; and if, as I personally hope for art's sake, the remainder of his life will be given to the creation of the glorious visions that haunt his brain, he will, I believe, give the world even greater work than his masterpieces that have already enriched the art of two worlds. B. O. Flower.

Boston, Mass.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.*

II. DOMINANT TRUSTS AND CORPORATIONS—(*Continued*).

By Hon. J. Warner Mills.

Part II. The Pageant of the Throne-Powers—The Denver Utility-Trust—Municipal-Ownership—(Continued.)

THE DENVER CITY TRAMWAY COMPANY.

WE HAVE but little space left for the other companies comprising the Utility-Trust of Denver. The Denver City Tramway Company has a capital stock of $5,000,000 and $5,837,000 of bonds. Its capital liability per mile of single-track owned is $75,377. It has absorbed the Denver Cable Railway Company that had a capital stock of $3,000,000 and was bonded for $4,500,000. In 1895 the companies were assessed separately, the former at $354,095 and the latter at $367,380. The assessed value of the entire consolidated plant in 1905 is $2,477,120.

The report of 1900 before me shows that the earnings of the Tramway Company for that year were $1,304,290 and its operating expenses $722,451, being an increase as to earnings of 5.86 per cent. over 1899 and as to expenses a decrease of 10.44 per cent. Its interest charge for 1900 was $322,102, an increase over that of 1899 of $44,927. In 1904 it earned a surplus of $508,290.26 above the cost of all operating expenses, interest and taxes. This sum is 10 per cent. upon its capital stock of $5,000,000. Every dollar of this capital is pure "water" as far as the people are concerned. The same is true of the capital stock of the water company. Both the traction-plant and the water-plant were built with bonds, and the capital stock in either case does not represent a single dollar of investment. Yet the people must pay rates to these exacting companies that will bring them interest upon the bonds and dividends upon the stock. The market value of the stocks of the two companies is above $12,500,000 and this sum represents the enormous profit they have made out of the franchises of Denver.

The officers of The Tramway Company are the following Denver citizens: W. G. Evans, president; J. A. Beeler, vice-president and general manager; Thomas Keely (of Mr. Moffat's bank), secretary and treasurer; Charles J. Hughes, Jr., attorney. The board of directors is as follows: W. G. Evans, J. A. Beeler, Rodney Curtis, S. M. Perry, C. J. Hughes, Jr., F. G. Moffat (nephew of David H. Moffat), Thomas Keely, S. M. Colt and B. A. Jackson.

In 1865 the territorial legislature passed an act incorporating the Denver Horse Railway Company. The bill was then deemed wild and visionary and it was the butt of joke and jibe. In 1871, however, the same year the Holly water-works were built by Colonel Archer, this horse-car charter was sought and purchased by Colonel L. C. Ellsworth. By December 12th he had built two miles of track, starting from the west end of Larimer street, thence to 16th street, up the latter to Champa and on Champa to 27th street. Thus was begun the street-car system of Denver. The horse-car company later became the above-mentioned cable-company, and later still the Tramway Company appeared, first as a competitor of the latter and then as the devouring whale to treat it as if it were a Jonah. It has long since absorbed all the traction companies mentioned in the table on pages 380 and 381 of The Arena for October, and it now owns all their numerous rights and franchises. An interesting story could be told of the methods pursued in the

*The first of this series of articles appeared in the July, 1905, number of The Arena.

process of consolidation. But space will not permit.

"EASY" MILLIONS.

Suffice it to say that the Cable Company, when competing with the Tramway using electricity, found its operating expenses 3.4 cents per passenger as against the latter's 2.2 cents. Hence the Cable Company was anxious to electrify its lines. But Mr. Evans, then as now, gave the only orders that were current with the council, and he accordingly blocked the way. But he did not block the way when Milo A. Smith promoted and, August 5, 1895, secured for a company on paper, called the Citizens' Railway Company, a franchise for twenty years for a car-line on Market street, paralleling only a block away the largest and best-paying property of the Cable Company, its line on Larimer street.

Mr. Evans was careful to see that the news of the passage of this ordinance for a road that was never built was given to the Associated Press. His scheme carried. The bondholders of the Cable Company in Providence, R. I., always timid, were now thoroughly frightened, and their Denver manager, Mr. George E. Randolph, was soon appointed receiver of their property by the federal court. Later this property was sold at receiver's sale for about $526,000. Matters were now ready for the fructifying touch of high finance, and Mr. Evans and Mr. Moffat, who had so skilfully tilled the soil in this instance, had the field to themselves. By their arrangement with the bondholders it seems that of the stock and bonds to be issued by the Tramway Company in absorbing the old Cable plant, they were to get $2,000,000 of the stock, and the bondholders $2,000,000 of the bonds, but the expense of electrifying the cable-system was to be borne by the Denver financiers.

This corporate bargaining figured in the municipal campaign of 1899. An electrifying franchise was sought for the whole cable-system, embracing, of course, its valuable lines on 16th, 17th and Larimer streets, and $50,000 was offered the city as consideration. The council was accommodating to Messrs. Moffat and Evans and seemed anxious to save them as much of their two million dollars of stock as possible. But Mayor McMurray vetoed the ordinance and stood for a compensation to the city of from 2 to 5 per cent. on the company's gross earnings. Here was another reason why the Utility-Trust saw to it that the face of the returns were against Mayor McMurray. His successor, Mayor Johnson, standing on the same platform, nevertheless promptly signed a similar ordinance on the subject, merely raising the price from $50,000 to $72,000. We are not accustomed to call transactions of this magnitude get-rich-quick concerns, but nevertheless in these simple manipulations Mr. Moffat and Mr. Evans and their Denver interests did get rich quick to the extent of more than two million dollars. Tramway stock sells at this time at $1.50.

PERPETUAL FRANCHISES.

Now a brief paragraph about the Tramway's claim that its franchise of 1885 is perpetual.

A few months ago The Denver Tramway Power Company that built the large central power-station furnishing power to the tramway lines, sought to sell through Chicago brokers, its first-mortgage improvement bonds. The central station is leased to the Tramway Company and it has guaranteed 5 per cent. interest on these bonds. The brokers, in their promotion circular, make the following statement:

"The Denver City Tramway Company (the guarantor) owns and controls the entire street-railway system of the city of Denver, comprising in all 156 miles of track, serving a population of about 175,000, *and has a franchise without limit as to time, and therefore perpetual.*"

This so-called perpetual franchise ap-

plies to the 15th street and Broadway lines, two of the greatest lines of the city, and is the first in the table on page 381 of the October ARENA, under "Street Railways," and by the twenty-year rule as to the statutory life of an incorporated company in Colorado, expired *February* 6, 1905. Startling, however, as is this fact, nothing about it has been done and the Tramway, without any renewal, goes on making its millions out of these remunerative lines. The council is silent and the ordinance is not repealed. How a mayor and a city attorney, supposed to serve only the interests of Denver, can supinely sit by in such an emergency and not press to a conclusion proceedings by *quo warranto* against the Tramway Company, and every other company shown in the aforesaid table claiming a franchise without a definite limit, is the question now up, and the people are entitled to an answer. They want to know, too, about the injunction-suit long pending in the federal court involving the Tramway's franchise of 1885.

On one notable occasion the perpetuity of this Tramway franchise was specifically determined for the people by the highest court in the state. In December, 1889, the mayor and chief of police arrested as trespassers some of the workmen of the Tramway Company placing electric-wires in the above-mentioned streets. The company claimed it was not a trespasser and set up as its authority for occupying the streets in question the above franchise of 1885, which it claimed was valid and perpetual. It secured a temporary injunction, but upon final hearing the injunction was dissolved and the bill dismissed. The company then carried the case to the supreme court. From the opinion of the court in this case, written by Judge Goddard and filed October 30, 1893, I quote as follows:

"The sole question submitted for determination is whether the municipal authorities in the city of Denver were authorized to grant, *in perpetuity*, the privilege of constructing lines of street-railway to be operated by electricity, at the time of the enactment of the ordinance. . . . Article 2, section 11, of the state constitution provides: 'That no law making an irrevocable grant of special privileges, franchises or immunities, shall be passed by the general assembly.' . . . Whatever may be the designation given to the right conferred upon a railway company under a permit or license to lay tracks and operate its cars in the streets of a city, it certainly constitutes a privilege to use the streets in contravention of common rights and one that is special in its nature, *and when granted in perpetuity is violative of the constitutional provision cited.* This the ordinance in question attempted to do, and for this reason also it must be held *ultra vires* and void. 'When the franchise is granted by ordinance . . . which is silent as to the length of time for which it is conferred, it will be construed to be in perpetuity and therefore void.—*Booth on Street Railway Law*, Section 17.'"

The court further held in this opinion that the franchise was also void because it empowered the company to operate by electricity, whereas the city council had authority under the Denver charter, as it then existed, to permit the use of the streets only for horse-cars and dummy engines. Accordingly the franchise was declared void on both grounds and the judgment of the lower court was affirmed. This result reduced the imperious claims of the Tramway, and dubbed it as an ordinary trespasser upon the two principal streets of the city. But December 22, 1893, to the astonishment of the people, a rehearing was allowed, and June 4, 1894, to their still greater astonishment, the above opinion was withdrawn from the files and, without a dissenting voice, a new opinion *per curiam*, reversing the lower court, was substituted. From the latter opinion I quote as follows:

"Upon reargument and reëxamination, our conclusion is that this court ought

not to express an opinion as to the extent of the rights or privileges of the plaintiff company under Ordinance No. 3, of February 6, 1885, except so far as may be necessary to determine whether the mayor and chief of police of the city were justified in interfering as they did with the employés of said company in the work of constructing its electric lines in December, 1889. Whether the ordinance granted to the plaintiff company a privilege *in perpetuity* is not material to the determination of the present controversy. . . . It will be time enough to determine whether the company has a valid grant of right of way (in perpetuity or otherwise), in streets not occupied, when such a claim is asserted and actually brought in issue. . . . Our conclusion is that the suit of the plaintiff company should have been sustained *as against the mayor and chief of police*, the only defendants in the action."*

With the law thus floating, as it were, and changed so easily when the economic necessity of a great corporation seemed to require it, and upon a question, too, so important to the people, there is a new reason now apparent why Mr. Evans is so anxious to create and control both judges and governors. A franchise in the streets of Denver declared perpetual by the highest court of the state would be worth untold millions,—$500,000,000 would be a mere guess,—but a guess that it would be merely a minimum. The Tramway Company, as stated above, has long been preparing for this issue, and it is even now industriously circulating the written opinion it purchased of the distinguished John F. Dillon, of New York, January 10, 1899. Nearly every citizen of Denver is at this time receiving one of these pamphlets. Yet Judge Dillon does not discuss the question of perpetuity but holds the ordinance valid on other grounds. Cheap, indeed, at ten thousand dollars, which it is said was paid him, would have been his valued opinion if it had helped establish for the Tramway the monstrous proposition of perpetuity in a municipal franchise.

With such an issue and a foe so wily as the Tramway, the people dare not slumber on their rights. Mr. Evans is always active and awake. Indeed, but for the political activity of himself and his company, the Tramway would not need to hunt for public favor. It is generally recognized that it has developed a splendid system, barring its reckless accidents, and gives more service for the same money than any other public utility in Denver. But, alas, its politics! Its president, through both political parties, the chief boss of all the state, and its methods, the chief source of civic corruption and decay! Such always are the tares that grow with special privileges. On principle one should pluck a special privilege at every chance, and the chance for better life then slips to the many from the few. Indeed, public ownership can none too soon absorb the franchise privileges, every one!

THE DENVER GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY.

The officers of this company are as follows: H. L. Doherty, president; F. W. Frueauff, vice-president and general manager; R. B. Sullivan (son of Dennis Sullivan), secretary and treasurer; Charles A. Frueauff, attorney. The following gentlemen constitute the board of directors: Emerson McMillan of New York, Henry L. Doherty, Frank W. Frueauff, A. S. Hughes, James B. Grant, E. W. Rollins, Philip Cross, William J. Barker, Henry T. Rogers, Harry C. James, Charles A. Frueauff and R. B. Sullivan of Denver.

This corporation, also, is the result of numerous consolidations of competing lighting companies. The Denver Consolidated Gas Company had a capital stock of $1,500,000 and issued bonds in the sum of $974,526, but was assessed for only $188,110. The Denver Consoli-

*20 Colorado, 150, No. 2,695, Denver Tramway Company *vs.* Londoner, Mayor, *et al.*

dated Electric Company had $1,000,000 capital stock and issued $1,000,000 in bonds, and it was assessed at $265,910. These two competing companies, with a total capital stock of $2,500,000 and a total bond issue of $1,974,526, were consolidated into the present company—The Denver Gas and Electric Company—with the astounding result of $3,500,000 capital stock and $7,810,000 bonds, an increase by the "presto, change!" operation of high finance of $1,000,000 in the capital stock and of nearly $6,000,000 in the bond issue, without a cent of additional value in the assets. This stock is to-day selling at 58 cents and the bonds are at par. The public is compelled to pay lighting rates on the basis of $10,000,000 as the value of the plant, but the company only contributes to the public treasury on a basis of less than $1,210,940 as assessed valuation for taxation purposes. Moreover, in looking over the county treasurer's books for 1899, the company's assessed valuation was only placed at $1,014,170, of which $600,000 was for franchise value, and I find upon the page this notation: "Franchise abated by order of the court, August 6, 1904." Did space permit I could disclose a shocking record of the abating of taxes for public-utility corporations by servile county commissioners and pliant courts. Until the revenue act of 1901 was passed, franchises were not made the specific subject of taxation, and since that act the corporations have managed to evade the same by an organized system of tax abatement.

After the consolidation of the lighting interests in the Denver Gas and Electric Company there was no competition and the city was charged $120 a year per arc, and the merchants were charged $150 per year per arc and the residence-service was charged at the rate of 15 cents per kilowatt hour. In 1901, however, the Lacombe Electric Company was organized and granted a franchise. It contracted to light the streets at $90 per arc and to furnish incandescent lighting at 5 cents per kilowatt hour. A war of rates ensued. The "Rockefellian" method was again put to service and the old company reduced rates as low as 2½ cents per kilowatt hour. The new company was crushed by the fierceness of the fight, the betrayal of a certain backer and the thumbscrews of a wrecking creditor. Despite the specific provision of its franchise prohibiting its sale to or consolidation with a competing company, the Lacombe Company, in 1902, sold out to the Denver Gas and Electric Company, and no repeal of the franchise-ordinance has occurred or legal process intervened and Denver has been at the mercy of this lighting monopoly ever since.

RECEIVERSHIP METHOD OF DESTROYING CONTRACTS.

In the fight to crush the Lacombe Company, the Denver Gas and Electric Company had entered into hundreds of written contracts to furnish electric current at 2½ cents per kilowatt hour, and in taking over the Lacombe plant it further fell heir to hundreds of the contracts of that company to furnish current at not to exceed 5 cents per kilowatt hour. Having crushed the opposition and stifled competition, the lighting monopoly at once began casting about for some method of relieving itself from these contracts, and again it was Dennis Sullivan and the courts that came to the rescue. The personnel of the Denver court had changed since the time of the notorious water decision of Judge LeFevre. Evidently the home courts or the danger of a real contest at short range did not look good to Sullivan. He sought the aid of a court 150 miles away and apparently made no mistake. Behold the spectacle presented:

From the files of the court we see Dennis Sullivan, a stockholder of the Gas and Electric Company, purchasing a $15,000 demand-note from the Denver National Bank, of which he is a director, and bringing suit thereon against his own gas company, maker of the note, in the district-court of Fremont county, 150 miles away from Denver. We see him there asking

the judge of that court to appoint a receiver to take possession of all the property of his gas and electric monopoly, not for the purpose of having a court of equity use its power to compel his company to respect its contracts with the light-users of Denver, but for the sole purpose of using such court to break down and annul those contracts and to double the light-rates. Under civilized institutions such a scheme would seem impossible,—still it succeeded. In vain did the people of Denver, through its Chamber of Commerce, protest and join with the district-attorney in an attempt to protect the public. The right of the people to be heard by intervention was denied by the court and the desired and expected order in favor of the lighting monopoly was swiftly entered. Thus was equity put to new and shameful uses. The district-attorney filed in the district-court in Denver *quo warranto* proceedings against the company, but by the legerdemain of court comity and a change of venue, even this action was shuffled into the distant district-court of Fremont county. Then, in turn, in this foreign court and in the original receivership action, a change of venue was applied for on behalf of the people. But the judge of the Cañon City court, refused to grant the change and held tight to the reins given him by Dennis Sullivan. Thereupon a writ of prohibition was petitioned for out of the supreme court, seeking to oust this judge of his jurisdiction. But even there, there was no relief. In the record, however, of this prohibition proceeding, as furnished me from the files by Judge Thomas B. Stuart, of counsel in this litigation, I find the revolting charge is made of as bold a conspiracy involving our courts as ever went unchallenged. Nor is the charge unsupported, for it is based upon the affidavits of District-Attorney Lindsley, and of the following members of the Chamber of Commerce of Denver, the first being its president: R. H. Malone, Meyer Friedman, A. J. Spengel, J. S. Temple, John C. Gallup, John S. Flower and James F. Callbreath, Jr. From this court-record, supported by the affidavit of these, the best business men of our city, I quote the following specific charge:

"That petitioner (the people by District-Attorney Lindsley of Denver) is informed and believes and upon such information and belief alleges the truth to be that before said complaint (in the receivership case) was filed in the district-court of Fremont county, that Dennis Sullivan, the plaintiff named herein, visited the judge of said court in reference to the filing of said complaint in Fremont county, and in accordance with the arrangement then and there made, and in accordance with a fraudulent agreement on the part of said Sullivan, the defendant (gas) company and Henry L. Doherty, said complaint was filed on the 18th day of May, 1902."

From this same court-record, supported by the affidavits mentioned, it further appears that on the same day, May 2d, Doherty, the president of the defendant company, went to Fremont county for the purpose of being served with summons in the case and that he was then and there served; and that he immediately, and on the same day, caused an answer to be filed for the company admitting "each and every and all of the allegations contained in the plaintiff's complaint." And further, that immediately and upon the same day, Judge Bailey appointed the accommodating Doherty as receiver of the very company of which he was then the president, and that not a single employé was discharged nor a line of policy altered.

DOUBLING DENVER'S LIGHTING-RATES.

To the uninitiated the entire proceeding seemed meaningless and idle. But it was merely the prologue to the corporation play. On July 19, 1902, one Claude Meeker, claiming to be a stockholder from Ohio, appeared before the Cañon City judge by the same attorney who represented Sullivan in the case, and pe-

titioned the court for an order directing the receiver to raise the rates for electric lighting in Denver to the old extortionate standard prevailing prior to the advent of the Lacombe Company. Doherty, the complaisant receiver, and the equally complaisant Sullivan, immediately filed their written consent that the prayer of the petition be granted. Outside of the above-mentioned contracts of the company entered into with the merchants and citizens of Denver, the company might have raised its rates without going into a receivership and even the receiver himself might have raised the rates, except as to such contracts. But these contracts were in the way to greater profits, yet to defeat them the gas company must be forced into a course of downright repudiation. Repudiation by the people is generally frowned upon as immoral and degrading, but here, in the hands of millionaire "respectables" it is elevated to a virtue. Accordingly, hallowed by the order of a willing judge, the repudiation is complete and we behold another spectacle! We see a great corporation capitalized and bonded for $11,310,000, going voluntarily into receivership-control in a suit for $15,000 on a plain promissory note, bought by one of its own stockholders, for the sole purpose of repudiating its own contracts and of extorting greater profits from our merchants and citizens.

The Denver Chamber of Commerce and the citizens at large vehemently protested against this corporate conspiracy to use a court of equity to wrong the people of a great city, but the throne-powers were on the throne and the protest was in vain. Mr. Callbreath, on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, appeared and offered to file his petition of intervention, but, upon the objection of the company, the court refused to allow him to intervene or to give him the standing of a party that would permit him to appeal from its decision.

The cute way of turning the trick was to appoint a commission of two men, named by the lighting monopoly, to examine into and report upon rates; and this accordingly was done and the judge, in Cañon City, entered an order directing the receiver in Denver to more than double the rates of the contracts. In this way the trick was played and taken, and soon thereafter the receiver was discharged and the old company reinstated in control. In this connection Judge Stuart well says:

"It is perhaps true that this case stands without precedent in the legal literature of any civilized country. Note the following:

"(*a*) A jurisdiction was aimed to be conferred upon a court in another county 150 miles distant from the city that was interested in this vital question.

"(*b*) A receiver was appointed against the defendant gas-company that was merely sued upon a plain promissory note, and all of the company's property was taken into the hands of the court without changing it from the hands of the company's original officers.

"(*c*) The court refused to allow the people of the city affected by the rates to be represented by intervention, meaning thereby that its decision should never be investigated by a higher court.

"(*d*) The report of the managers of two kindred light-companies in the state, who, of course, were each charging the same extravagant rates, was taken as a basis for the doubling of the rates in Denver."

We see in this proceeding, too, that Dennis Sullivan has lost none of his cunning and that there is no limit to the surprises that must come to the people through politics, judicial action and corporate greed, so long as a public business is permitted to be carried on by private initiative. Where can the people turn for relief when they see the judicial ermine made to cloak an open robbery of the people? And what must they say when they see the power of a court of equity, supposed to be exercised for their

protection and for the prevention of oppression, actually prostituted to the base uses of a public-utility corporation, in its frenzied endeavors to avoid the solemn contracts into which it entered with the citizens and merchants of Denver, at a time when there was competition for lighting? These are some of the actions of the corporation throne-powers and the courts that lead to the cult of anarchy, and actually make it respectable.

It only remains now to add in reference to this litigation that it was so startling and disgraceful that the recent legislature took notice of the extraordinary proceeding and evident abuse involved in fixing franchise-rates in the court of a foreign county, and required any suit thereafter by which they were to be affected to be tried in the county where the franchise or the greater part thereof was situated.*

The Lacombe street-lighting system, completed April 1, 1901, was absorbed by the Gas Company, notwithstanding the franchise granted Lacombe, as mentioned above, expressly provided that its plant should not be sold to or consolidated with the plant of any competing company. This is another of the many examples we have had in the history of our city showing there can be no competition in a public utility; that sooner or later there will be the inevitable combination or consolidation and the people are done. The immediate way out as to the Lacombe part of the plant of this gas-monopoly is to exercise the option to buy it given in the franchise, which fixes the price next year at $150,000. The Municipal-Ownership League is committed to this purchase, and it will undoubtedly be a live issue in the next June election.

THE COLORADO TELEPHONE COMPANY.

Mr. Moody, in his valuable book *The Truth About the Trusts*,† gives us a brief history of the Telephone-Trust,—the parent or holding-company now being the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. He says it has a Gould-Rockefeller alliance and controls, through stock-ownership, a large number of subsidiary operating companies. He gives a long list of these subsidiary companies and includes among them The Colorado Telephone Company, which he says has an issued capital of $3,400,000, of which the parent company owns $1,744,250. These subsidiary companies have the exclusive right to use the Bell patents and "are all licensee companies, and their business is therefore securely controlled by the parent company whether the latter happens to own a majority of their stocks or not."

The Colorado Telephone Company has an authorized capital of $5,000,000, of which, as above stated, $3,400,000 has been issued. The par value of the shares is $50 each. The company has issued no bonds and maintains and supports itself by selling its stock at par. It is the policy of the company to offer each year a large amount of its treasury stock at par. This is readily taken and is a good investment. In this way, the president of the company says, "the stock is scattered all over the state, largely with influential people, but also largely with small merchants, ranchmen and the like." What he could also say about his company paying the campaign expenses of legislative candidates would be especially interesting at this time when the theme of election impurity is on every tongue. His policy, however, has given the Telephone Company a local support in every part of the state and has made its political supremacy inevitable. Thus far it has been able to defeat all legislation it has deemed adverse or undesirable. There is no question but the company is ably managed, but the people object to paying extortionate rates to make dividends for the parent company upon more than one-half of its issued stock. This immense block of stock represents nothing but the Bell monopoly, and, so far as the

* *Mills' Ann. Code* (2d ed.), Sec. 25*a*, 25*b*. See, also, as to the effort to supersede the Cañon City court, 30 Colorado, 486, 488.

† Pages 372–376.

people are concerned, it is simply "water."

The company had, December 31, 1902, 39,790 miles of exchange lines in Colorado, 10,387 miles of long-distance lines, —a third of all which were in Denver. Its gross earnings for that year were $1,083,037.43 and its operating expenses $771,231.34. Up to that date, too, it claims to have invested in its entire plant $3,278,822.51, and in real-estate and buildings $344,441.05, all of which figures have since been largely increased. Yet its assessed value for 1905 is but $2,060,064 for all its property in the state and $745,157 of this total is in Denver.

Its officers are as follows: E. B. Field, president and general manager; Alonzo Burt, vice-president; H. W. Bellard, secretary and auditor; E. B. Field, Jr., treasurer; Milton Smith (chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee), attorney.

I now quote again from Judge Stuart:

"There is no modern invention in general use so necessary as the telephone. It should be in every house as well as in every place of business. In many states east of us nearly every farmer has a telephone, giving him communication all over the county in which he lives, at a cost to him of about $18 per year. It is estimated by those who know that in such a place as the city of Denver, a fair sum for the installation and maintenance of each telephone would be about $12 per annum. Still the Colorado Telephone Company, through its political management in the deft hands of its president, having obtained entire control of this convenience, charges for the free and unlimited use of the telephone in the city of Denver $120 a year; in other words, its rates are based upon a five-cent 'out' call for each communication. It was said by the expert, Professor Parsons, in a lecture delivered in this city a few years ago, that the charges for telephone service in Denver were higher than those in any other city in the civilized world. This public utility, keeping pace with gas and electricity, is charging the consumer about ten times the amount of the cost of production. Some two years ago, a suit was brought in the district-court in Denver by Mr. Herbert George against the Telephone Company, enjoining it from charging such exorbitant rates. It was based upon the common-law principle that the company being a public servant, could charge no more than a reasonable compensation and that at that amount it must furnish service whether willing or not. So far as the case progressed, the ruling of the court was in favor of Mr. George, but the company at last entered into an agreement with him to the effect that its charges were too high and that it would, within six months, reduce its rates to a basis of two cents for each 'out' call, and also admitting that by such reduction alone there would be a saving of over $100,000 per annum to the citizens of Denver. Upon such agreement and the further payment by the company to Mr. George of $10,000 in cash, he at last reluctantly consented to dismiss his suit. It is but proper to say in this connection that Mr. George was tied up in business relations with the Smelter-Trust and the Sugar-Trust and that the managers of both these trusts interfered on behalf of the Telephone Company and compelled him to make the settlement stated above."

DISMISSING A CASE WITH THE HELP OF THRONE-POWERS AND GAMBLERS.

How our local dailies overlooked the affidavit filed in this case, No. 36,291, sworn to by Thomas B. Stuart and contesting the right of the plaintiff to dismiss his suit against the company without the consent of his counsel, is a marvel. In the affidavit are given the details of the methods resorted to by the corporation and its officers to effect a settlement and to dismiss the case. The association of persons and interests disclosed by this affidavit is of public concern and should be known to the public. I accordingly quote therefrom as follows:

"That soon after the commencement of this case, the defendant (Company), through Mr. Edward Chase (now, and for many years hitherto, the notorious head of the Gamblers'-Trust in Denver) applied to the plaintiff for a settlement of the matters in dispute, but that the said plaintiff referred the defendant, through its said agent, to his attorneys, and a conference between said attorneys and the defendant failed in all particulars in reaching a settlement.

"That still later, about the 20th day of February, 1904, the defendant, through its agents and friends, the Hon. Simon Guggenheim and the Hon. C. S. Morey, again approached the plaintiff for a settlement. That the Hon. Simon Guggenheim is the president of the American Smelting and Refining Company, and the Hon. C. S. Morey is the president or general manager of several large beet-sugar factories in the state of Colorado and both of them had at the time large contracts and orders with the plaintiff George (for limestone) in respect to the business they were each operating. That each of said gentlemen finally intimated, suggested and even flatly declared (as this affiant is informed), to the said George, that the Colorado Telephone Company and Mr. E. B. Field (its president) were friends of theirs, and he must settle his case against said company. That while they had every regard for Mr. George and should much regret that their business ties and relations with him should suffer any disturbance, he must meet Mr. Field with a view to settlement. That the said Hon. Simon Guggenheim fixed a day and hour when said parties should meet at his office in the city of Denver and negotiate," etc., etc.

In this way the Colorado Telephone Company finally secured the coveted dismissal, and the same was entered in court February 24, 1904, just four days after the "honorable gentlemen" took the matter up!

The humiliating but pregnant admissions made in writing by the company and referred to above in the letter from Judge Stuart, were published in the newspapers at the time over the signature of its president, but though more than six months have already expired the promised reduction has never been made. To what length must the company's exactions from the public have been carried to drive it into the necessity of procuring such a compromising dismissal, and to pay $10,000, too, to buy its peace and to continue its extortions! Was it also afraid of the New York precedent that in such a suit requires the company to bring all of its books into court for judicial inspection? Was it afraid, too, that the people would at last discover its "little joker" and would denounce its exorbitant rates held so high that, after squeezing out the "water" of the Bell monopoly in Boston, it is making more than twenty per cent. per annum on its capital actually invested?

Observe, too, you earnest men of the Ministerial Alliance of Denver and you good business men as well,—now petitioning our district-judges for an order requiring the officers of the city to suppress public gambling,—that the Gamblers'-Trust is snugly nestled in the "Utilities," and its notorious and conspicuous head was sent by the company as the first intermediary to effect a settlement of this suit. Let all readers also observe that the extremity of this corporate monopoly was so great that it called upon the Smelter-Trust and the new Colorado Sugar-Trust for help in its dilemma and that they at once flew to its aid and coerced a settlement. Here the throne-powers came together and a meritorious suit for the public good was insidiously yanked out of court. This is certainly an unintended tribute to some court or judge that is worthy of comment. A new suit, No. 37,723, is now pending in our district-court to accomplish the same end and it is hoped the people will watch its progress at every turn.

Postponing the important subject of

election bribery and corruption to the later chapter on "The Overthrow of the Ballot," we have now finished our review of the Utility-Trust of Denver. Each constituent company has come before us and we have seen the pageant pass. It is the same familiar story of corporate ostentation, overreaching and greed that is now being told in nearly every large city of our country. Linked with them in business or other alliance are hundreds of corporate and individual interests that they mercilessly marshal to effect their nefarious ends. They shelter a gang of gamblers who are paying the enormous graft of a thousand dollars a week, we are credibly told, or $52,000 a year, to buy the official silence complained of in the above petition to the judges of the district-court. They lay the people at their feet and extort tribute for dividends on watered stock and interest on inflated bonds. They shirk their duty on the tax-roll. They crush out all ideal of a public conscience. They corrupt officials, pay campaign expenses of candidates, bribe legislatures and councils, and degrade judges and courts. They overthrow the ballot and pervert the solemn will of the people, and rule and misrule the city and the state. We must wither and blight this corporate carnival of franchise-graft, greed and power, or face the ultimate destruction of our freedom and our homes.

(*To be continued.*)

J. Warner Mills.

Denver, Colo.

THE AMERICAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

By Hon. William V. Allen.

A BOLD, intelligent and honest judiciary is and must ever be the mainstay of our political institutions. Experience has demonstrated that the other departments of the government and the people may, like a ship lashed by the fury of a storm, be driven by passion from the course of safety without lasting injury, if the courts do their duty firmly and intelligently; but if our judges shall at any time lack in integrity, wisdom and patriotism, the government will be in danger of being wrecked.

It must be apparent to even a casual observer that the selection of judges who are to administer justice to nearly a hundred million people in the multitudinous and highly complex affairs of our modern social life, in which rights are constantly increasing and industry and commerce are diversified and expanding, must be by appointment by the chief executive, by and with the advice and consent of the legislative department, as in the appointment of our judges of the Federal courts, or by public election in the manner prevailing in most of the states.

By the Federal Constitution the judges are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, which is rarely withheld, and hold their office during good behavior which, following an early English statute, is construed to mean during life; while in most of the states the judges are elected at a general or special election by the qualified voters.

By the Federal Constitution (and I use the word Federal advisedly, for I do not desire to commit myself to a doctrine that another word might imply), and the constitution of the several states, all political power is invested in three coördinate and supposedly independent departments. To the legislative department is committed the law-making power; to the executive, the law-executing power, and to the judicial, the law-applying power; and when these departments confine them-

selves to the authority conferred on them, the government works harmoniously in all its parts and the end of political regulation and control is reached.

That absolute justice may be approached as nearly as possible in the administration of the law and that mistakes may be avoided, or at least reduced to a minimum and corrected before permanent injury is inflicted, the judicial authority is distributed to courts of first instance, or courts in which litigation is initiated, and to courts of appeal, in which the judgments and decrees of the instance tribunals are reviewed before being finally enforced. By this means a miscarriage of justice is sought to be avoided and is doubtless successfully prevented in a majority of cases.

The law is divided into jurisprudence, the science of rights and obligations, and into procedure; but as the latter is solely concerned with the manner of applying jurisprudence, it is not important to notice its many complicated but necessary and interesting rules.

Jurisprudence is also divided into the jurisprudence of law, equity and admiralty, or, more accurately speaking, into law and equity, for, as our rules in equity and admiralty come to us from the Roman law sifted through centuries of English legislation, orders in chancery and judicial opinion, they may be considered as parts of one system.

I cannot give a circumstantial account of the origin and development of the American judicial system. I can only point out briefly its elements of strength and weakness and suggest wherein the one may be reënforced and the other eliminated, or at least, minimized; for I assume that no one believes that our system is perfect, or that it cannot be made better.

All social institutions (and political governments are organized social institutions) are as far from being perfect as the men chosen to administer their affairs, or as those among whom the law is administered, are imperfect.

The Federal Constitution, statutes and treaties are expounded and applied to the affairs of the government and of individuals, by nine judges of the supreme court, twenty-seven circuit-judges and seventy-two district-judges, and by an army of masters in chancery, auditors, referees and examiners, of whom the people know little, and by juries at stated terms and fixed places.

This does not take into account the statutory judges in the territories and districts and the outlying possessions of the government, nor the courts of the District of Columbia.

There are forty-five states and therefore forty-five additional sets of judges of courts of record who administer justice among the people in their respective states and districts, known as judges of the supreme, circuit, district and superior courts. And in addition to these, it is to be remembered that there are many prothonotaries, surrogates and other minor tribunals which deal, in the first instance, with the estates of deceased persons, spendthrifts, infants, and the insane, and a still lower grade of judicial officers known as police-judges, justices of the peace and petty magistrates possessed of inferior but important authority. Nor must we overlook those court-officers who aid in the administration of the criminal law, variously known as prosecuting, county, district and state's attorneys.

Two auxiliaries of law courts should be noticed: the grand jury, whose duty it is to present indictments in courts of criminal jurisdiction, and the traverse jury, whose duty it is to decide disputed questions of fact under the charge of the court as to the law of the case.

That our judicial system should be possessed of elements of weakness is not particularly surprising in an age of great commercial and industrial activity in which money and property are held, by some, superior to individual well-being.

There are those who complain of the imperfect manner in which the law is administered, while there are doubtless some, who think we have reached per-

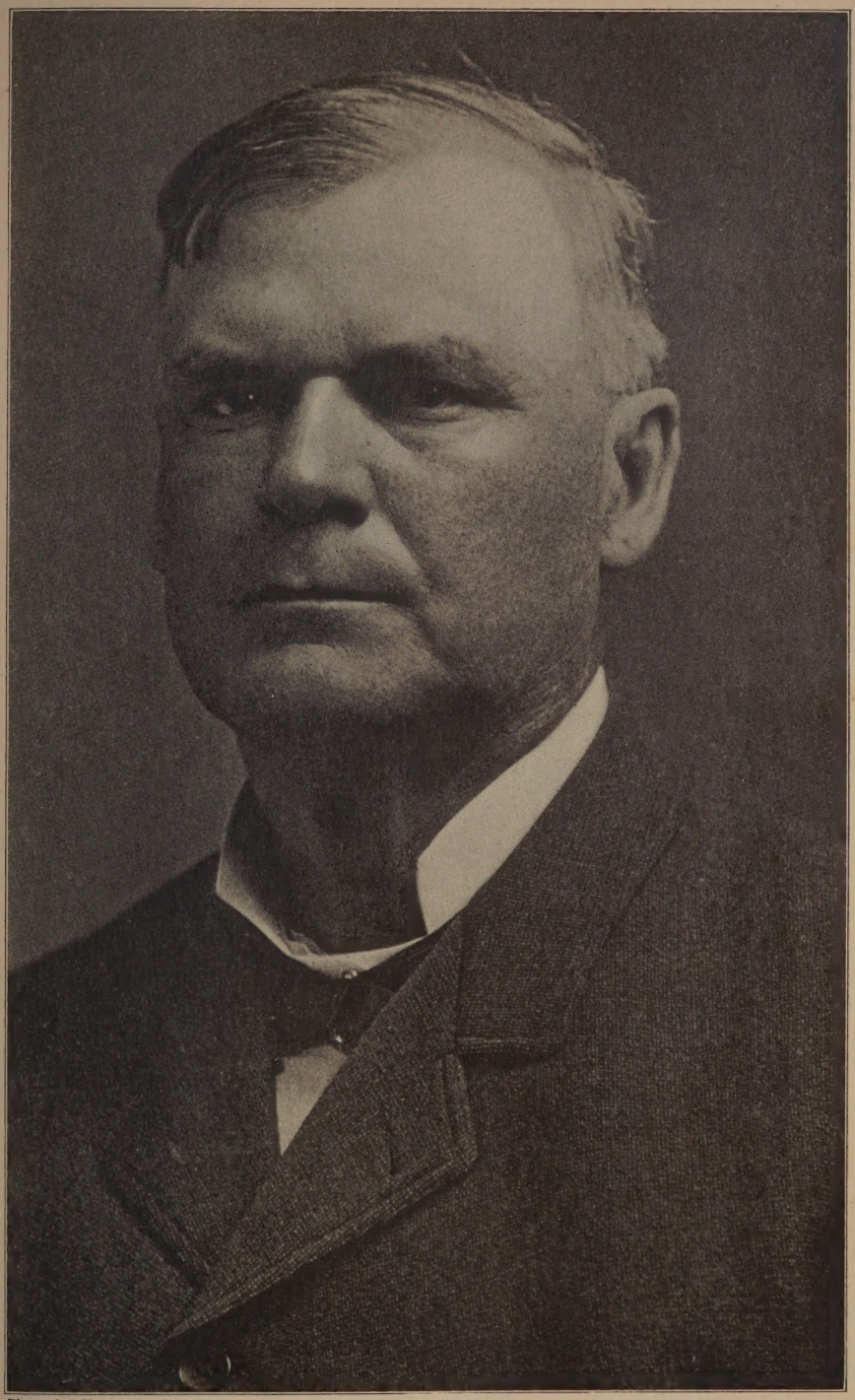

Photo. by Classen, Madison, Neb.

HON. WILLIAM V. ALLEN

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fection in our judicial system. There are learned men who would have all judges appointed; who would take out of the hands of the people the selection of any of them, while there are those equally learned, who have so much confidence in the wisdom of the people to make judicious selections, that they would have the entire judiciary elected. That each method has its strong and its weak points, I think is clearly capable of demonstration. In support of an appointive judiciary it is commonly urged that the judges are taken from a class of men possessing greater learning and more aptitude for judicial duties than are usually possessed by elective judges. But I am not willing to admit the correctness of this contention without some important limitations. That an opportunity is afforded the appointing power to make wiser selections than are frequently made by the people, is admitted; but that wise selections are always made is denied, while I assert that unfit appointments are frequently made. We should not overlook the fact, however, that it frequently happens that a judge is appointed not on account of his learning and fitness for the duties of the office, but because he is the political or personal friend of the appointing power, or possibly the pliant servant of some special interest. Such a man having limited learning and but little personal honor or pride, and being fortified by the assurance of a life tenure, unless impeached and removed, and, knowing that impeachment is really no remedy for official misconduct, may be, or may become, the tool of some particular interest and an absolute tyrant and entirely forget, if he ever knew, that he owes the cause of the people and of justice any service whatever. If it should transpire, as it sometimes has, that the appointive judge is a sluggish and indolent man, he will draw around him a corps of masters in chancery, auditors, referees and others to whom he will commit much of the work he should do in person, more incompetent than himself and who will make large cost-bills to litigants the chief aim of their service. But the appointive judge, if an intelligent and industrious, patriotic and honest man, may, as a rule, be admitted to be the superior of his elective brother, chiefly I think, because his long term of service enables him to improve his knowledge of jurisprudence; while many cases he is called on to decide are of such importance that his decision may ultimately be taken as a new principle of jurisprudence and his reputation become thus established. He may also be stronger in the fact that owing to his holding by appointment he is capable of resisting unreasonable popular clamor and expectancy. But I am quite well convinced that our judicial records will show as high an order of ability, and equally as high personal character, in our elective as in our appointive judges. The elective judge is usually industrious. He strives to see that litigation is conducted at a reasonable expense and with due speed and that cost-eating cormorants are dispensed with. In these respects, at least, he is superior to the average appointive judge and approaches more nearly the popular ideal.

A short term of office has advantages and disadvantages. It has an advantage from the fact that the judge is spurred to honestly strive to meet the demands of an intelligent constituency by the knowledge that the people will pass on his official record at the polls, while the tenure is altogether too short to always enable him to demonstrate his capacity and fitness for the duties imposed on him. The appointive judge may at times be stronger in resisting popular clamor because of the certainty of the tenure of his office, but that knowledge may likewise induce him to go too far and disregard the popular wish when it is clearly right and when to respect it would be promotive of the ends of justice; while a weak and vacillating elective judge may sometimes yield to the influence of an inflamed popular sentiment which is clearly wrong, hoping to thereby promote his popularity. But these

weaknesses may inhere as much in the man as in the system of selection. If we conclude that these facts offset each other in some measure, and that the appointing power is quite as apt to make mistakes and select an unworthy man, as the people are to elect one, I think that the decided weight of reason, in a government like ours, is in favor of an elective judiciary. With a modification I will here point out, I am satisfied that our judges should be elected by popular vote. If Federal judges were elected for a term of not less than say fifteen years, the judges of the supreme court at large and the circuit and district judges by the people of their respective circuits and districts, and if all state judges were elected for an equal length of time, I think much of the weakness now apparent in our judicial system would be eliminated and we would have a uniformly higher order of ability and integrity on the bench. In that case, the Federal judge would be checked from going to extremes by the knowledge that his record would be reviewed by the people, while the time given to the judges under both systems would be sufficient to enable the people to correct their opinions if they should become disappointed at rightful decisions.

Another important fact is to be considered. All law courts have an auxiliary of twelve men known as the traverse jury, to whom controverted questions of fact are submitted under the direction of a presiding judge. It not infrequently happens that the jury is unwisely selected and that the facts submitted to them are such as to induce sympathy for one party and prejudice against the other, so that their verdict is clearly the result of prejudice and inability to make proper deductions from the facts, or to understand and apply the law as given them in the court's charge. In such cases there will be a miscarriage of justice, unless the judge of the *nisi prius* court, or the appellate court, shall set aside the verdict. An appointive judge caring nothing for the indignation of a jury whose verdict is set aside, because it is beyond their power to injure him, may more readily grant a new trial when he should do so than a weak elective judge of whose constituency the jury are a part, and who may unjustly refuse to do so, and, to fortify himself in their good opinions, enter on a stilted and unmerited encomium on the sacredness of jury trials. If in such cases the appellate court shall decline to inquire into the regularity of the verdict on the supposition that the trial-judge possessed a better opportunity to determine the merits of the case than they have, as is frequently the case, it will be seen that the trial is reduced to a mockery under the forms of the law and that the ends of justice are defeated. But possibly, here, too, the vice is more in the judge than in the system.

Passing from this hasty glance at the merits of the respective methods of selecting our judges, let me direct attention to a matter that I believe requires speedy attention to prevent a rising tide of criminality. I believe the abolition of the grand jury, as in my own state, is a serious blow to the administration of public justice. In Nebraska it is discretionary with the judge to call a grand jury, but it is rarely done and the authority to indict those who have violated the law is vested in an officer called the county attorney. It is to be regretted that the county attorney frequently consults his own political welfare rather than the welfare of the community in discharging the functions of his office and that many persons who violate the law are not brought to justice. I believe in the grand jury as it existed under the English law, and it is a serious blow to the efficiency of the criminal law to abolish, modify, or tamper with it.

But I want to speak more particularly of the traverse or trial jury. This law-auxiliary is more than six centuries old. Speaking in the light of more than a third of a century of experience at the bar and as one who has had a full measure of success in the trial of jury cases, candor prompts me to say that I do not see in the traverse jury the safeguard against wrong

and oppression I thought I saw when I was younger and more inexperienced than I am now. Juries, traverse juries, are too frequently influenced by popular passion. That they are in a large measure ignorant of the duties of jurymen is apparent to those familiar with our courts. These men do not, as a rule, reason; they know no restraint save their own wish and frequently their verdicts outrage every reasonable principle of justice; and then there is an outcry against the courts as though the judge and the court-officers were to blame for the miscarriage of justice.

I would not abolish the trial of actions at law by a jury but I would materially circumscribe and narrow the juries' prominence. I would not give their verdict undue prominence nor if the judge of a review-court hesitate to set their verdict aside when I thought it wrong. I do not accept the suggestion frequently made that twelve untrained minds which seldom reason consecutively or correctly, and which frequently become the sport and prey of wily and misleading advocates, and bow to unstable popular clamor whether right or wrong, and reflect an unhealthy public sentiment more frequently than the truth of the fact submitted to them, constitute a safer tribunal for the trial of a case than the keen intellect of one trained mind having the disposition to do right, regardless of passion or prejudice. Nor do I accept as wise the suggestion that we should substitute a minority for a unanimous verdict.

Let the traverse jury continue to be composed of twelve men who shall unanimously agree on a verdict; but at the same time, let the grounds for a new trial be enlarged and make it the bounden duty of trial-judges and judges of reviewing courts to carefully examine the facts after verdict and before entering judgment. In no other way will the judicial tribunals of our country even approach perfect justice.

There is a public belief that the law's delays are inexcusable and this may be admitted in some instances, but I think that more injustice is done by too great haste and inattention in the determination of cases than by reasonable delay and deliberation.

The overruled and modified, criticized and doubted decisions to be met with in searching the books, betoken the haste, or incompetency, and sometimes both, of some of the judges of our courts.

But I would not have it believed that I see nothing admirable in the American judicial system taken as a whole. I believe it to be superior to that of any other country and that our judges are fully abreast of the age in which they live, in learning, patriotism and integrity. I also believe that the tendency is to the selection of better judges and that if the attention of the people could be more sharply drawn to the details of our judicial system and its working than it has been, such defects as exist would be more promptly and effectually removed.

As long as the American people are intelligent, active and honest with themselves and with their posterity, and as long as they cultivate the arts of peace and encourage learning and do not become steeped in a demoralizing commercialism and as long as the moral nature is not lost sight of in the selection of our judges, and an enlightened and just political liberty is sought by the people, the tendency of the American judiciary will be upward and toward ultimate perfection.

William V. Allen.
Madison, Neb.

WHY I FAVOR THE SINGLE TAX.

By H. H. Hardinge.

TAXATION is a subject to which little public attention is given, yet no subject is more vital to the progress of the human race and the establishment of a true democracy.

There are only two things that can be taxed. These two things are man and the earth he lives on. Therefore labor-values and land-values are the only two things extant upon which taxes are or can be levied. That taxes are essential to the administration of government is undeniably true and that something must therefore be taxed is clearly apparent. The right thing to tax is monopoly, the wrong thing to tax is labor, because government sustains monopoly and labor sustains itself. Not only does it do this, but as taxes are now levied it sustains the government which in turn supports monopolies of every sort. These monopolies exercise the taxing-power, sustained as they are by government, and between being robbed by government in public taxes and by monopolies in private taxes, the workers of the world are kept forever poor. This in turn fosters land-speculation, which greatly lessens opportunities for labor. This also gluts the labor-market, reduces wages and is a fruitful cause of strikes, which in turn are frequently put down by the strong arm of government. The real reason we have a labor question is because the laborers have been disinherited and the earth, the gift of the common Father to His common children, is held at a prohibitive price. The small portion that is used is artificially high in price, which means high rents while the rest is kept out of the market for speculation. This is the chief cause of poverty among the workers.

Why should wealth-production and poverty be always associated? Nature gives nothing to idleness. She, being both generous and just, rewards only the workers. Why should the worker be poor and the idler rich? It is because men are rewarded, not in proportion to what they do, but in proportion to what they monopolize. Divorce government from monopoly, and the latter fails. Separate labor from land, and humanity dies. This is what the land-speculator tries to do and in a measure succeeds in doing, though without evil intent. The worker's real enemy is the speculator in land; his imaginary enemy is the capitalist.

No evil can be remedied by merely finding fault with it. The cure must be discovered and applied; heroic remedies alone will suffice. And since the evil has been and is now largely due to unscientific taxation, what more sensible plan could be suggested than to place the burden of government where it properly and justly belongs, leaving industry free to produce and to retain; to build and also to inhabit; to reap as well as to sow?

H. H. Hardinge.

Chicago, Ill.

THE SPIRIT OF THE WEST.

By Wilmatte Porter Cockerell.

I.

A SMALL river lay just below the camp, and the water dropping here and there over several feet of rocks in sheer perpendicular jumps made a merry rippling tune, while the pines above parted the winds so that they made a deep soft accompaniment to the music of the stream.

The two men who had camped in this high mountain-valley looked well content as they stretched full length on the thick, warm grass. Just in front of them lay three splendid peaks, rich now with the gold and red of sunset; the tops bare and smooth, for the timber stopped short in a ragged line on the sides, and seemed now to lead into the bright region of the clouds, themselves a part of a region of mystic brightness.

"To-morrow we 'll take the peak to the north," the younger man said, "and you 'll get a chance at the Arctic-Alpine, and a view that will take your breath."

"Great country you have in these parts! And Tommy, you 're just sentimental enough about it to warm it up for observation. I stop myself several times a day to bless my good fortune that I 'm here."

The young man's face showed an added brightness even in the fading light.

"I do n't see yet how I dared do it," he said. "You see, I was feeling hungry for a bit of the old college, and it was no good going back and wandering about the old quadrangle. I tried that once, and felt like my own ghost. You were always the University to me anyway, but I wonder I ever got courage to ask you to come!"

The older man laughed joyously—a boy's laugh for all his whitened temples.

"Courage, Tommy! You 're an everlasting source of joy. Six feet one, armed with sundry collections of shooting-irons —went one day into a camp of a thousand enraged miners, yet afraid of his old professor!"

Slowly the brightness of the sky seemed to disappear behind the mountains and the whole range seemed flooded with misty colors, which faded or changed even at the moment of birth. Both men drew long breaths of the pine-scented air, and watched the changing beauty of earth and sky with great contentment of soul.

"It 's part of the charm that we 're forty miles from anywhere and anybody. It 's all ours," Dr. Elliott said, but McVey whistled softly.

"You must n't be too sure of that; people turn up in the most unexpected places. Last year when I was out in the Mogollons looking up a mining property, we 'd traveled across the desert two days and through the most God-forsaken region imaginable, a man walked in on us as we were having breakfast and asked the loan —but I 'll let you guess."

"A razor?"

"No, hardly so bad as that. A bootjack! Said he 'd shrunk his boots and could hardly get them on and off. Where he found water enough to shrink anything was a mystery."

"By the shades of Sandy Peter, here 's company now," and Dr. Elliott sat up excitedly and pointed toward the low hills toward the south, where two horsemen came galloping toward them.

"Hi there!" said the newcomers, throwing their bridles over their horses' heads, so that they might pasture on the tall grass. Tommy passed the tobacco, and the men lighted their pipes at the smouldering supper fire, and then stretched themselves comfortably on the grass.

"Where 'd you drop from?" Dr. Elliott asked, and Tommy chuckled at his mouthing of the western phrase.

"Just rode down from the Hondo," one of the men answered. "We started to take a party of tenderfeet to the peak, but we 've had a blizzard of a time. Old

army gent, maybe you know the kind; called a fellow 'my good man'. Lord, I could n't stand it another minute, so Jim being of the same mind, we pulled."

"Left your crowd at the Hondo?" Tommy asked.

"Yes," the man called Jim drawled; "call it cruel? Old man 's a dern fool, but it 's sure up to him now to get back to the ranch, and he can 't so much as tie a lariat."

"Is there only one man?" Dr. Elliott asked.

"A man and two girls—one a niece or grand-daughter or something, the other a piece of furniture with a cap and a butcher's apron. We were n't supposed to even look at the young lady, for the fiery old Colonel is chuck full of army rot. But the lady of the line business do' n't go down with us mountain-men, dern it!"

"It beats me how the old fool 'll get back," Jim chuckled; "he can 't cinch a saddle."

"Well, the girl can," the other man said; "that was the cause of the great explosion. I was giving her a lesson on saddlin' a cayuse, and enjoyin' it, darn sight, too, for she 's a cracker-jack, I tell you. None of your starched-muslin creatures, but got up in a first-class mountain rig—velveteen skirt and leggin's showin' daisy feet and ankles."

"Yes, she war a peach for looks," Jim interrupted appreciatively.

"The Colonel was all-fired mad when he saw us laughin' away, and he broke loose—like a down-east lightnin' display," the man continued. "Well, stranger, I could n't stand for that, and I was forced to pull out."

McVey saw, but Dr. Elliott was inclined to argue the matter.

"It does n't seem quite right to leave them, when the man knows nothing of packing," he began.

"O, he 'll have a devil of a time and serve him right," Jim said. "He 'll probably be down with nervous prostration before they reach the ranch."

"But surely you 'll be sorry to have the young lady suffer such hardships?"

"O, she 's all right. She 'll regard it as a great adventure, and even if she has to sleep in her horse-blanket for a night or two, it will amuse her. She says she 's a native of the west by adoption, and she 's worth it! Darn me hide, if she ain't!"

"Well, me and Jim have got to make Beatty's cabin by noon to-morrow, for our grub 's short. Good luck to you, strangers. S' long!" Soon the breaking of the limbs of the quaking aspens that hung over the trail came back to Elliott and McVey, and then the curious stillness of the high-altitude country settled about them.

McVey stirred up the fire, and tossed some green pine-needles upon it, which made a great sputtering and cracking, but lighted up the forest and rocks near with a curious yellow glow.

"It looks as though this expedition must become the escort of a fair lady," Dr. Elliott said, with a laugh.

"After all, it is n't of much consequence," Tommy answered; "we 'll cache our stores, and we can be back in three days. You won't mind going over the trail again?" he asked rather anxiously.

"Mind!" Dr. Elliott scoffed. "Tommy, you 're too doubtful about your uncle's taste. I 'd like to go over this trail just about forty times," and his voice grew soft, "but I 'd want Bettie along."

"Do you know," McVey said, a bit shyly, "we used always to have a toast at the club to Dr. Elliott and his two B's?"

"O yes," Dr. Elliott replied, "you were all alike in being irreverent young cubs."

"It was n't that, really," McVey explained. "I do n't believe there was a man of us who did n't take away a better ideal of his work and of women because of that toast to Mrs. Elliott and biology."

"Perhaps, perhaps; and Tommy, we've wondered why you have n't found the one woman. It does add so greatly to a

man's life. You 'll not mind an old fellow's curiosity, will you?"

McVey was glad of the darkness, though he answered stoutly enough. "No; I have n't found her."

"There was a whisper that it might be the young woman who visited President Johns; you remember, it was the year you were graduated; I know Bettie thought so, and was vastly pleased, for you were a great favorite of hers."

"Mrs. Elliott was right; it might have been Catherine Orton, but when I found she had inherited a million or more, I ran away. I did n't want to hamper myself with such a fortune."

"Why Tommy; you 're,—you won't mind your old professor saying it,—you 're an ass!"

"No," McVey answered slowly, "I could n't help it. It would have spoiled my life."

"I see what you mean," Dr. Elliott answered, "but that lovely girl!" and both men lay silent for a time thinking of that glorious June when Catherine Orton took the whole college captive by the light in her hair, and the joy of life in her eyes, and her voice.

"Tommy, how could you hear her sing, and not try everything. Why, if you were half a man you 'd have run away with her or something—why, Bettie would have helped you to anything."

"There have been times when I 'd have given my soul for a sight of her face, and a chance to win her away from her fortune," McVey said, "but it is n't good for a man to think of things he has put out of his life."

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Both men were astir early the next morning, and while Dr. Elliott fried the bacon and boiled the coffee, McVey carried the stores to a cave in the hillside, stored them away and skilfully concealed the entrance with brush.

"Lucky we decided not to bring pack-burros," McVey said, "they 'd be no end of bother now, but old Casique will follow us to the world's end and back again, if need be."

"Tommy, you sentimental jay," Dr. Elliott said, as he took a third cup of coffee and a fourth slice of bacon, "what do you think will become of my digestion. Did n't I tell you that my doctor said 'a single cup of coffee and no pork on your life!'"

Tommy scoffed. "You 'll never know that you have such a dangerous thing as digestion—no one does, in these mountains. There 's just one thing about food that bothers a man up here," and he looked mournfully at the empty bacon dish.

"It 's not me that will feel sorry for you —six pieces of bacon, a great loaf of bread and coffee—man alive, I do n't wonder that you 're broad of chest and brawny of arm. I tell you what, Tommy; let 's arrange for an adventure. I 'll frighten the young lady's horse—she of the velveteen leggings, and do you pick her off just as she is about to be hurled into a rocky gorge." And so with merry jest the breakfast was finished, the horses were saddled and the two men took the backward trail.

"The relief party will arrive about ten o'clock," said Tommy. "There 's a fair trail to the Hondo, and we ought to make it in two hours. Of course, if our esteemed army-friend deserts his stores, we may not overtake him until noon, but here 's dimes to dollars that he 'll still be swearing over his packing."

But they had been less than half an hour on the trail, when from far up the hillside came deep and fine, thrilling the whole forest into life, the magnificent prelude to the hunter's chorus.

Both men involuntarily reined in their horses and when Dr. Elliott looked at Tommy, there was a fine joyousness showing in his whole body.

"I think the Lord means to give you another chance, Tommy boy," he said reverently.

"O, but I 'm glad to have it," was the answer.

. . . . . .

"Of course we would n't go back with these lovely peaks right in sight," Catherine said, when greetings and explanations were over. "You must have thought us tenderfeet, indeed!"

"But the men said that your uncle knew nothing about packing," Dr. Elliott objected.

"Packing," and the girl's laugh was about as good to hear as her songs, "I have my bed on the saddle here, and plenty of food for three days."

"Mary stayed with the stuff in the little hut on the Hondo; nothing would induce her to budge. I 'm glad she stayed, for she is such a blot, with her servant's garb, and I could n't prevail on her to adopt plain, sensible mountain clothes. 'She knew her place,' she said."

"The mountains are not the place for servants; we 're all friends out here," Tommy said.

"Well, we 're grateful for friends," the Colonel said, very much pleased and touched that these two men had been willing to turn aside from their own pleasure to help people they believed absolute strangers.

The next three days passed like a dream to Tommy; he knew it was not the stuff from which life is usually made.

Good Dr. Elliott developed into the most perverse of men. At the last moment he always decided to do something else, and insisted upon taking Colonel Orton with him, so the young people rode alone through miles and miles of soft, wavy grass. Sometimes they passed over hillsides covered with splendid dark purple larkspur, showing delicate bands of white in the throats, and again through fields of gentian, the light lavender bells dotted with purple making a wonderful carpet under their horses' feet.

At night there was always a camp-fire, and Catherine moved about in the rich glow, preparing the food. Once she turned to Dr. Elliott:

"I never knew what living was before; it sounds a bit absurd, I know, but I never enjoyed anything quite as I have getting these trout cooked just right for supper."

"And never were trout so delicious," declared Colonel Orton.

The best day of all was when Catherine and Tommy stood on the top of the highest of the three peaks, and looked westward over the Rio Grande valley bordered by hills which looked to be made of blue mist.

To the north, the south, and the west were rugged peaks and great stretches of wooded slopes, marking the horizon off with curious zigzag lines. A bright humming-bird rested on Catherine's shoulder, and large brightly-colored flies tangled themselves in the golden strands of her hair. Hardy butterflies flew with swift, steady strokes past them, and two great bald eagles flew far above their heads—down and then up, darting and then sailing and then across and over the blue horizon line. The plants growing thick about them were like mats, furry and velvety in their softness, and bearing flowers of wonderful size and purest colors.

"How strange it seems, this Arctic-Alpine country of yours," Catherine said, "and how marvelously beautiful. It is our world," she added softly. "I cannot believe that anyone will ever love it as we do."

"Those who come after us will find the same beauties," Tommy said, just as softly, "but they can 't have our dream." And so they sat rejoicing in the changing lights and shadows until the sun was hidden behind the purple and golden-shadowed mountains. A great shimmering brightness surrounded them both, painting Catherine's hair more golden, and giving wonderful shadows to her gray eyes. Everything was shut out from Tommy's mind but this, his Eden.

"My love, my own," he whispered and kissed her trembling fingers and her sweet face.

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Long and far he tramped that night over the mesas through the tall grass and

down the rocky paths of the mountain-side. Everything seemed full of peace; the soft slow wind ladened with the odor from pines and flowers, the great arch full of stars, like a rain of golden powder shedding still light everywhere, and his heart alone hot with passion.

His whole heart belonged to the West and his work and his ideals, and now what was to come of it all, he asked himself. Catherine had given herself to him without question, without doubt; he trembled to think of the sweet abandon of her gift—and he must make conditions, must ask for sacrifices!

All through the night he tramped and thought, and the morning found him sore and torn and sure of but one thing, his love for Catherine.

The sun was just rising when he turned at last into camp. Catherine wrapped in a long, heavy cloak came softly out of her tent; her beauty strangely augmented by a rosy flush from sleep and her hair hanging in two loosely-woven braids on either side of her face. She came toward him with the long swinging step that she had learned in the mountains, her vigorous young womanhood showing in her firm muscles and supple movements. His breath came quick and sharp. With such a woman for a mate what mattered else? But he threw off the spell she was casting over him; he must be true to the old solution of his life's problems. He must not trust himself to make new ones now with this witchery of his senses holding him.

"I know what you have been thinking this long night," Catherine said. "You have been thinking that for love of me, you must leave all this splendid West and its work of which you are such a noble part, but I will not have it that way. I will come to you, and we will live together the life of the West, with its broadening horizon and its strenuous activity."

McVey held her slender fingers so tight that she almost cried out with pain. "Catherine," he said, and she hardly knew his voice so harsh did it seem, "I must have more even than that. You would bring your own life with all its easy luxury and make a soft garden for yourself and for me, but I could not be a part without losing my place. Catherine, you must come—you yourself with nothing of your chattels, you must come into my life. It is not soft. I do not wish it to be. I can see no good for the human race, save in work and fellowship. You have already felt the lack of both, else you would not have rejoiced as you have in all the freedom of this western world."

"I have felt great joy in your work," the girl spoke slowly, choosing indeed among the thoughts hurrying forward for expression. "But money is power, and if you would but direct the use of it, my uncle's millions might become an almost infinite good."

"No," McVey answered. "I would lose my grip, my place. Money and the desire for money has become a terrible curse; it is corrupting our people on every hand. Catherine, it is worth everything that you and I should stand fair and free with the people of the street and make our way with the talents God has given us. This must be my life. Darling, it is a good life; be a partner with me in it."

"I would not hamper you," the girl pleaded; "you need not think of the money. I will not ask that you should share the smallest penny with me."

The man's face grew very grave and the girl trembled at the still, sacred light resting over his boyish features.

"I must think of my sons, of our daughters and sons, Catherine, and they could not escape from your money if you keep it. A man sees his work only begun and he would see it carried on by blood of his blood—by kin in mind and body. O Catherine, do you not understand that by becoming a part of your soft life, I lose myself partly; I lose my children and my children's children!"

She looked into the future, fascinated with her mind's picture. He would strive not as men strove for money and power and place, but would give service to the

least, would lead a hard life for the sake of those who would come after him. Amid a world of self-seekers, the blessed Nazarene had touched his naked heart and marked him for His own.

She could dream of a race like him, but here and now when she was asked to be the first of this people, to do her part, to fight greed, and spread the good gospel of service, she drew back dismayed. Then came the thought that if she could not rise to his ideals, and see herself a part of his life, here in this great primitive world, how little chance there was that when again among the great artificial things of life—the hot-house roses and Parisian clothes, she would even wish to do it.

Slowly she turned from him.

"Catherine," he cried, and he was on his knees in the grass by her side. "You have given so much, how can you grudge me this little?"

"It is not a little thing to change one's whole manner of life," she answered, as she walked slowly back to her tent.

To McVey the next hour was the worst of his life. Fast he held to his ideal, telling himself that he must go forward, that life would be dust and ashes if he went back; but Catherine's beauty and grace, her frank loyalty, her generous affection, stood in his way as a mighty temptation. In the end he triumphed. He did not put his love aside; he knew Catherine as a man knows the woman of his heart, better than she can know herself, and he needed only to be patient and true, till the call of the West and her yearning for her lover would bring her to his arms—unless the struggling, dazzling world was stronger than he thought, but he put that thought away from him, and hard as it was, set his soul to wait.

"Our last ride together," Catherine said, a note of longing in her voice, as they came into the open road leading to the ranch.

"You remember Browning's lines: 'What matters else,'" Tommy asked.

"I wish, O I wish, I might think so," the girl answered.

"You will, but now we ride," and he leaned toward her and pressed his lips against her shoulder.

It was just growing dusk, and the odors from flowers and trees wrapped them close. The keen mountain-air stung their faces, and the rhythm of their horses' gallop seemed to make them both a vivid, intelligent part of the life of the hills.

At the ranch-house, Tommy lifted Catherine from her horse and held her for a moment against his breast, and pressed his face against hers. When she felt the tears on his cheek, all the mother-love awoke within her.

"My love," she said, and it was like the softness of the mother-bird's wing as she hovers over her young, the sweetness of her voice stirring his whole being into buoyant expectancy.

He could never tell how he had resisted that strongest of all calls—the call of mate to mate,—and held fast to his ideal for himself and for her and for their children. But the next morning he was saying good-bye, and Dr. Elliott's heart was torn with pity for the sad-faced, cold-mannered girl and the stern, unhappy McVey.

"He 's an ass," he said to himself; "the most lovable one God ever made, and I do wish Bettie were here," and he took his hammer and went out to explore a fossil coral-reef.

II.

"Now, Lady Anne, you must admit that the coloring is overdone in this picture; there never was a green like this on the earth or in heaven."

Lady Anne smiled indulgently.

"Letty, you 're not a good judge of the possible greens in heaven, and I think Rossetti is. But where is your American heiress? I do hope she 'll not change her dress as many times a day as your last American did."

"I 'm afraid you do n't like Americans, Lady Anne," and Letty tried to look mournful.

"I like them well enough in America, but I do n't wish every tidy bit of scenery

we have to be constantly swarming with Doodles. And I protest, they have no business marrying our young men. Who does this young person have her eye on? Out with it, Letty."

"Now, Lady Anne; that 's too bad of you. But if you will know, Lord Henry has his eye on her, and no wonder, as you will admit yourself, when you know her. They 've been at several country-houses together, and it was plain from the first that Lord Henry wanted her, but I can 't quite make Catherine out. She 's keen as can be on art and music, enjoys Lord Henry's criticisms and pictures; they talk for hours together——"

"If Lord Henry wants her, he 'll get her," and Lady Anne nodded her head knowingly. "Why Letty, she 'll be head of one of the first families of Europe."

"I do n't believe Catherine would care much for that. You remember we were down at the Elms together, and she said that the management of such a vast estate tended to make people vulgar. But I wish you could have seen her when I took her in to see your Morris tapestries; and after we were down at Eton, and she had stood entranced before the Sir Galahad in the chapel, I heard her say to Lord Henry: 'I envy you the part you have in this wonderful work.'"

Lady Anne softened:

"I 'll give her my little Rossetti for a wedding present. Depend upon it, Letty, the Henrys always get what they want." And Letty smiled to remember that Lady Anne's husband was of that family, but without title or estate, and yet, in spite of all, had carried away the young noblewoman whose beauty and charm were the talk of the season.

"Lord Henry is to come down for this week's end, and I have promised to give him a clear field; you 'll get the announcement early next week—perhaps."

And our Catherine, had the pride of life claimed her as its own? She could not have told herself. The loveliness of these people, and the quiet splendor of their life had taken fast hold on her. It was not the life of the idle rich, that she had seen so much of in America—the rich who hunted earth and sky for new sensations. But here was a whole class, believing themselves set apart from toil, that they might conserve the culture and honor of their people.

Lord Henry had met her radical arguments at every turn. "We believe in the advance of the human species," he said, "and we are working step by step."

"Could anything be finer," he demanded of her, "than William Morris' vision of England restored to beauty and a whole race of merry-hearted men enjoying it? And yet Morris was an aristocrat. You 'll have to come to that in America; the vision is not given to him who toils in the street."

On the Saturday afternoon, she was with Letty in the carriage; they stopped at the dressmaker's.

"I shall be gone but a minute," Letty said, but the minutes lengthened into a quarter of an hour, and Catherine felt that she must move about in order to think more clearly, and to rid herself of the chill of the sharp spring-air.

"Tell Miss Delaguna that I wanted a walk," she said to the coachman.

Her quick steps suddenly brought her near to the Tower, and here on the benches or on the ground were men and women sleeping. The pitiful sight! She remembered to have read that these poor, homeless things must keep moving at night; in the day they might sleep!

She went near to one poor, bloated creature.

"Why are you here," she asked, "why do n't you go home to sleep?"

The creature laughed a dry, mirthless cackle.

"The young swell wants to know why we do n't go 'ome, Joe."

The creature called Joe turned his wavering eyes upon her, and she could see the curious unsteadiness of all his muscles, and the awful color of his skin, even under the caked filth. "'Ome! Sal. and me an't 'ad a place to sleep now

five year or more. Come good luck, we gets hinto the Salvation bunk; but that 's not hoften."

All at once, it came over Catherine what it all meant. These lives paid for the ease of Park Lane. Tears blinded her eyes and the longing to be back where there was no such broken wreckage as this, surged in a great tide through her.

Her lover was right; it was worth everything to keep the free life of the West uncontaminated by this if only for a generation; and if it could be for all time as he dreamed—yes, she saw it now, it was worth everything.

She emptied her purse, knowing as she did so that they would all be the more miserable for it—drunken and more hungry on the morrow. The men and women jeered at her tears, and some of them cursed her in undertones that her charity was so meager and that she was warm and full of life.

It was Letty's voice that called her back to herself, drew her into the carriage and with soft words sought to calm her.

"Letty," she begged, "you must help me. I must go home. I must start at midnight on the Liverpool express. O Letty,—I have n't known,—I have n't understood my own heart; you will help me get away," and Letty, half understanding, promised.

. . . . . .

It was almost two weeks after that, Lady Anne came to see Letty.

"Where are those announcement cards you promised me?" she asked, and Letty told her of Catherine's sudden flight.

"And you say she went alone?" she inquired incredulously; "surely she had a maid?"

"No," the girl answered, and there was a far-away sympathetic look in her own eyes. "You see, her lover is a socialist or some such dreadful thing. He wants all men to have equal opportunities, the rich as well as the poor. The rich, he thinks, are the pick of the races and if it was n't for their money they might do the noblest, most magnificent work. Catherine told me all about it, so far as one can be told such things. "He was not willing to have his own or his wife's or his children's lives hedged and cramped by great wealth, and she was to come to him with nothing—just herself. She did n't even take her jewels."

"Merciful heavens!" cried Lady Anne, "what a doctrine. But I 'll venture to wager that her fortune 's carefully invested and when the excitement of the thing is past she 'll gradually drift into the old way of living."

But the girl shook her head.

"She gave her fortune to Dr. Barnardo. Lord Henry arranged the details. He was very fine and generous about it all. He said he hoped some girl would love him like that some day," and a faint pink showed in Letty's face, and Lady Anne suddenly jumped up and kissed her on both cheeks.

Catherine was at that very moment riding over the hills with her husband, feeling his eyes warm with love upon her. Her heart was full of contentment and peace, and the genius of the West went before them and baptized them into a blessed hope that they and their kind might keep their wonderful land for free men and free women.

Wilmatte Porter Cockerell.
Boulder, Colo.

WHEN THE GENSDARMES CAME.

By Louis Scott Dabo.

I.

IT WAS a day of unusual excitement in Narronne. Since early morning the atmosphere of the little village had been surcharged with a disturbing element, and the women, neglecting household duties, stood grouped before one or another's door discussing the wonderful news.

In the two *cabarets* which the village boasted besides the "Fleur-de-Lis," the menfolk talked and smoked over half-empty glasses, the subject of their conversation indicating that in Narronne, at least, women alone did not hold the palm for gossip. The difference was one of quality only; the male population talked loudly and with many gesticulations in public places, while their wives and daughters gossipped in lowered tones and with an air fit to accompany a state secret or domestic scandal.

Only twice before had so important an event occurred in the village; and on both occasions for the full proverbial nine days nothing else was talked or thought of. The first was when widower Pioche married, shortly after his first wife's death, a girl from Beaumarche—*la ville*—to the exclusion of the marriageable girls of Narronne, St. Quentin, or even Crecy on the other side of the river, any one of whom he might have had, for Pioche was a prosperous *fermier* and still young. The Narronnais never forgave him for this, while his wife, who in time proved to be a shrew (much to his neighbors' satisfaction), was made as unwelcome as lay in their power.

The second incident in Narronne's history was when Marguerite Boiteau left her widowed father's house and went away to Paris,—"to be a fine lady," it was said significantly,—leaving her motherless sisters, five of them, to take care of themselves.

Narronne was situated in the far farthest backwoods, many miles from the railroad, itself a late usurper in the country thereabouts which few of the villagers had ever seen. The Narronnais were all farmers and drove their produce in huge, rumbling wagons to Beaumarche, a night's road-journey to the south. This occurred, or happened,—for it was the chief calendar event outside of church-feasts or holy days,—once a week, on market-day; the men going with the teams the night before while the women remained at home with the children.

The present cause of excitement was a young couple, man and woman,—"city folk, undoubtedly,"—who came the night before in old man Boiteau's cart when he returned from town. He had spent most of the day after market in a *café* "drowning his troubles," and his was the last of the wagons to come home. The couple accosted him in the wine-shop, he said, and asked to be driven to Narronne, first inquiring if there was a hotel there. That 's all he knew, and although he was the center of interest at the "Red Lion," he would tell them no more,—except that they had paid him well,—five francs, "a large sum for no trouble."

"And you took it!" rasped Vieu Jacques, the sacristan.

"Of course I did—*Sapristi!*—money is n't found every day. *Que veux tu?*"

"Why did n't you bring 'em here, Boiteau?" said the *patron* of the "Red Lion," jealously. "I could have put them up; they 'll pay anything asked; it 's just so much money lost."

"Your place is n't a hotel like Mère Michaud's, and besides they would n't have been satisfied here."

The *patron* sniffed at the word hotel.

"Wonder what 's brought 'em," speculated young Bavard, winking at the *patron*.

"None of your business, nosey," re-

torted Boiteau sharply, after which he settled back in his chair and refused to speak another word.

II.

The "Fleur-de-Lis," though boasting the name, had few other claims entitling it to be called a hotel. Rare were the travelers who passed by way of Narronne, for the main road that wound through the village came from nowhere in particular and its ultimate end was an equally unimportant if not unknown place. Occasionally farmers from the neighboring country stopped there on their way to and from Beaumarche, but travelers or strangers of any kind were never seen in the commonplace little village.

Mère Michaud had assumed charge of the house upon her old man's death, and although with her daughter's help the public-room was kept open, the living was scant and had to be eked out with the aid of a little truck-farm strung out behind the house.

As is natural with small places, the village stopped in its lethargic course to wonder and gossip, ask quesions, and hazard numberless suppositions about the guests. All that fateful day such a bustling and hustling reigned in the "Fleur-de-Lis," the like of which the old one-story-and-garret house had never witnessed in all the years since it was first built. Mère Michaud's familiar figure was no longer seen presiding behind the four-foot bar, and the *habitués*, failing to get the information for which all the village was burning, from Lizette, left in disgust and repaired to the "Lion Rouge," where they gave free vent to their opinions concerning the principals whose selfish secretiveness prevented them from sharing in this epoch-marking adventure.

Then, as suddenly as they came, the strange couple left on the following night, without anyone securing even a passing glance of them, except Boiteau, who drove them away in his covered cart. The *café* of the "Fleur-de-Lis" was empty at the time, all the men being gathered at the "Lion Rouge," and besides their surprise over the sudden departure, they were bitterly disappointed for having absented themselves from the scene of action at the crucial moment.

The importance with which for one day the "Fleur-de-Lis" had been invested gradually wore off. The villagers returned to their accustomed seats each evening and Mère Michaud resumed her post behind the bar, knitting and nodding by turns.

But contrary to precedent, the subject seemed to be gifted with unusual longevity even for Narronne, for it never quite ceased to afford food for conversation. The day was marked upon the saints' calendar, and thereafter time was reckoned from the event.

Some said it was old Boiteau's daughter. Boiteau himself said nothing. Not a word would he utter about the couple's origin or destination, except on one occasion, when, goaded by the assembled peasants, he growled: "Beaumarche, *Sacre D*—,"—perorating the information by a volley of oaths as if to provide in some way for the meagerness of it.

About two weeks later, some one thought to inquire their names. Mère Michaud was serving a drink to Grognard at the time. A wave of intelligence seemed to light up the room as this brilliant question was uttered. Who else could have thought of such a thing but Vieu Jacques. He was a learned man; in his younger days he had been schoolmaster.

The *petit verre* fell from the old woman's nerveless fingers and was shivered on the tiled floor with a tinkling sound. For a moment she stood looking vacantly at the group seated around the table.

"*Messieu—M'sieu—*"; her face clouded. "They did n't tell me," she finally mumbled, "and I—"; her voice was drowned by their combined exclamations.

"What! you did n't ask? *Vielle Bête!*" shouted Pioche. "Ho! ho! ho!"

The others joined in with harsh taunts.

Mère Michaud stood by, hopelessly bewildered. In truth she had n't even given a thought to their names. The omission pained her as much as it surprised the others. Strange how she had come to neglect so obvious a thing. But it was so unusual having guests. Still that was no excuse; it 's always customary to find out strangers' names, she reflected. "*J'doit et' 'mbecile*," she said to herself.

The idea of having them sign the register was foreign to her; there had been, long ago, a book kept for that purpose, but she scarcely remembered it at all,—certainly did not know its use.

After awhile she returned muttering to her knitting, too troubled in her simple mind to nod over the needles. Her thoughts did not cover a very wide range of speculation; they began with the couple's names, and ended with wonder at her thoughtlessness and the self-confession of dotage; but between these limitations she found enough material to torture herself into a state of pitiful unrest. She was not used to guests coming and going; this had been one epoch in her life, just as her marriage and Père Michaud's death had been others, and these had happened a long time ago, she had forgotten how many years.

This latest item concerning the strangers acted like a gust of wind upon smouldering embers. Mère Michaud was not liked in Narronne. When goaded by her neighbors' remarks she displayed a sharp tongue. Since her old man's death she had drawn within her house and heart, mingling as little as was possible with the women of the village. What incidents of the *café* were worth gossipping over these heard from their husbands.

The following day everyone talked of this incident, which grew from an omission into a crime through much bandying from tongue to tongue, while many other sins were suddenly discovered to the old woman's discredit.

"She sits all alone in church," said one, "apart from everybody else. I do n't believe she prays." A young woman carrying a nursing child, came out through her open doorway, and joined her neighbors in the street.

"Yes, and she works her fields on Sundays," added another; "*M'sieu l'curé* told her it was a sin, but she still does it."

Old Jacques' daughter and Marie Grognard came upon the scene simultaneously.

"She has n't gone to confession for years," the former said. "She has no fear of heaven or hell."

At this a hush fell upon the group, broken only by the children's occasional cries.

"You may be sure it was Boiteau's girl—and she knows it, and old Boiteau knows it," Marie said knowingly; "that 's why she won't tell their names—hein?" The others seemed to agree in this.

"Nice reputation the honest folk of Narronne will get. They ought to take Boiteau before the judge—and she too."

"Lizette is a child, and such goings on will make her bad."

"She 'd be better off in the orphan-asylum in Beaumarche, anyway," Marie added, "before it 's too late, or something 'll happen. I would n't be surprised if she had a '*secret sous son tablier*' now."

III.

"Mère Michaud! the *gensdarmes* are coming!" shouted young Grognard one evening, as he lumbered into the *café*.

"What for?" grunted Boiteau, raising his head. Since the past week he had deserted the "Lion Rouge," coming instead to the "Fleur-de-Lis"—while the village looked wise and gossips pointed at him from kitchen-doors.

"For old Mère Michaud—take her to prison," said Grognard. "Know why?—hein? She did n't send the strangers' names to the police—it 's a crime—ten years lock up and five hundred francs fine. *Allons donc!*" he protested, as

Boiteau aimed a kick at him—"*c'est vrai.*"

"What 's that?" the old woman asked, pausing in her knitting, her wrinkled face expressing her inability to understand. "What did he say?"

"He said the *gensdarmes* are coming for you," one of the older men volunteered.

Her face from yellow turned ashen, and her mouth quivered. "The *gensdarmes—gensdarmes*—for me?" she blubbered. Her half-knitted stocking fell to the floor where the cat made sport of the ball of wool.

"*Mais oui*—on account of the strangers;—you should have told the police long ago;—it 's the law."

Mère Michaud trembled in her chair. "*Non, non!*" she cried. "I 've done nothing—*gensdarmes*—for me? *J'ai rien fait!*"

The crowd laughed, and taking the cue continued to taunt her with jibes and pictures of her coming arrest. Every voice joined in the medley until nothing but broken words, a coarse laugh or oath, were distinguishable above the babel. Mère Michaud sat crushed in her chair—from which she at first half-started forward—and said not a word. Now and then a tear rolled down her furrowed cheek. In her eyes was an expression of fear, mingled with questioning appeal and pain indescribable. Lizette stood by the little bar, uneasy and wondering what it all meant.

Boiteau stood one against them all, telling her, between curses and epithets, not to mind their lies; but the sport had reached its height of contagion, and they laughed at him and continued to torture the old woman, until Lizette, long after the accustomed hour, made preparations to close the shop. The men started off by twos and threes; a parting salute was delivered by Grognard as he passed by an open window. "They 're coming, Mère Michaud—they 're coming!" his rough voice returned reverberatingly from the road; "the *gensdarmes* are coming."

IV.

Wherever or with whom that threat "the *gensdarmes* are coming" originated no one knew or thought to ask. Hardly in Narronne, for the villagers' ignorance of the law and its representatives is proportionate to their fear of both,—unbounded. Doubtless Grognard had picked up something of the sort in Beaumarche, where hotels are numerous and the police regulations more in evidence, for it is well known that guests' names must be registered at the police-bureau within a specified time.

However, the cry was taken up by the village yokels who seized upon every occasion they passed the "Fleur-de-Lis" to call out: "Mère Michaud, the *gensarmes* are coming!" It spread to every corner of the village, until at last it became a by-word, and every person in Narronne capable of talking used it whenever Mère Michaud appeared in sight. Teamsters passing by the hotel quoted it in place of the usual cheery "*Bon jour*"; idlers in the *café* prologued their calls for liquor with the warning, while little children assembled in groups before the door singing in high treble chorus: "Mé Michaud, the *gensdarmes* are coming! Mé Michaud, the *gensdarmes* are coming!" The constant repetition and reminder of the fate hanging over the lone woman, far from wearing itself into a mere insignificance, daily took on a larger and more dreadful shape in her simple mind, until the birds repeated it in their song, she heard it in the lowing of the cattle, in the whispering trees; the very flowers in her little garden nodded and spoke the words and her cabbages had them written upon their huge wrinkled leaves. Even the wind as it whistled down the chimney in early autumn plainly said to her: "Mère Michaud, the *gensdarmes* are coming!"

She had long ago ceased complaining. Had not her bread depended upon it, she would have abandoned the *café* and gone to bury herself in the woods like a

hermit. After awhile she actually began to believe her soul was stained with some great crime, though she could not tell what it was, nor questioned. It must be so, since everybody, even to the birds and innocent little children told her without end. She closed her heart more and more to her neighbors, thus earning bitterer jeers and louder gossip than if she had gone boldly among them, for the peasants resent aloofness or exclusiveness as other classes invite it, and what these people feel in their hearts undergoes no dissimulation but comes at once and sharply to their lips and eyes.

Bitterly Mère Michaud wept every day in the solitude of her garret-room, when the large silent night looked down and no one stirred within or without. Daily she awoke from a bed terrorred in mad dreams, fearing to raise the wrinkled lids of her tear-washed eyes upon the harsh world and the coming of the *gensdarmes.* And each day that passed without fateful sign or sound of their approach but made the morrow more dreaded, for each day seemed her last of freedom and immunity; and for all her fear of the terrible torture and punishment that were to be inflicted upon her she at last came to wish for their coming, and be relieved of the suspense and expectation that weighed upon her wearied soul.

She had no companion but Lizette, and on her she showered in bitterest moments all the tears her sorrow and the mother-love in her poor, withered heart had to give. And even if the child understood nothing, there was that between them which inoculated her with her mother's-grief along with the salt love, and the two mingled their tears, mother and daughter alike not knowing why.

At last one day the *gensdarmes* came, and notwithstanding it was already broad day, no doors were open. The cows bellowed angrily in the stable for being locked in from their pasturage; dogs tugged at their chains with dismal howls, and the gray house-cat whined at the kitchen-door for admittance.

There was no sign of stirring life within, and after repeated knocks with the hilt of his sword, one of the law's guardians set his shoulder against the door and burst it open.

From room to room the *gensdarmes* went, half the village at their heels, until they heard a faint sound issuing from a cold garret-chamber. Inside they found Lizette weeping over the bed of her mother, who lay white and still in sleep, her face bedewed with the child's tears; but neither Lizette's warm tears or bitter grief had power to open those seamed and scarred eyelids, or bring recognition from the cold hands she pressed with such appealing between her own little palms.

While Lizette was being cared for by a neighbor, the *gensdarmes* inquired among the villagers concerning her mother. When old Boiteau came forward to tell what he knew, the meaning of a letter containing a small sum of money which had been received at the police-bureau became plain. This was an instalment on the amount she was to pay for her "terrible crime," and "would they be so merciful as to let her earn the rest in time, and stay with her little girl who needed her and not send her to prison."

When the doctor gravely pronounced his verdict on the cause of death, the *gensdarmes* said nothing; but in their hearts they knew the secret, and understanding much of human nature, wondered not at all.

After the funeral, Lizette was taken to the orphan-asylum at Beaumarche to stay until she was twenty-one. The neighbors congregated in their doorways when the carriage passed by and stood watching it disappear, while details of the strange passing of Mère Michaud were commented upon with lurid exaggerations.

"Poor child—poor little orphan," said Grognard's wife, "she 's all alone in the world now."

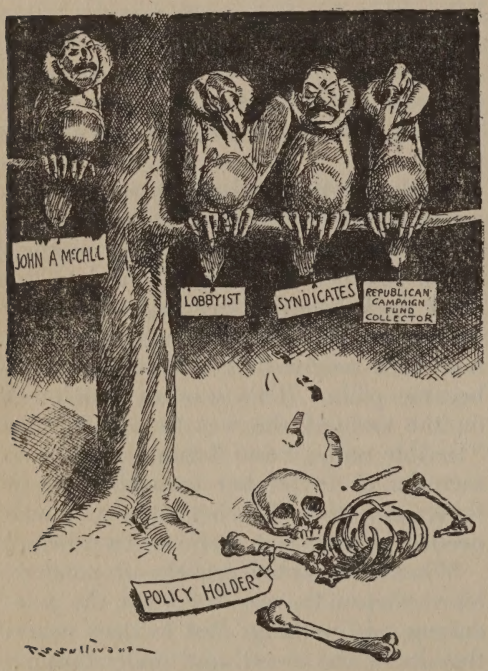
Louis Scott Dabo.

New York City.

EDITORIALS.

GREAT INSURANCE COMPANIES AS FOUNTAIN-HEADS OF POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL CORRUPTION.

A SHORT time before Mr. Hughes began his searching examination of the conditions of the great New York insurance companies, we were in conversation with one of the most scholarly, thoughtful and conscientious gentlemen of our acquaintance—a gentleman who for years has made insurance a subject of careful study. After speaking of the wholesale corruption and infidelity to the most sacred of trusts that had already come to light in the management of the Equitable Assurance Society, our friend replied:



Sullivant, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

NON-LEDGER ASSETS.

"And yet, Mr. Flower, the bad showing of the Equitable is surpassed by that of both the New York Life and the Mutual Life of New York. Let me show you two tables published in Brown's *Book of Insurance Statistics*, edition of 1905, showing the business, financial and economic conditions. In the first place we have a table showing the comparative magnitude, standing and condition of the twenty-four representative life-insurance companies on December 31, 1904. In the second table is an exhibit of the surplus earned during the decade from 1895 to 1904 inclusive, and how applied. Now to understand my remark it will only be necessary for you to notice these facts:

"The gross assets of the Equitable Assurance Society at the end of 1904 were $412,607,122; those of the Mutual Life of New York at the same time were $442,701,327; and those of the New York Life were $390,660,260. The distributive earnings of these companies between 1895 and 1904 inclusive were as follows: The Equitable, $68,564,812; the Mutual, $53,942,118; the New York Life, $51,198,079. The dividends paid and credited during this period were as follows: The Equitable, $36,556,270; the Mutual, $24,047,031; the New York Life, $34,009,375. The remainder to surplus for future distribution was: The Equitable, $32,008,542; the Mutual, $29,895,087; the New York Life, $17,188,704.

"By these figures you will see the force of what I said relative to the bad showing of the

Bush, in New York *World*.

THE FALLEN PEACH.

New York Life and the Mutual Life Companies, but the figures are of course only comparative and show that it is absurd for the New York Life, for example, to descant upon the reprehensible methods of the Equitable. The true inwardness of the situation, however, cannot be appreciated until we compare the showing of these companies with that of some other company or companies where the 'high finance' methods of Wall street have not been in vogue. Here, for example, right under the table of the New York Life we find that of the Northwestern. Its gross assets, as you will see, at the close of 1904 were $194,794,524, less than half those of the New York Life and $247,906,803 less than those of the Mutual Life. Yet its distributive earnings from 1895 to 1904 inclusive were $50,253,916, as against $51,198,079 for the New York Life and $53,942,118 for the Mutual Life; while the dividends paid and credited were $29,624,682, as against $34,009,375 for the New York Life, and $24,047,031 for the Mutual. The remainder to surplus for future distribution for the Northwestern was $20,629,234, as against $17,188,704 for the New York Life, and $29,895,087 for the Mutual Life. Here is a concrete and an almost startling illustration of the bad showing of the New York Life and the Mutual Life, which indicates clearly that these companies have not only been tarred with the same stick used in the Equitable, but that the tar has been spread on with a more lavish hand in the case of these companies than with the Equitable."

RAILROAD SCHEMES PROMOTED.
MONEY LENT.
I ONLY WANT $30,000,000 TO-DAY, GEORGE
LEND ME A MILLION, GEORGE
NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY. MONEYS. $352,652,048
WALL STREET SYNDICATE
YOU KNOW ME, GEORGE

Opper, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

NOW, WHAT D' YE THINK OF THAT?

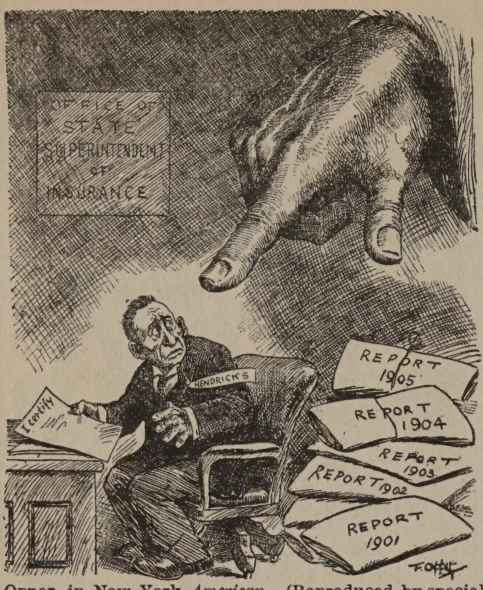
George W. Perkins (the $250,000 a year partner of J. Pierpont Morgan) is practically the financial arbiter of the New York Life, and has an office in the Hanover National Bank building, from which he directs, almost at his will, the investments in which the savings of 812,000 policy-holders shall be invested.—*Testimony of Secretary John C. McCall at insurance investigation.*

Pechner, in *The Insurance Observer*.

"WHO 'S AFRAID!"

This cartoon representing George W. Perkins and John A. McCall as babes in the woods, terrified at the sight of the investigation bear but trying to pretend not to be frightened and crying in unison "who's afraid."

The investigation made by the Armstrong committee under the direction of Mr. Hughes more than sustains our friend's contention. Indeed, the revelations of moral depravity and infidelity to sacred obligations that startled the world when the facts of the Equitable came to light have here been matched, and in some instances the revelations have been more astounding in the New York Life and the Mutual Life of New York than the earlier records of depravity and crookedness that were brought to light by the Hendricks report. Here, as in the Equitable, we have seen the same shameful extravagance and reckless waste of the policy-holders' hard-earned money. Here have been revealed prodigal expenditures for political purposes, the trail of the serpent extending to Albany and to Washington. Here also the money of the people has been used by Wall-street gamblers



Opper, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

LET HIM NOT ESCAPE!

and promoters to enrich insiders and favored brokers. Here we have beheld a great insurance company made a practical annex to a speculative Wall-street firm, and the money of the people,—the trust funds that should ever be regarded as the most sacred of all trusts,—used by the unsavory band of trust-promoters who organized and attempted to successfully float the water-logged ship-trust. Nor is this anything like a full record of the iniquity chargeable to the management of the great insurance companies since they have become the plaything of the Morgans, the Harrimans, the Ryans and other speculative exploiters and gamblers of their ilk. To notice all their grave sins of omission and commission since they have become the prey of Wall-street high financiers would require more space than an issue of THE ARENA, but there are a few facts that demand special notice:

(1) *The Lavish Waste of the Policy-holders' Money.* The low standard of ethical ideals prevalent in Wall street and throughout the new commercial feudalism whose members pose as the "safe and sane" representatives of commercial integrity and security but who have also for years been becoming more and more the actual rulers of the nation, has seldom been more strikingly illustrated than in the reckless, loose and criminally extravagant management of the great insurance companies, where if anywhere in the business-world, every sentiment of honor, probity, manhood and humanity should demand that economy and a recognition of the sacred character of the trust imposed should be ever present. Here we have seen the expensive dinner given by Mr. Hyde to M. Cambon charged up to the company. Young Mr. Hyde wanted a handsome private-car; the policy-holders' money paid for it. His salary was thirty thousand dollars; he wanted it raised, so forthwith he received seventy-five thousand dollars. This, however, did not satisfy his growing appetite, and ere long we find it raised to one hundred thousand, or double that received by the President of the United States; and yet it is admitted on all hands that this young man was not in any conspicuous degree a man of business ability. In five years, or between 1900 and 1904 inclusive, according to Superintendent Hendricks' report, the salaries of the Equitable Assurance Society's officials jumped from the extravagant figure of $380,100 per annum to the enormous figure of $613,300, or 61.43 per cent. The rich widow of the author of the present "system" was pensioned out of the money contributed by the policy-holders, she receiving twenty-five thousand dollars a year. And these are merely typical illustrations of the reign of extravagance, loot and waste that is one conspicuous feature of the management of the big New York companies. Indeed, while the policy-holders have received less than they should have received, these com-

Opper, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

"HERE IT IS BACK! I WAS ONLY JOKING!"

panies have been perfect Eldorados for the favored officials and inside exploiters—*those commercial cormorants who have fattened off of the hard earnings of the American people.* Take, for instance, a typical example as found in the case of Mr. John A. McCall of the New York Life Insurance Company.

From 1883 to 1886 he held the office of Superintendent of Insurance of New York state, a position which commands a salary of $7,000 with $1,700 for expenses. Thus he received at that time $8,700 a year. In 1886 he became Comptroller for the Equitable Company, at a salary, if we remember correctly, of $12,000 a year. In 1892 he was elected President of the New York Life Insurance Company, a position which he has since held. During the last few years he has received a salary of $100,000 a year. But during this period, when he supposedly has been devoting his time and energy to the interests and furtherance of the legitimate business of the companies from which he has been receiving such munificent salaries, his personal fortune has not suffered. The New York papers announced that he was worth $12,000,000, but on the witness-stand Mr. McCall stated that he was not a multi-millionaire, or even a millionaire. Yet this gentleman, who would have us believe he is worth less than a million, is the possessor of a mansion at West End, New Jersey, known as "Shadow Lawn," and frequently called the "White House by the Sea." This home with its furnishings is said to have cost considerably more than a million dollars. The stable alone cost $150,000.

Opper, in New York *American.* (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

"RUN AWAY LITTLE BOYS, YOU'RE NOT IN IT."

Bush, in New York *World.*

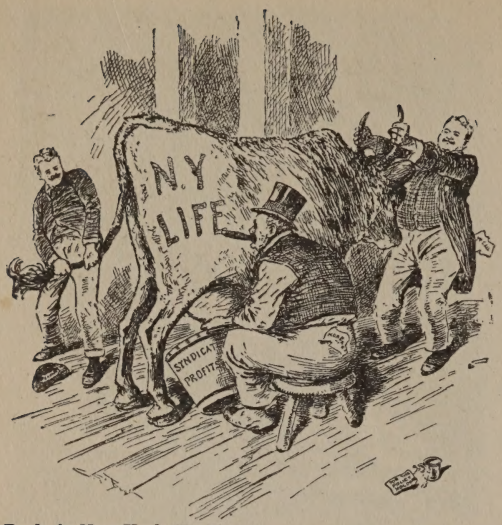
THE PLUM TREE.—THE CASE IN A NUTSHELL.

Political Companies and Insurance Companies rendered this possible.

His town home, No. 57 West 72d street, is said to be worth at least a half a million dollars. Yet the revelations made since the waters of the Dead Sea of insurance corruption and infamy have been stirred, indicate that Mr. McCall is by no means an exception. Indeed, it would appear that others have fared even better than he.

(2) *Sinister Influence in Politics.* Not only has the wealth of the policy-holders been employed by these companies from time to time, as has been clearly shown, to foster and further the interests of the commercial feudalism, but there is every reason to believe that the wealth of the people—the hard-earned money of the wealth-creators of America, given in good faith to secure an ample competence for their widows and orphans—has been used to so influence legislation as to take away the people's safeguards that had been provided for their protection. In the New York *World's* full-page editorial broadside of June 26th, we find the following account of the trail of the insurance serpent in New York state politics. After describing how under the elder Hyde's management the present insurance system was advanced in such a way as to favor the officials and manipulators of the funds, the *World* continues:

"*To prevent attacks on the system the in-*



Bush, in New York *World.*

MILKING THE COW.

surance companies have regularly maintained in their employ members of the Insurance Committees of both houses of the Legislature. Indeed, in recent years the Insurance Committees have been appointed by the insurance companies. Tentative lists have been made up by successive speakers and presidents of the senate and submitted to Mr. Alexander, Mr. McCall and Mr. McCurdy for their approval, and such changes have usually been made as these insurance presidents desired.

"To secure and to hold this legislative power over themselves these insurance companies have regularly contributed to the State Committees of both parties and have regularly kept on their pay-rolls prominent members of both political parties. Superintendent Hendricks' report of the amounts paid by the Equitable to Chauncey M. Depew, Elihu Root and David B. Hill contains the names of only three men. . . . It does not contain the names of scores of others who have received life-insurance money for their influence or their services or their silence.

"Developing from this legislative control these insurance companies themselves drew up the insurance law which was enacted in its present form in 1892. They were beginning to be bothered by a number of suits from policy-holders whose policies had matured and who realized that they had been defrauded. In order to put a stop to these suits a section was put into the insurance law in 1890 which prohibited any policy-holder from bringing suit for an accounting without the consent of the Attorney-General. And the Attorney-General never consented.

"By the insurance law the Superintendent of Insurance received full power over all insurance companies, mutual, benevolent, fraternal and assessment, as well as the 'big three' deferred-dividend companies. In order to utilize this power for their own advantage the insurance companies secured from the State Committees and the political leaders the privilege of appointing the Superintendents of Insurance and their subordinates. . . .

"The companies took turns in selecting the Superintendents, and each company was entitled to one deputy to represent it."

That the New York *World* in the above was making but a moderate statement of the truth is clearly shown by the testimony of State Senator Edgar T. Brackett, given in an interview published in New York on September 17th. Few, if any, public servants in the Empire State are in a position to speak more authoritatively on the question of the domination of the insurance companies in New York state politics than is this distinguished Republican legislator. Hence his words in the following statement should sound like a tocsin call to patriotic Americans, compelling them to throw off their fatal lethargy and subserviency to partisan bosses ere it is too late. To sleep at the present time is to commit treason against the republic.

"No one," says Senator Brackett, "who has witnessed the Samson-like grip of the life-insurance corporations on and their power over legislation will be amazed a single moment at Mr. Perkins' declarations.

. . . . . .

Sullivant, in New York *American.* (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

SPILT MILK.

"In the Legislature of the State of New York there has not been in twenty years, and this embraces years of dominance of both political parties, a member of the insurance committee, of either Senate or Assembly, who has not been satisfactory to and approved by these life insurance companies. These committees have been graveyards of bills designed to give policy-holders a fair show in their dealings with the companies.

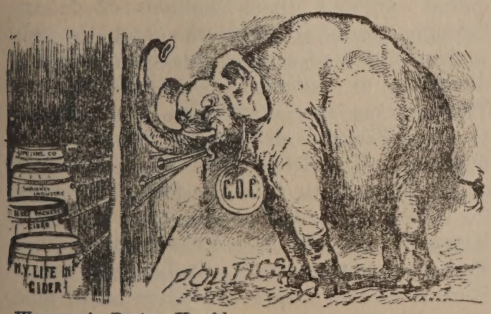
. . . . . .

"The simplest bill affecting life insurance has needed the approval of the companies before it stood a ghost's show of passing."

The politically immoral condition that has prevailed since the system became a formidable power in American life forms one of the most sinister and ominous chapters in the history of the attempt of the present commercialistic feudalism, by the aid of political bosses, party machines and its henchmen in government, to firmly establish a government of corporate wealth operating under the cloak of democracy. Well does the New York *World* observe in discussing the influence of the insurance companies on the politics of New York:

"Never before have its United States Senators, its political leaders, its officials, its prominent, distinguished men, appeared as the recipients of the pittances of the hundreds of thousands of policy-holders, whose forethought for those near and dear to them was perverted to work iniquity.

"From the time when in 1867 Chauncey M. Depew represented for the first time the insurance lobby in Albany until the lid of Equitable Corruption was lifted by its officials' wrangling over the spoils, the Life-Insurance System has been a perverter of public morals



Warren, in Boston *Herald.*

"SUCKING CIDER THROUGH A STRAW."

Rogers, in New York *Herald.*

HITTING THE TRAIL.

and a corrupter of public men, all the more dangerous because of its apparent respectability.

"It has gone on so long not because its iniquity was not known, but because those who knew most profited most. The officials of the State whose duty it was to prevent theft and to protect the policy-holders were themselves the appointees and employés of the system, not only their salaries but their perquisites and pickings being paid by the insurance companies."

But the domination of New York politics by the unfaithful stewards of the insurance companies is but a part of the dark story of political shame. For years the corrupt practices and irresponsible management of the millions of the people's money have gone on unchallenged and have resulted in the enormous enrichment of the official grafters and the almost equally great benefit of the Wall-street gamblers and promoters. At length a time came when the insurance management naturally dreaded any honest investigation no less than did the reckless gamblers of Wall street who acquire hundreds of millions of dollars through watered stocks, manipulated securities and other forms of indirection known to "high finance," while posing as the conservative interests, the "safe and sane" element and the pillars of respectability. Any honest administration, in no wise beholden to the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the insurance sys-

Morris, in Spokane (Wash.) *Spokesman-Review.*

AN EXPENSIVE BATH.

The debt of the Depew Improvement Co., $293,950, was paid Thursday afternoon to the Equitable Life Assurance society. President Morton of the Equitable thereupon addressed a letter to Chauncey Depew, saying "My Dear Senator—I am very much pleased to receive your letter and the communication of the reorganization committee of the Depew Improvement company, which disposes of the matter in a manner entirely satisfactory to the Equitable. An impression of the situation which was erroneous and unjust to you is dispelled."

tem, the railway corporations and trust interests, might make no end of trouble by demanding that the whole system of corruption and indirection be exposed and overthrown. Any prospect of a really brave, bold and fearless administration that should attempt to clean the Augean stables of Wall street naturally enough creates a panic among the above "interests." It was this great fear, far more than the bogy of free silver that made the "system" subscribe its millions to defeat Mr. Bryan; and in the light of facts now in the possession of the public, who can doubt but that it was the conviction that the interests of the Republican party as organized and manipulated by the Platts, the Odells, the Aldriches, the Spooners, the Elkinses, the Depews, the Drydens, the Penroses, the Cortelyous, the Knoxes and the Roots, were so inseparably bound up in those of Wall street's high financiers and the trust interests and corporate wealth that led the great insurance companies to unite with the Armours, the Cassatts, the Morgans and various other representatives of the "system" in liberally responding to Mr. Cortelyou's demand during the last campaign?

Morris, in Spokane (Wash.) *Spokesman-Review.*

A life-insurance president as public fancy had pictured him.

A life-insurance president as recent disclosures have revealed him.

Below we give a brief extract from an account of the legislative hearing as given in the New York *American*, when Mr. George W.

Cory, in New York *World.*

"TRAPPED!"

Perkins of the New York Life was on the stand, as it gives emphasis to our claim that it was not the free-silver issue that was so vigorously employed by the Wall-street interests as a bogy to frighten the people, which led the great insurance companies, together with the great trusts, public-service companies and high financiers of Wall street, who have acquired millions upon millions of dollars through gambling in stocks and through various forms of corrupt practices and indirection, to unitedly oppose Mr. Bryan. We invite the special attention of the reader to Mr. Perkins' declaration that the gold Democrat, Mr. McCall, and his compatriots of the New York Life considered it wiser for their interests to liberally pay to elect Mr. Roosevelt instead of the gold Democrat, Judge Parker, when they saw the St. Louis platform. Here it was no longer any silver issue, that drove the interests to cast their lot with the Republican party:

"A check for $48,702.50, payable to Cornelius N. Bliss, which appeared on the company's books as 'by order of the president,' was shown to Mr. Perkins.

"Q. 'What was this for?'

"A. 'For campaign funds during the last campaign. I wish to say the company contributed to campaign funds also during the first and second campaigns of McKinley.'

"Q. 'What for?'

"A. 'Well, we considered it perfectly legitimate, and believed it necessary to secure our

Opper, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

"PITY THE SORROWS OF A POOR OLD INSURANCE MAN."

"I am not a millionaire. If I were to die to-day the greater part of my wealth would consist of my life insurance."—*John A. McCall before Insurance Investigation Committee.*

company's interests. We deemed this especially necessary when we saw that St. Louis platform.'

"Mr. Perkins said that the exigencies of the times made it necessary to support one political party rather than another.

"'And even our president, John A. McCall,' he added, 'although a Democrat, considered that the occasion warranted him supporting Mr. McKinley and Mr. Roosevelt, both with funds and with his vote.'

"Senator Armstrong asked Mr. Perkins why the campaign contribution was in so odd a figure.

"'I do n't exactly know,' replied Mr. Perkins. 'The company had agreed to contribute

Opper, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THE THREE "GUARDSMEN."

up to $50,000, but Mr. Bliss said that the figure we did contribute was all he required.'

"The money, he said, was paid by the company to J. P. Morgan & Co., and by the latter to Mr. Bliss. In each of the McKinley campaigns the company paid $50,000."

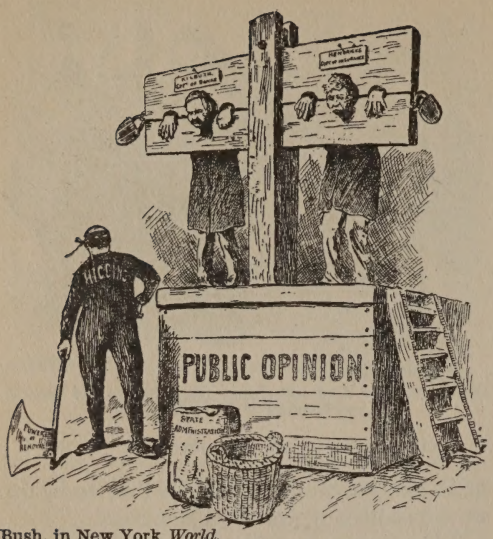
The New York *American* in discussing this part of Mr. Perkins' testimony pertinently asks:

"What right had this man, or any group of men, to take the money of the policy-holders and contribute it to the Republican, the Democratic, the Populist or the Prohibition campaign fund?

"Men controlling insurance funds are, in effect, administrators of an estate, and one of

Opper, in New York *American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THE THREE GUARDSMEN.



Bush, in New York *World.*

"WILL HE ACT?"

the most sacred estates which could be constituted. It is an estate created by men unthinking of politics, to provide the means of life for widows and children after the death of the father who paid the premiums that have always been extortionate."

It would seem to us that no one can read Mr. Perkins' testimony without seeing clearly that if the insurance officials are to be permitted to contribute from the company's money campaign funds, without the permission or direction of the policy-holders, the officials will have in their hands the power to effect legislation favorable to their personal interests and inimical to the interests of those whose trust funds they hold, and to control the election or appointment of officials who will be blind to insurance corruption and irregularity. More than this, if custodians of trust-funds, such as are the insurance officials, can divert the money entrusted to them to influence elections, *it requires no special foresight to see the early overthrow of free government by an interested plutocracy*—a repetition of the old, old story of the destruction of democracy by class or privileged interests controlling government for personal enrichment and power. In fact, the whole record of the insurance legislation since 1867 affords a startling illustration of how insurance corruption has been enabled to rob the policy-holders of their rightful protection and leave them without the same safeguards that the state throws around the depositors in the savings-banks. And furthermore, through the control of the state insurance machinery the policy-holders have been bound hand and foot while a riot of dishonest manipulations and corruption has gone on unchecked, marked by the trust-funds becoming time and again the plaything of conscienceless sets of gamblers. The New York *World* of September 18th thus summarizes a few facts relating to insurance corruption and political corruption that have been proved by the investigation up to the present time:

"These facts have been proved by the confessions of the officials themselves:

"1. The money of the policy-holders has been given to political committees.

"2. Assets which should have gone on the ledger to the policy-holders' credit have been diverted to secret funds and payments have been made of which no record appears in the public statements.

"3. The custom was general for officers and directors to speculate with the trust-funds in their keeping.

"4. It was also the custom for the officers and directors to manufacture securities and sell them to their own companies.

"5. It is admitted that the official annual reports are false and that the State Superintendent's certificate of their accuracy is a lie.

"These shameful conclusions are substantiated by the testimony.

"It is no longer a matter of the Equitable

THE EQUITABLE LIFE SUPPORTS NATIONAL HONOR
THE NEW YORK LIFE DEMANDS HONEST MONEY
THE MUTUAL LIFE OPPOSES A DEBASED CURRENCY
GRAFT

Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) *Commoner.*

A REMINISCENCE OF 1896.

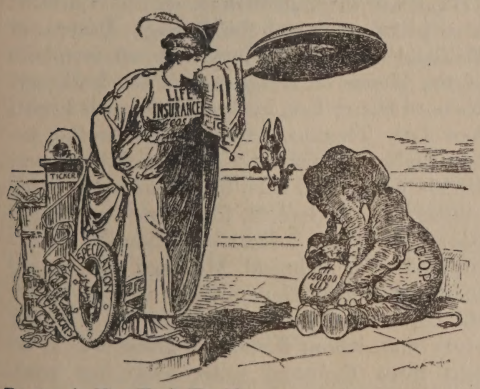
They were so concerned about the National Honor that they forgot their own.

or the Mutual or the New York or the Metropolitan, but of the whole loathsome System by which the thrift of millions of policy-holders has been abused to rob them of their savings and to debauch the financial and political systems of the state."

(3) *Gambling With Trust-Funds.* But the criminal waste and corrupt expenditures of money that should be regarded as a most sacred trust, and the demoralizing results marked in the political corruption born of insurance corruption, are but a small part of the tale of infamy writ large and bold across the history of present-day business life in America. The great companies, fearing nothing from the legislative or executive departments of government, have used the sacred trust-funds for gambling purposes. Systematically have they favored officials and insiders grown rich in trafficing with other men's money. More than this, vast sums have been spent in speculating or gambling with watered stocks.

And to what has this riot of corruption, extravagance and infidelity to sacred trusts brought the great insurance companies? The following extract from the editorial on "Insurance Corruption" in the New York *World* for September 18th:

"In the past ten years," says the *World*, referring to the "Big Three" insurance companies, "their gross income from all their asset investments is $378,241,073. Ten per cent. would seem a liberal allowance for the



Rogers, in New York *Herald*.

"PROTECTING THE ORPHAN."

Leipziger in The Detroit *News*.

cost of managing and conducting such a great business. Instead, the management expenses are $358,099,889. Instead of the income going to the policy-holders, they have received less than one dollar in ten. The New York Life has spent more in 'managing expenses' than it received in income from its investment.

"If it were not for the premium receipts and the new policy-holders none of the companies could continue to meet its obligations. Last year the three companies paid their policy-holders $14,665,601 dividends. This is more than the difference between their investment returns and their expenses. It necessarily follows that either their dividends or their expenses were paid in part out of the new premiums, and that without the new premiums either the expenses would have to be reduced or insolvency would follow.

"On a huge financial scale it parallels the methods of 520 per cent. Miller. It also explains the straining at any cost for new business and the pushing of the deferred-dividend policies, which require less than half the legal reserve in proportion to the premiums paid as compared with straight life insurance."

What are the American people going to do in the presence of this colossal iniquity? Are the corruptionists of Wall street and the corruptionists in political life sufficiently strong to prevent the punishment of the wrong-doers and the destruction of the "system" that is defrauding the millions and placing their earnings in jeopardy while destroying the business rectitude and political integrity of a great people?

CIVIC CENTERS FOR MORAL PROGRESS.

I.

OUR EDITORIAL in the September ARENA is awakening general interest. The New Orleans *Times-Democrat* republished the larger part of the paper on "Centers of Light and Leading," accompanying it with the following editorial:

"Elsewhere in this issue we print an interesting article from THE ARENA for September on 'Centers of Light and Leading,' by Mr. B. O. Flower, in which he discusses the work of the Arena Club of New Orleans. By thus directing public attention to an organization which, since its auspicious advent, has played a conspicuous part in the civic life of this community, Mr. Flower pays a merited compliment to a band of earnest workers in behalf of the mental and moral uplift. In these 'centers of light and leading' there is an intellectual vigor which, by adhering to ideals at once lofty and inspiring, makes for a healthier average among men and women. They stimulate a study of social and economic questions, give vitality to lagging civic virtues and otherwise promote the public good. Indeed, such organizations as the Arena Club are so intimately identified with all movements of public moment and concern they may be regarded as institutional, as helpful auxiliaries of public functions. But above and beyond all they broaden the mental horizon, quicken the conscience and the sympathies of the citizen and increase the social efficiency of men and women within the sphere of their influence. Such organizations are indeed 'centers of light and leading.'"

We believe the time is ripe for the formation of centers or clubs for civic advance, the moral elevation of the people and the preservation of the fundamental principles of democratic government. Certainly there has never been a period in the history of our people, since the formation of the Committees of Correspondence before the Revolution, when the highest interests of the individual and the social organism called more urgently for that united and consecrated effort only possible when groups of individuals are banded together in centers, clubs or committees working for a common end and sustaining each other in their efforts during the long hours that ever obtain in great struggles between powerful interests or principles—such struggles, for example, as that which is now in progress between privileged wealth controlling and operating corrupt political bosses and party machines, and the true interests of the citizen, the municipality, the state and the nation.

We have referred to the Committees of Correspondence, and this suggests that it may be profitable to call to mind some facts relating to those historic bodies and the work they achieved.

II.

In the spring of 1772 the conscience-element in the American colonies, which had grown restive under the increasing disposition to exercise oppressive power manifested by the mother-country, was profoundly agitated over the rigorous measures which England was threatening to put in force against the citizens of Rhode Island, on account of the burning of the "Gaspee." To the colonists it appeared plain that the King had determined not only to administer such exemplary punishment upon Rhode Island as to cow and terrify all other colonies, but also to establish precedents of the most dangerous and despotic character, to be used in connection with the progressively oppressive policies inaugurated. And so it came about that "in the early part of March, 1772, six or seven gentlemen sat about a table in a private-room of the Raleigh Tavern, at Williamsburg, Va. They were all members of the House of Burgesses,—Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, his brother Francis Lightfoot Lee, Thomas Jefferson, his brother-in-law Dabney Carr, and one or two others. Rhode Island had been for weeks upon every tongue. . . . It looked, for a time, as though poor little Rhode Island was about to be extirpated; for Admiral Montagu was going there with a fleet, General Gage with an army; the inquisition had already been set up; and every man whom it chose to arrest was to be sent three thousand miles away for trial. Rhode Island was the least of the colonies; and it seemed as if, for that reason, she had been *first* marked for vengeance. But the lawless court then sitting at Newport an infuriate ministry could transfer to Williamsburg, and order fleets and armies to Virginia to execute its decrees! At such a crisis, what

does it become the most powerful of the colonies to do on behalf of the weakest? This was the question which those gentlemen were discussing at the Raleigh Tavern that night."*

As a result of this secret session of as noble a band of high-minded patriots as ever gathered in Freedom's name, a measure was drafted and introduced into the House of Burgesses creating a committee of eleven, to be composed of members of the House and to be known as the Committee of Correspondence, the duties of which would be to inquire into the true condition in Rhode Island and elsewhere and to encourage other colonies to adopt a similar course, and thus in time create a chain of committees which should keep the colonists informed as to the true facts of every movement made by the King and the Tories. The next day the proposition was submitted in the House of Burgesses and carried by an almost unanimous vote. The committee of eleven thus created numbered among its members Thomas Jefferson, Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, R. H. Lee and Benjamin Harrison. They assembled at once and drafted a circular letter which was sent to all the colonial assemblies, urging the appointment of similar committees whose duty it should be to communicate regularly with each other and to immediately dispatch any important news on its receipt. The suggestion was not only generally acted upon, but similar committees sprang up on all sides; and these vital centers of freedom, schools for democracy, in fact, became the most powerful engine for the advance of the highest interests of the New World that preceded the assembling of the National Congress. In referring to this subject James Parton observes:

"What a part these committees played in the times that followed need not be told! every county, every village, came to have its committee, the power of which increased as the public alarm increased. . . . The Committees of Correspondence—forerunner and cause of the Continental Congress—secured the independence of the colonies."

The need to-day of such committees or clubs is even greater than in the early days, for we are in the presence of a reign of graft that has already deadened the moral sensibilities of a large proportion of our people and rendered possible the continuance of practices that are subversive of democracy; while side by side with this demoralizing influence preying at the vitals of public morality and individual integrity, and indeed largely responsible for this condition, we find the oppressive trusts, monopolies and privileged interests, as arrogant and lawless as they are unjust and oppressive, because they know that with their superb organization and great wealth and the all-important fact that they own and control political bosses and many public servants, they are invincible. And in the presence of these doubly demoralizing conditions—the corruption that strikes at the root of free institutions and the oppression that is impoverishing the millions—democracy trembles in the balance; its success is being questioned. Truly the danger is great and the need is imperative.

* See *Life of Thomas Jefferson*, by James Parton.

III.

In the past, whenever duty has called loudly to the children of men, some chosen soul in every community has been ready to cry: "Here am I, send me," or "Here am I, and to this great cause I dedicate my life's energies." And these chosen few—these men and women filled with the divine afflatus, have wrought revolutions, changed the current of history and brought relief, happiness and a fuller measure of life to earth's unfortunates.

Savonarola entered Florence a comparatively obscure priest. He found that city the prey of conscienceless greed and festering with licentiousness and other forms of immorality. He awakened the conscience of the city, overthrew the demoralizing order and inaugurated the work of moral reformation which became the opening conflict in the great spiritual and intellectual revolution that culminated in the Protestant Reformation and the movement known as the New Learning.

The Wesleys and Whitefield wrought a great moral and religious revolution at a time when England had sunk into moral lethargy and when in government, in the church and throughout society there existed the most amazing indifference to fundamental ethical verities—an indifference which seemed to presage the rapid decline of England. They succeeded, however, in checking the downward current and in infusing new spiritual enthusiasm into the religious thought of their time which reacted on statesmanship and commercial life in a most remarkable manner. These three men, through their consecrated

efforts and selfless devotion to the highest interests of society, awakened the sleeping conscience of their nation and brought a mighty people again under the compelling sway of that idealism which is the vital life of individuals, governments and civilizations.

Mazzini, standing on the threshold of manhood, possessing a fine education, endowed by nature with a rich imagination and splendid intellectual powers, saw opening before him two pathways. One offered congenial occupation in an honorable profession for which he was eminently fitted, with the lure of wealth and fame before him. The other pathway was dark and formidable, a road fraught with deadly perils and along which he beheld the prison, exile and the shadow of an ignominious death. But beyond the dangers lay a potential victory—a victory carrying union and freedom for a people that for centuries had been shackled and oppressed, held down alike by the slavery of despotism and the bondage of ignorance and superstition; and from out the darkness and peril of this danger-strewn pathway he heard, clear and strong, the call of duty, and hearing this—royal soul that he was—he sank all thought of self and dedicated his life to the cause of Italian unity and freedom. The prison claimed him; death dogged his pathway; he was banished to France, from which he had to fly to Switzerland and still later to England. He suffered from extreme poverty, from loneliness in a strange land, but all the time he tirelessly warred for the emancipation of his fatherland. It was due to Mazzini as to no other man that all Italy came to yearn for union and constitutional government, and it was Mazzini who made the glorious work of Garibaldi possible.

It was Jefferson, Adams, Hancock, Henry and a score of other lofty and fearless souls who through organization, agitation and a courageous stand gave to the colonies of the New World the indomitable determination to stand for personal and human rights against the might of the Mistress of the Seas and one of the world's greatest martial powers.

Cobden and Bright, with a few other consecrated workers, organized and carried to success the movement for the abolition of the iniquitous Corn Laws and the establishment of Free Trade, though against them at the beginning were arrayed the entire press of the land and the might of the government and the all-powerful landed aristocracy.

And so in every age political, moral, economic and social advance steps have been rendered possible by small groups of men who have dedicated their lives to some holy cause and acting in concert with kindred natures have gone forward under the ægis of duty, frequently leading what seemed to be a forlorn hope, but ever moving from defeat to victory, because they were leagued with the right, with justice and the dawn, and because they were great enough to place the city, the state, the nation or society above all thought of self.

IV.

To-day duty calls with clarion voice to men and women of conscience and conviction to unite in every hamlet, town and city in one of the noblest battles to which high-born souls have ever been summoned—the work of awakening and crystallizing into concerted action the civic conscience of the land, to the end that the reign of graft shall end, the political boss and corporation-controlled machine with their degrading influence be overthrown, and the movement away from democracy and equal justice for all be checked, or rather that it shall give place to a renaissance of pure democracy that shall awaken and again make invincible the spirit of 1776.

Following our editorial on "Centers of Light and Leading," comes a timely word in the October *Cosmopolitan* from the virile pen of Charles Ferguson, on "The Redoubts of Graft and How to Take Them," in which the writer well observes that:

"Graft is the sale of the public. In a democracy it is treason; there is no other kind of *lèse majesté* that is proper to republican laws. . . . If you make money out of the impoverishment of the public, you are a traitor to the free state. . . .

"It is because this betrayal is so easy that democratic government is so difficult. Never has it really succeeded. All the notable experiments have come to an end—in graft. It was so with the classic pre-Christian commonwealths, and with the free cities of the Middle Age. The old *régime* settles complacently back upon its kingcraft and declares that the trouble with democracies is that 'in a democracy there is nobody to look after the interests of the public.'

"Government by the people and in the people's behalf, requires that there should be in every town, in every ward of the cities, a vol-

untary association of the people, more compact and powerful than all other associations, guaranteeing promotion and a career to all creators of real values and a swift quietus to grafters. . . . If there has come into our day a golden hour of opportunity, its promise lies in the fact that now at last there is dawning upon plain men a clearer perception of the eternal difference between good work and bad, together with a disposition to judge candidates for public credit, not by their professions but by their fruits. There is a growing indifference to dazzling generalities, an insusceptibility to the magic of formulas."

These words ring clear and true. They should come as marching orders to thousands of men and women, and especially young men and women in the republic to-day, and they should lead to the immediate formation of conscience-groups for the furtherance of civic morality and the fundamental principles of democratic government. Let clubs be formed everywhere. Do not wait till the many are ready to join. Little real advance work, especially in the early stages of progressive movements, is accomplished by large organizations. A few consecrated lives can organize victory in every community. Three, four, five or six persons are ample for the formation of a center. The great thing is willingness to consecrate life's energies to the work and the determination to place the general weal or the cause above private considerations. When organized, go to work on a methodical, definite plan, and as quickly as possible come into correspondence with other groups of workers. Do this thing, and you will soon find yourself in the midst of a nation-wide movement for civic righteousness and the reclamation of the government by the people from predatory wealth and corrupt bosses; for the hour is ripe for such a movement, and they who consecrate life to the cause of good government and civic freedom to-day will share the golden harvest crowning their labors.

v.

Among the many kind words received from earnest and eminent Americans in relation to our previous article on "Centers of Light and Leading," are the following from the Hon. J. Warner Mills, whose great papers on "The Economic Struggle in Colorado" are arousing such widespread interest:

"Your idea as to forming Arena Clubs is a good one. I think it would be well for you to have an 'Arena Club Department' in each issue, giving such notes and information as to the doings of the several clubs as would be generally interesting and helpful. This department might permit any announcements to be made of officers and meetings as such clubs might desire to make; also announcements of time and place in towns and cities that take kindly to the idea, when such clubs will be formed.

"If you think well of this suggestion you may announce a meeting at Room 712, Kittredge Building, Denver, for the third Tuesday in November, inviting all persons interested in THE ARENA and its progressive propaganda to meet and form an Arena Club."

We heartily endorse Mr. Mills' suggestions and urge all friends of civic righteousness and true democracy who realize the solemn demands which the present crisis imposes on American citizenship, to meet at Room 712, Kittredge Building, Denver, Colorado, on Tuesday, November the twenty-first, at two P. M., for the purpose of forming the first Arena Club of Colorado; and we personally urge all friends of THE ARENA in Denver and vicinity to be present and ready to lend a personal hand in forwarding the work of social regeneration and the conservation of the principles of pure democracy.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

PHILADELPHIA'S BATTLE FOR CIVIC EMANCIPATION.

The 60,000 Fraudulent Votes That Insured The Mastery of Boss Durham and The Public-Service Companies.

WE HAVE previously called the attention of our readers to the fact that in the first police-canvass order by Mayor Weaver's director of public control, 31,749 fraudulent names were returned as having been placed on the voting-list by the criminal "gang" that has constituted the Republican machine of Philadelphia and the strong arm of Senator Penrose's Republican machine of the state. The Mayor and Director Potter understood full well, however, that ominous as was this list of fraudulent voters, it was only a part of the bogus names whose ballots have in recent years been counted for the party of the trusts and the corporations. A second canvass was promptly ordered by the director of public control, and the police were warned that if not faithfully performed they would be disciplined. The result of the second canvass showed 60,083 names on the list that had no right to a place there. This is one of the most startling illustrations on record of the legitimate results of the union of political bosses operating party-machines with public-service corporations in the domination of politics, and should arouse every American citizen to the imperative necessity of overthrowing ring-rule and destroying forever the power of public-service companies to corrupt the people's servants for the oppression and exploiting of the citizens and the municipality.

The Great Outpouring of Citizens for The Nomination of a Clean Ticket.

On Monday night, September 18th, the reformers, taking the name of the City Party and composed chiefly of members of the Republican party and the independent and reform element not officially connected with either of the great parties, turned out by the tens of thousands to the primaries. Almost forty thousand in all cast votes for popular delegates to the convention set to be held at the Academy of Music, on Wednesday, September 20th. The convention was large, earnest and free. The best citizens of Philadelphia were there, determined to nominate men who should prove an honor and not a shame to the great municipality. The ticket to be elected was for minor officials, but the citizens recognized that a great moral issue was at stake in this election, and consequently the greatest care must be taken to name men of the highest probity and standing who would command the confidence of all high-minded citizens. The men selected were, for county commissioners, Rudolph Blankenburg and E. A. Anderson; for sheriff, Wilson H. Brown; and for coroner, J. M. R. Jermon. The resolutions adopted were as follows:

"The City party has been formed for the redemption of the city of Philadelphia from the control of corrupt and criminal conspirators calling themselves Republicans. It aims to put an end to government by and for municipal contractors and to substitute government by and for the citizens. As necessary incidents to its policy of reform and progress the City party demands:

"*First*—A complete and thorough revision of the present election laws, including a provision for personal registration.

"*Second*—The repeal of the 'Ripper' bill, denying to the mayor the right to appoint his heads of departments.

"*Third*—A sincere and impartial enforcement of the civil-service provisions of the city charter, making appointments to office depend wholly upon the merit and not at all upon political pull.

"*Fourth*—That municipal franchises, when granted, shall be for limited periods only, and with proper compensation, and not as matters of political or personal favor.

"*Fifth*—The election of municipal officers responsible to the entire body of citizens and not to any man or group of men.

"*Sixth*—An honest, open, economical and efficient administration of our municipal affairs based upon the absolute divorce of office-

holders from political control, and that no councilman shall hold any city employment or be interested in any city contract."

Where Do The United States Senators Stand?

The question may be asked: Where do the United States senators stand in this great fight for civic morality and the overthrow of as corrupt and as treasonable a band of thieves as ever disgraced a commonwealth? And the answer, though humiliating to every self-respecting citizen of Pennsylvania, must be that Senator Penrose, the successor of the notorious Quay, has been the sworn friend of Boss Durham and the ring, and that Senator Philander Knox up to the present writing has been silent as the tomb through all this great crisis when the honor of one of the first cities of the republic was in the balance and when every consideration of patriotism, civic pride, common decency and political integrity demanded that every self-respecting citizen and especially every public servant should speak for honesty and good government.

An Important Truth Emphasized By The Philadelphia Primaries.

We have time and again pointed out the fact that the apparent indifference of the voters in our municipal and general elections is due to their having come to realize that the machine-ticket is practically sure to go through. The privileged interests, chiefly the public-service corporations, have for years been in guilty partnership with corrupt political bosses, who in turn have through the wealth and aid of the interested companies built up political machines for spoils and plunder which have been to-day labelled as Republican or Democratic in order to attract the unthinking thousands who wear political collars. These machines and the political boss are alien to the genius and spirit of democracy. They hark back to class-rulership, and are as thoroughly despotic in spirit as the other forms of tyranny through class-government. Indeed, in many respects they are more odious than those forms of class-rule that obtain in monarchies and aristocratic countries; for the corporations that through party-machines are the real masters, are conscienceless, sordid and without even the semblance of moral idealism, while the bosses are usually comparatively ignorant and brutal. They are always unscrupulous, and when intellectually acute are doubly dangerous, because they have no moral development to balance their mental shrewdness, cunning and daring. Knowing they have the power of vastly wealthy corporations behind them, they are bold, brazen, arrogant and despotic. They destroy all their *protégées* who seek to serve the people instead of the corporations, and exalt the corrupt and servile tools of "the interests" and "the system."

Time and again the unorganized voters have found it futile to attempt to overthrow the prepared tickets of the boss and the machine, until at length they have lost interest in politics. When, however, true leaders arise and when there is a chance of throttling the machine, the people are quick to respond. Thus in Philadelphia, where for years there had been little interest in the primaries, because the people knew there was no prospect of defeating the cut-and-dried ticket of the ring and the public-service companies, as soon as they found an opportunity to assert their rights as citizens with a prospect of success, they turned out to the City party's primaries almost forty thousand strong.

It was De Tocqueville, we believe, who said, "The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy," and no truer utterance has ever been made in reference to popular government. The supreme need of our people to-day is more democracy. That trinity of reaction, fatal to free government—the corporation, the boss and the machine—must go. The people must assert themselves in a free and unhampered manner. They also must demand and secure the right to initiate laws when they wish to do so, and the further right to finally pass on legislation enacted by their servants, when there is a general demand for such action. When these provisions have been secured, the people will once more have secured the government in their hands, and the title of democracy will no longer be a misnomer. Until these things have been secured we cannot truthfully lay claim to more than the shadow instead of the substance of free government.

THE BATTLE OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE BOSSES AND CORPORATIONS IN NEW JERSEY.

Mr. Colby's Victory a Popular Triumph Over The Machine and The Corporations in New Jersey.

"NEW JERSEY is hopeless," exclaimed a friend in speaking of the power of certain corporations over the people's servants. "The state has been so long the breeding-ground of the trusts, and it has also for years come more and more under the control of certain great corporations, so that we have reached a stage where the corrupt boss, backed by the public-service corporations and other privileged interests, seems invincible. Let a legislator, for example, refuse to betray his constituents in the interests of the public-service corporations or privileged interests, whenever the political boss commands such betrayal, and his political career is ended."

"But this condition will not always last," we insisted. "The people are daily awakening, and wherever in recent years a strong, clean and able man has appealed from the machine and the corporations to the people, the latter have been quick to rally to his standard. Take for example Governor LaFollette, of Wisconsin. He had both the United States senators, the Republican machine, the national Republican committee, all the powerful railway interests of Wisconsin, and indeed, all the public-service corporations, together with the powerful favored shippers who had been enjoying special privileges through railroad discriminations, aggressively opposing him at every turn. From the view-point of the practical materialistic politician the lavish expenditure of money contributed for his overthrow would have been sufficient to have destroyed him, no matter how popular he might have been with the people. Yet in this conflict between the popular leader in whom the people had confidence, and all the wealth and power of corrupt corporations and political machines, the popular leader triumphed and triumphed splendidly.

"So with Mr. Folk, the obscure county-attorney of St. Louis, who single-handed and alone and with a press long silent in the presence of his splendid work attacked enthroned and entrenched corruption. He had against him the powerful political leader and machine of his own party, sustained and supported by the almost unlimited wealth of many of the pillars of business and commercial life in St. Louis, who were fattening off of corrupt bargaining with the city government. Yet in spite of this formidable opposition the county-attorney triumphed so signally that he became a figure of state and national importance.

"Again, the state machine and privileged wealth strove to prevent his securing the nomination for governor, but the rank and file of his party compelled the nomination and secured his election, even in the face of the landslide that carried the state in other respects over to the Republican party."

"True," said our friend, "but Wisconsin, and Missouri are not New Jersey."

"Still," we urged, "the hour is approaching when some leader will arise and the rank and file of New Jersey will not be slow to range themselves under his standard."

On Tuesday, September the fourth, this prediction was verified when Everett Colby won a magnificent victory at the Newark primaries, overwhelming Boss Lentz and the public-service corporations. Mr. Colby is a brilliant young man of thirty, a graduate of Brown University. He was sent to the legislature with the approval of Boss Lentz. Here, however, he found out that the state was being ruled, not by the people but by a few rich corporations who governed through the political bosses, the public servants merely registering the orders of the bosses as they received them from the privileged interests. Mr. Colby rebelled and was instantly marked by Boss Lentz for slaughter. The boss gave orders that he should not be nominated for state senator. Mr. Colby appealed from the boss to the people. He made a clear-cut and aggressive fight on a platform marked by the following demands:

"*First*—A state law prohibiting the granting of franchises for more than twenty-five years in large cities and thirty-five years in other localities, if so decided by a vote of the people.

"*Second*—A franchise tax.

"*Third*—All railroad property taxed at local

rates instead of the state system at present in vogue.

"*Fourth*—A law affording members of each party opportunity at the general elections of expressing their choice for the party candidates for United States senator."

Boss Lentz with his perfected and powerful organization, realizing that he was fighting for his life, went into the battle with the determination of a trained leader and fighter to utterly overwhelm his young antagonist. Behind the boss stood the great public-service corporations, equally alarmed and equally determined. Money was liberally subscribed and the power of privileged wealth was pitted against the young champion of the people's rights. When the votes were counted, however, it was found that Everett Colby had swept the field, routing the enemies of the people at every point. The Trenton *True American* says in commenting on this opening victory in the people's battle in New Jersey:

"The contest only begins in Essex. It will broaden over the whole state. The defeated corporate influence will unite and rally their forces for the struggle. The fight will be resumed in the November elections. No effort will be spared by the corporations to defeat Colby in Essex and Mayor Fagan in Jersey City. A knowledge of that fact in other centers, where corporation representatives have been nominated by Republican conventions will incite Republicans to cut their tickets.

"The effect of the Colby victory in Essex will therefore be to insure his election, and to promote the chances for election of Democratic candidates in other counties where corporations are still in control of the Republican organization. In a general sense, the result in Essex means a change of state policy regarding the corporations, and the partial deliverance from the shackles of corporation rule, but there will be much tribulation before that political condition can be reached."

The observations of the *True American* are unquestionably true. We predict that New Jersey is on the verge of a political revolution such as has been successfully inaugurated by Governor LaFollette of Wisconsin and Governor Folk of Missouri; and though there will doubtless be many defeats for the people—for the interests will pour out money like water—in the long run the people will triumph even as they have triumphed in Wisconsin and Missouri, for they are ripe for revolt and the leader has appeared.

DEATH-DEALING INFLUENCE OF MATERIALISTIC COMMERCIALISM ON CHURCH, STATE AND SOCIETY.

Moral Recreancy of The American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Missions.

SELDOM in recent years has a more effective answer to the oft-repeated question—Why have the masses ceased to attend church?—been given than was found in the almost incredible action of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in tabling by a vote of 46 to 10 Dr. Washington Gladden's resolution which read as follows:

"*Resolved*, that the officers of the board should not invite nor solicit donations to its funds from persons whose gains have been made by methods morally reprehensible or socially injurious."

Here was a simple demand that the American Board should not solicit a share of money acquired by corrupt means; that a great religious organization should not compound the crime and become a party to iniquity by seeking the gold of those whom the Apostle James so graphically pictured in this terrible arraignment: "Your gold and silver are cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. You have heaped treasures together for the last days. Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped your fields, which of you is kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

Here the issue was squarely made between ethical rectitude and that glaring treason to morality and religion which makes the church

the apologist for immoral and corrupt practices—practices which every high-minded citizen recognizes as being the chief factor in the present degradation of political and commercial life. And yet such was the recreancy to the fundamental teachings of the Nazarene, such the moral obloquy of this organization of men who profess to have dedicated their lives to the promulgation of the ethics of Jesus in heathen lands, that they voted down the above resolution by 46 to 10. The pettifogging excuse that the members felt that to take this stand for common morality would cast a reflection on the committee that had already taken one hundred thousand dollars from Mr. Rockefeller, is too puerile and sophistical to call for notice.

We believe that no sincere or honest student of the life and teachings of the Founder of Christianity can doubt but what the hand that wielded the scourge and drove the gamblers and corruptionists from the Jewish Temple would, figuratively speaking, drive the sordid, gold-drugged men who voted down this resolution from the temple dedicated to religion. We believe that without minifying the evil deeds, the injustice and moral criminality of such men as Mr. Rockefeller, the iniquity they have wrought in gagging educators and preachers by means of rich donations of tainted gold has proved the most fatal evil to society of which they are guilty, for they have silenced the high-priests of religion and of the higher learning and have prevented church and school from ranging themselves on the side of civic morality and individual rectitude in the gravest crisis the republic has known.

Again, in a moral crisis the church has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. As in the days of Savonarola the church and the most corrupt element of the state united to give the great moral leader a martyr's crown; as in the days of the Stuarts the recreant clergy of the established Church preached submission to the crimes against justice, law, freedom and human rights attempted by the throne; as in the days of Walpole the church denounced and strove to drive out the Wesleys and Whitefield; as in the opening days of the Revolution the Established Church in Virginia and the conservative pulpits elsewhere upheld the throne in its oppressive course and denounced the splendid work of Jefferson, Franklin and Thomas Paine for human freedom as the pernicious and reprehensible efforts of infidels and disturbers of the peace; as in the days when Garrison, Whittier, Phillips and Theodore Parker were battling against chattel-slavery, the Orthodox churches of Boston, with few exceptions, ranged themselves on the side of that which they termed the "divine institution," so to-day a recreant, greed-dominated clergy not only lags behind in the crucial hour of a nation-wide revolt against immorality and unjust methods of acquiring gold that is earned by others, and against the corruption of public servants and the degradation of the people by these acquirers of wealth, but in many instances they are ranging themselves on the side of the evil-doers in the hope of gaining some of the accursed gold won by unjust, corrupt and unholy methods.

In the presence of the degradation of religion is it strange that the church is losing its control over the imagination of the people? When the church, for the lure of gold, for power, or for any other consideration, condones moral criminality and iniquity, she sells her soul for the pottage of death and becomes the bond-slave of a degrading materialistic commercialism.

We believe that no harder blow has recently been dealt at once to the church and to the cause of civic morality than was dealt when the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions voted by 46 to 10 to table the resolution offered by Dr. Gladden.

Another Concrete Illustration of How The Private-Car Monopoly Robs The Producers and Consumers.

Nothing is more amazing than the patient long-suffering of the people in the presence of organized oppression that is in a thousand ways robbing them of their very sustenance, that a few score of over-rich men may become over-powerful and through corrupt practices firmly establish a dynasty of wealth operating under the shell of a republican government. One recent concrete example of the present high-handed methods by which one of the numerous predatory bands or trusts which operate in connection with the public-service companies is systematically robbing the American people, will serve as a practical illustration of what is going on in all directions at the present time and should in itself be a conclusive answer to the hirelings of the public-service companies and the various trusts and monopoly organizations that at the bidding of their masters are insisting that there is no need for radical and fundamental changes that will

render extortion and corrupt practices on the part of corporations impossible.

Late last summer, when the peach crop of Michigan was being forwarded to the eastern markets, two Boston merchants had occasion to order peaches from the west. One of these gentlemen ordered a carload from the town of Coloma, and at about the same time another gentleman ordered a carload from Eau Claire. These towns are some twenty miles apart, the transporation being practically the same from each point to Boston. The Coloma peaches, however, went over the Pere Marquette Railroad lines, where the Armour Refrigerator-Car Company has a monopoly of the refrigerating-car service. The Eau Claire peaches went over the lines of the Michigan Central, where the company does its own icing. Last year the Armours charged $55 a car for the refrigerator service alone from such points in Michigan. Since, however, their criminal rapacity has been the subject of so much discussion, and the Interstate Commerce Commission has begun a serious investigation, this trust has reduced its icing charges to $45 to Boston. The freight-billing for both carloads was the same, but that carried over the Pere Marquette line, where the Armours hold a monoploy, had billed in addition to the freight, as "ice in transit, advances for refrigeration," $45; while the entire icing-bill for the carload that went over the Michigan Central was $13.13, or $31.87 less than charged by the Armour Car Company for the refrigerator service. Here was an instance where the purchaser was wronged out of over thirty dollars in order to enrich the Armour Refrigerator-Car Company, and if the purchaser disposed of his peaches at a profit, the consumer in the long run had to pay this additional burden. When we multiply this $31.87 by the number of cars of fruit carried by the Armour Refrigerator-Car Company over the lines they control, we shall see at once the enormous revenue, beyond all cost and legitimate profit, that is being poured into the pockets of the few dangerously rich men who hold the producers and consumers at their mercy. Yet this is but one of scores of products upon which this rapacious company is levying its extortions.

When we remember that in this manner millions upon millions of dollars are being extorted from the producing and consuming public, we must be convinced of how absurd it is to talk of overthrowing the reign of graft and corruption in our government while such iniquitous companies are permitted to continue to plunder the people. The Roman officials who mercilessly taxed the subjugated dependencies of the empire until the exasperated people were driven to revolt, were no more criminally rapacious than are the men who constitute this notorious predatory band known as the Armour Refrigerator-Car Company. The tax-farmers, who before the French Revolution levied extortionate tribute upon the masses to support a corrupt and licentious court and nobility, and a church indifferent to its high mission, were leading instruments who rendered the great revolt inevitable; yet their infamous extortions were not a whit more iniquitous or unjustifiable than the robbery being perpetrated every day and hour in America by the great trusts, through the criminal recreancy of the lawmakers at Washington and the snail-like movements of the legal machinery of the Federal government.

The Boston *Transcript* on September 9th, in editorially commenting on the two cases to which we have just alluded, well observed:

"There is no getting away from the concrete cases which cause a demand for a settlement of the whole private-car line question. The shippers of the country want such inequalities corrected. It is not a difficult matter to show that if a railroad company can furnish ice for icing cars at a cost of $2.50 per ton, a charge of $9.00 per ton for ice furnished by a refrigerator company, which ought to get its ice as cheaply as the railroads, is excessive. It is not difficult to show the people of the United States that the private-car line abuses are not imaginary but real."

And yet this wholesale spoliation of the people by the Armour Refrigerator-Car Company is merely typical of the spoliation by the railways and scores of trusts—spoliation that is going on every day of the year. How much longer will the people tolerate this iniquity? How much longer will the hireling editors, the criminally recreant United States senators and other responsible officials be able to check efficient legislation and the enactment of proper measures which would render impossible the continued robbery of the poor and the honest on the one hand, and the corruption of government in all its departments on the other, by a few bands of men incomparably more morally criminal than Robin Hood or scores of other outlaw chiefs who from time to time levied tribute on the public, but who

never added to the crime of robbery that of the corruption of the people's representatives? This is the question that men and women of conscience and moral rectitude must answer.

How Our Parvenue Plutocracy Is Aping The Decadent Aristocracies of Europe.

The contempt of the parvenue plutocracy of our country for old-time democratic simplicity, honor and integrity has been much in evidence of late in the amazing revelations of wholesale dishonesty and corruption that have come to light in connection with the exposures of the methods of the high financiers of Wall street, who have posed as the "safe and sane" element of society. But hand in hand with these almost incredible revelations of moral obloquy, we have other illustrations of contempt for the democratic ideal and a mad and disgusting desire to ape the decadent aristocracies of the Old World in various ways, especially when it comes to the exhibition of exclusiveness. A striking example of this kind is found in the recent action of Mr. Thomas F. Ryan, the railroad exploiter and promoter of unsavory fame who is also at present the master of the Equitable Assurance Society. Mr. and Mrs. Ryan have so far progressed away from democratic ideals and the principles and practices of primitive Christianity as to require private chapels and a private priest to officiate in these chapels, in their homes on Fifth avenue and at Suffern. The daily press in announcing that the Pope had assigned Father J. M. White, formerly curate of St. Kyran's Roman Catholic Church of St. John's, N. F., to officiate in the recently consecrated private chapel of the Ryans, points out the fact that "while there have been other instances of private chapels in this country, they are a custom of the old European families. In this respect Mr. and Mrs. Ryan can boast of being the pioneer Americans in having a chaplain exclusively for their chapels at Suffern and in their home, Number 60 Fifth avenue. . . . Most of the older houses of the aristocracy of Germany, France and other Catholic countries have private chapels which have been in their houses for centuries. . . . It is said, however, that Mr. and Mrs. Ryan are among the first Americans who have cared to carry their exclusiveness to such lengths as to employ a private chaplain."

The anti-democratic and un-American exclusiveness of the parvenue plutocracy in its desperate attempt to ape the customs of the enemies of republican government in the Old World is one phase of the reactionary spirit everywhere being exhibited by the representatives of predatory wealth.

Another thing that has been greatly in evidence among the prominent representatives of the Wall-street system whose ill-famed deeds are being exposed at the present time, is the offensive ostentation with which they exhibit their relation to religious organizations while practicing acts that are to say the least inimical to the old ideal of probity, justice and business morality and which are diametrically opposed to the teachings of the Founder of Christianity. We are inclined to believe that nothing has more tended to drive conscience-guided and high-minded men from the church than these exhibitions on the part of prominent representatives of plutocracy. Mr. Ryan is, as we have before pointed out, a typical high financier, of whom the eminent Richmond banker, Mr. J. S. Williams, a man famed for probity and the old ideals of commercial honesty, describes in these graphic words when describing this man with whom he had had a most unpleasant and costly business experience.

"I had been so fortunate," said Mr. Williams, "in my business connections that it was difficult for me to understand that a man could be capable of violating pledges and promises, deliberately and solemnly given, and afterward of looking me calmly in the face expressing friendship and apparently not at all ashamed or embarressed—not even angered when bluntly told my opinion of his conduct.

"Mr. Ryan has the tendencies which, if his lines had been cast in a humble and contracted sphere, probably would have made him a kleptomaniac. His strongest impulse is to acquire money, and his one robust passion is to keep it. He views ethics and morals cynically . . . but never allows them to hamper, impede or embarrass him. . . . He has no scruples that I can discover, but his methods are never violent."

Mr. Ryan's case, however, is by no means isolated. The rise in the price of oil, so frequently following the giving of money to religious educational institutions and churches on the part of Mr. Rockefeller, has given rise to numerous anecdotes. Another case of a similar kind was furnished by Mr. Charles

Schwab of Steel-Trust fame. A short time before he became so notorious on account of his gambling exploits at Monte Carlo, the press contained extensive notices of his munificent donations to the Roman Catholic church of his native town.

These and similar cases that might be cited, and the action of religious bodies such as the American Board of Foreign Missions, of which we have spoken elsewhere, are, we believe, doing more to destroy the church as a vital moral factor than aught else at the present time.

Reckless Use of The Policy-Holders' Money By High-Priced Insurance Officials.

Mr. McCall, the $100,000-a-year president of the New York Life Insurance Company, testified that he gave large sums of the policy-holders' money to his friend Andrew Hamilton, without demanding any vouchers or report concerning how the money was disbursed. He professed ignorance, indeed, as to how it was disbursed, but resented the idea of its being used for corrupt purposes.

What would be thought of the manager of a large store who took from the till of the corporation for which he worked thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars and gave to a friend or business associate, without demanding or requiring any report as to how this money belonging to his employers had been expended? Yet in what essential particular would this action differ from that of Mr. McCall, if we are to suppose that he did not know how these vast sums of money given to Mr. Hamilton were expended?

The reckless use of the policy-holders' money on the part of Mr. McCall has not been confined to the enormous contributions to the lobbyist who has control of the legislative and taxing matters connected with the New York Life Insurance Company. We have already seen that he made liberal donations from the policy-holders' money to the McKinley campaign and also to defeat the gold Democrat, Judge Parker.

In view of the facts touching the dissipation of funds belonging to the policy-holders, the question arises: Are Mr. McCall and others in the great insurance system who have been lavish in the disbursement of the policy-holders' money worth a hundred thousand dollars a year each to the policy-holders? Would not, indeed, the policy-holders be far more secure if their presidents received $5,000 a year but were men possessing the old-time ideals in regard to the sanctity of trust funds? This is one of the many questions suggested by the insurance investigation.

Wall Street's Latest Plan For Plundering The People Through a Ship Subsidy Steal.

It is stated that the great and ever-hungry Wall-street multi-millionaires have their appetites whetted for the rich returns that may be gathered from the United States treasury if they can secure the enactment of a ship-subsidy bill through the incoming Congress. In that event the people will have to pay for this subsidy and the over-rich gentlemen who are fattening off of the wealth-creators through devious schemes concocted for the acquisition of wealth earned by others and through legalized special privileges, and who have reduced the art of dodging taxes themselves almost to the point of an exact science, will through this one measure acquire untold millions. Should this plot to raid the treasury be successful, the millions of dollars which these Wall-street gamblers and high financiers have contributed in the last twelve years to the corruption-fund of the dominant party will be a mere bagatelle to the wealth they will obtain from the nation's treasury. It is stated that the Wall-street interests have at last won over the president and that the "stand-patters," of whom Senator Lodge is one of the chief mouthpieces, are in favor of the subsidy as a means of diverting the attention of the people from the growing demand for a reduction in the tariff and also for the purpose of occupying the time of Congress so that no effective relief legislation can be enacted that will jeopardize the profits of the Steel-Trust, the Beef-Trust and other enormous campaign contributors to the Republican party. If, as present evidences indicate, these reports are true, we will doubtless shortly be favored with numerous strenuous pleas for a ship-subsidy from the administration's bureau at Washington. The fact that this attempted robbery of the people would not be within the bounds of possibility were it not backed by the enormous wealth of Wall street, the fact that subsidies do not materially build up shipping interests, as has been clearly shown time and again, and the further fact that if we returned to the policy enforced by

our government in its early years and which did build up a great merchant marine, we should soon in all probability have the most powerful merchant marine in the world, will one and all be carefully omitted by the administration's bureau and the would-be grafters whose greedy eyes are fastened on the treasury.

If it were not for President Roosevelt's intimate relations with J. Pierpont Morgan, Senator Dryden, Mr. McCall and other men of that class. and if it were not that he had gathered around him so many men who are inextricably associated with the feudalism of wealth or are in the most cordial relations with the great campaign contributors,—men like Secretary Root, who when not in public service has been for years the leading corporation advocate and special-pleader in New York, Mr. Cortelyou, whose relations with the Armours, the McCalls, the Perkinses and men of their stripe were such as to enable him to obtain princely campaign funds, and Mr. Bacon, the recently-appointed first assistant secretary of state, who for years has been a director in leading railroad companies, electric-light and gas companies, the Steel-Trust, the City National Bank—that is, the Standard Oil bank of New York—and other similar corporations which represent the feudalism of wealth, we should be loth to believe that he could be brought to favor this iniquitous proposal—a proposal which represents the most vicious kind of governmental paternalism. We have had altogether too much of this kind of partial paternalistic government, engineered to successful completion by corrupt wealth acting in devious ways but chiefly through political machines and bosses for the enrichment of the few at the expense of the millions. Indeed, this kind of special legislation has been the chief cause that has rendered possible the present plutocracy, which in turn has corrupted government and established a reign of graft while lowering the moral ideals alike in political and business life.

The hour has struck when all patriotic Americans should unite in an educational agitation and in organization for the overthrow of the corrupt and reactionary system which rests on privilege and is maintained by corruption.

WORK THAT IS MAKING FOR A BETTER CIVILIZATION.

The American Coöperative League.

WHILE coöperative movements in America have made less rapid advance than was anticipated by many friends of coöperation who were acquainted with the wonderful achievements in Great Britain and in various nations of Continental Europe, there has been a steady and most satisfactory advance along several lines in various sections of the nation. The Rochdale stores have succeeded best on the Pacific coast where, especially in California, their growth has been steady, healthy and in every way satisfactory. These coöperators to-day own and control a great wholesale store in San Francisco and some scores of retail stores, most of which are in a flourishing condition. In the Middle West and the Central States the farmers have made great strides with coöperative elevators and some other forms of coöperative experiments. Here also coöperative stores have been successfully operated, especially those represented by the Right Relationship League. In the East the Coöperative Exchange, operating the large department store at Lewiston, Maine, has conducted an extensive propaganda campaign in addition to giving practical demonstrations of coöperation in the operation of the store. These are by no means all the successful coöperative movements, but they are typical.

On September first and second the Industrial Coöperative Convention met at Portland, Oregon, with a large number of properly accredited delegates, from Maine to California and from Canada to Texas. At this convention the American Coöperative League was formed for educating the farmers, manufacturers, merchants and wage-workers on the subject of practical coöperation and for organization into bodies which are affiliated with all coöperative workers and which in time it is believed will result in a coöperative league or federation that will distance the coöperative work being so successfully carried on in the Old World. The officers elected for the American Coöperative League were as follows: D. T. Fowler, San Francisco, president; J. B.

Merrill, Toledo, Ohio, vice-president; J. M. Moore, San Francisco, secretary and treasurer; members of executive board, D. T. Fowler, I. J. Ballinger, Washington; J. E. Martin, Texas; A. B. Hank, Ohio; H. W. Gaines, Kansas; press committee, Bradford Peck, Maine, and D. T. Fowler, California.

It was voted that the annual convention be held in September. Kansas City will probably be the place of meeting in 1906.

This work is one of the most practical and important movements of the time and merits the hearty support of broad-minded friends of civic advance, industrial prosperity and individual development.

A Noble Educational Work.

Among the men who with tireless activity but in a quiet and unostentatious way are helping the world onward, we know of no one who is doing more effective and practical work for sound democratic progress, good government and the advancement of the individual than Professor Frank Parsons. His *City for the People* is far and away the most valuable and comprehensive work on enlightened municipal government that has appeared. His *Story of New Zealand* is incomparably the best and most luminous work dealing in a detailed way with the progressive and essentially democratic government of New Zealand that has been published; and for the past two years he has been devoting the major part of his time to the preparation of a work on the railways of the world and their relation to the people.

His activity, however, has by no means been confined to his writings. In various educational, political, economic and social works whose objects have been the elevation of the standard of citizenship and the development of the individual he has been a strong influence. The latest and one of the most promising labors in which he has been engaged is the carrying on of a new free educational institution known as The Breadwinners' College. This school is conducted at the Civic Service House, on Salem street, in the North End of Boston, in the midst of a section where there are numbers of ambitious young people not financially well circumstanced and many of whom have come comparatively recently from Russia and other foreign lands. A large proportion of these persons are eager to learn more of the principles of free government and of republican institutions than they know, as well as to acquire all other kinds of useful information, and it is good to see the avidity with which they have seized the opportunity afforded through the high patriotism and love of humanity of Professor Parsons and his associates. Among the principal assistants of Professor Parsons in his work are Rev. Charles F. Dole, one of the most able Unitarian divines of New England, and Mr. Ralph Albertson, secretary of the School City League and a deeply thoughtful worker for social progress who has for years wrought untiringly and effectively for the cause of practical coöperation and to further the realization in life here and now of the ethics of the Golden Rule.

The College is held at the College Settlement where Mr. Meyer Bloomfield and Mr. Philip Davis have for some time been engaged in a splendid labor for the social, moral and intellectual advancement of the dwellers in this congested section.

In the Breadwinners' College free instruction is given in history and civics; English language, composition and literature; industrial history and economics; life principles, practical psychology and method; music and vocal culture. There is no tuition fee whatever, but earnest work and studious application are expected from all students. At the opening session of the college sixty pupils were enrolled.

It is impossible to estimate the far-reaching good that will follow from this institution which gives opportunities for vitally important intellectual and moral education to young people hungry for such advantages, but who without such an opportunity as this school affords would not have the chance to obtain the education that is so ardently desired. Out of such material as is present in this school we may confidently expect there will come some civic leaders who will in the coming years strike telling blows for justice, freedom and an emancipated humanity.

The New Note of Ethical Idealism In Our Journals of Recreation And Sport.

We have heretofore called attention to the tremendous power being wielded by the magazines for civic righteousness, social justice and a moral renaissance in the present crisis, but the increase in outspoken championship of social, political and economic morality and

justice is but one phase of the ethical activity clearly apparent in the field of periodical literature. No one who has kept in touch with the journals of sport, recreation and out door life during recent years can have failed to note the change in periodicals of this class that amounts almost to a revolution. Compare, for example, the old-time sporting magazines with *Recreation* since Dan. Beard became its editor, *Forest and Stream* under the management of Bird Grinnell, and *Outing* under the direction of Caspar Whitney; and the difference between the old order, where too often the periodicals catered to the lowest and most brutal instincts in man, and the high moral note now present in the above magazines edited by reformers, nature-lovers and men of ethical ideals, will be striking as it is refreshing.

Seldom has a publication risen so rapidly in sterling value as has *Recreation* since Dan. Beard became its editor. The moral tone, as our readers can well imagine, is high and fine, and the work Mr. Beard is doing to check the extinction of the buffalo and other noble food animals deserves the highest praise.

The effect of having men like Beard, Grinnell and Whitney as editors of our leading journals of sport and recreation cannot fail to be of inestimable value to the rising generation in infusing a higher and finer spirit into the lives of a large number of persons not easily reached by more didactic publications.

The International Liberal Congress At Geneva.

Among the important and significant world-events of recent months was the international council of Unitarians and other liberal religious thinkers which convened at Geneva on August 29th. At the opening session, held in the great hall of the University of Geneva, there were about 550 delegates present, among whom were many of the strongest and clearest thinkers of the age—many of the most deeply religious men of our time. Here, sitting side by side, were thinkers from the United States and from India; from Germany and France; from Belgium and Morocco; from Italy and Holland; from Switzerland and England. Indeed, there were 250 delegates from the latter country alone. America was represented by more than thirty thinkers.

The council was opened by Professor A. Chantre of the Theological Faculty of the University of Geneva, but the principal opening address was delivered by the president, Professor E. Montet, Dean of the Theological Faculty of the University of Geneva. In the course of his address this eminent scholar said:

"Freedom of thought in religious matters will be strengthened by this congress.

"The need of a Christianity at once vital and broad is felt more and more. . . . In the depths of many souls, both in Europe and America and even beyond the two continents, there is a profoundly felt need of faith, but of unshackled faith.

"These souls are essentially religious, they cannot dispense with faith in God. His messengers on earth, from Moses to Jesus and from Jesus to the witnesses to religious truth, in all lands, at the present time, seem to them not only as necessary as the greatest social benefactors, but appear to them to be the very levers of humanity. In these souls the religious need—so deep and sincere and which so urgently calls for satisfaction—is intimately allied with the demand for liberty. They cannot conceive of true Christianity except in the spirit of perfect freedom."

The council this year was one of the largest and most successful ever held, the attendance being larger even than that of the last great council which convened at Amsterdam two years ago; and significant indeed was the cordial welcome accorded these Unitarians and liberals from all over the world in the city of Calvin, the city which witnessed the martyrdom of Servetus. And in this connection it is interesting to know, as indicating something of the growth of liberal sentiment among Protestant peoples, that recently the Calvinists of Geneva placed a memorial on the site where Servetus was burned.

Japan's Important Contribution to The Science of Surgery.

Japan has become the teacher of the world in surgery. The success that has attended the treatment of the wounded by her surgeons during the recent war has no parallel in the history of science. That the favorable showing is due in part to the fine physical health of the Japanese is probably true, but the treatment of the Russians who fell into the hands of the Japanese was also surprisingly success-

ful and clearly indicates the superiority of the Japanese system over that of Western civilization.

At a dinner given on September 20th at the Hotel Astor, Surgeon-General Suzuki, who served on Admiral Togo's flagship directing the treatment of 682 wounded men so successfully that only 32 died, showed that the Japanese surgical methods differed radically from the antiseptic treatment of Western countries, and later, in speaking to a representative of the New York *World*, the eminent surgeon thus described their treatment:

"The aseptic method of surgery is extremely simple. It consists in washing out a wound with distilled water, bandaging it with sterilized cotton bandages and letting it alone for nature to heal. That is all. You know that suppuration is the one thing that must be prevented, for it retards and may prevent the healing of a wound. Suppuration is caused by microbes and is really a decay of the tissues. Dr. Lister taught the world how to kill such germs by the use of carbolic acid, corrosive sublimate and other drugs, and his discovery, which revolutionized surgery, is the antiseptic. In the last ten years we have learned that there is a simpler and safer method, for the antiseptic drugs are powerful poisons and their introduction into a fresh wound cannot fail to retard its healing. Distilled water contains no germs, and fresh wounds—at least, such wounds as are received in modern warfare—contain no germs; so if these be washed with distilled water and bound at once there is no reason why they should not heal rapidly. Our experience has proved that they do."

THE MOVEMENT FOR WORLD PEACE.

The Growing Sentiment Against Militarism.

THE CAUSE of international peace is being silently fed by various currents that are little noticed by the superficial or even by those who rely mainly upon outward appearances and events about which there is much general discussion, as a basis for their conclusions. Three recent happenings will illustrate this fact and help us to understand why men of profound conviction, who view life in the comprehensive manner of broad and deep thinkers, are optimists even while in no wise abating their vigorous fight against those things that make for war, corruption, injustice and savagery.

To-day the cause of peace is being advanced from two divisions of human activity, one of which has ever before, save perhaps in brief periods of religious awakening, ranged itself on the side of war. Not only are the wisest, sanest and noblest representatives of conscience-guided intelligence battling for the abatement of war and the curse of militarism, but the proletariat, who have heretofore been the first to respond to the jingo-cries of selfish rulers and demagogues, are to-day for the first time in earth's history displaying at once the wisdom of enlightened self-interest and regard for the fundamental ethics of Christianity.

Labor as a Potent Factor Against Militarism.

SEVERAL months ago, when the parliament of Norway voted to sever the union which existed between Norway and Sweden, the ruling powers of the sister nation immediately resorted to threats of violence. The parliament of Sweden talked of little else than forcing Norway by the might of the military arm to remain in an union hateful to the latter nation. Apparently there was little thought on the part of Swedish statesmen of any adjustment other than by an appeal to the arbitrament of force. The position taken was precisely such as favors acts which render war inevitable, and in past times under such circumstances the masses have usually been quick to respond to the belligerent suggestions of self-seeking statesmen and warriors. On this occasion, however, something happened new in history. The labor-unions of Sweden, speaking with unanimity, denounced the talk of war, declaring not only their determination not to shoot down their brothers of Norway, but many unions voted that if the government persisted in going to war, a great strike should be called in all departments of industrial activity throughout the realm.

This action, we believe, is the first instance on record where the producing millions of a nation served notice on the ruling and para-

site classes that they could not reckon on the industrial army to engage in that form of licensed murder called war. This declaration not only suddenly chilled the war ardor of the statesmen, who counted on the workers to be the food for the cannon, but it produced a profound impression all over the Christian world. It is stated that, humiliated and disappointed as was the Emperor William at finding the autocracy of Russia weakened and defeated by England's vigorous ally in the Far East, his chagrin and anger at Russia's impotence was less than the alarm and disgust occasioned by the talk of Norway's establishing a democratic form of government, and the new and ominous note that the workers of Sweden struck when organized labor significantly protested against the nation's engaging in an unholy war. He knew that already in his realm over three million voters were the sworn enemies of militarism. He knew that the moment the workers the world over came to clearly see the true situation, they would render war impossible, for they would not only realize that they, the strong arm of the nation, were the food for the cannon and the bulwark for those who in safety reaped glory, honor and wealth from the war, but that the greatest sufferers in war were the hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans of the industrial classes, who are always robbed on every hand of the supporting arm when nations war and who after peace is declared long feel the burden of war through the excessive taxation levied to pay for its expenses.

The Jaures Incident And Its Effect.

Another very significant recent incident that should afford genuine satisfaction to all friends of international peace was the effect that followed Emperor William's arbitrary refusal to allow the illustrious French statesman, M. Jean Jaurès, to deliver an address at the Socialist Congress in Berlin. Great as is the Emperor William's hatred of social democracy, and indeed of all forms of democracy or aught else in government that exalts the power of the people and tends to curb the autocratic sway of the Kaiser, it was not because of Socialism, as was afterwards shown, that he determined to take so high-handed a course as to prohibit one of the most distinguished statesmen of a sister nation from speaking in his empire. The Kaiser, it is stated, found out that the burden of M. Jaurès' address was to be a plea for international peace. He understood that the powerful stand that the French statesman had so ably taken in his Paris journal as well as in his addresses, in regard to the folly and criminality of war, would form the chief topic of his speech; and knowing the power of the most eloquent orator of Europe and fearing beyond all else the awakening of the proletariat to the fact that however much the throne, the ruling classes and the parasites might benefit from war, the workers must inevitably lose and suffer in the event of war, he refused to permit M. Jaurès to address the Berlin public.

But this prohibition outraged the sturdy Germans' innate love of fair play. Men hitherto indifferent to Jaurès or his views now became interested, and when the Socialist Central Committee published the address in full and scattered it broadcast, it was read by tens if not hundreds of thousands of people who would never have heard the address had the statesman come in person to deliver it. And the address was all that the Emperor doubtless feared it would be. It showed the workers how their own high interests no less than the weal of civilization demanded international peace. It pleaded with the wealth-creators of all lands to unite in an international federation pledged to peace and amity—a federation which when strong enough will render war no longer probable, if not impossible, and in so doing will destroy the burden of militarism. The following extracts from Jaurès' address will give the reader the keynote of the speech the Kaiser feared to have the Germans hear:

"War, like the exploitation of labor, is just a form of capitalism, and the prevention of wars between nations, and the prevention of wars between capital and labor in each nation are associated tasks. The execution of these tasks means a gigantic educational effort, a hopeful effort.

"Our horror of war does not proceed from weak sentimentalism, from enervation. We are as ready as others to accept the inevitable evils of the human lot.

"But in Europe of to-day liberty and justice are no longer to be achieved through bloodshed; the grievances of a people are no longer to be redressed in that way, but through an international unity—which, however, leaves each nation as unfettered in its specific relations as individuals are in their respective communities."

The Interparliamentary Congress.

During the closing days of August there assembled in Brussels representatives from leading legislative bodies of the principal civilized nations, to consider the cause of arbitration and world peace. At this congress the Italian Chamber of Deputies was represented by one hundred members. From the House of Commons of England there were thirty representatives. From the French Chamber of Deputies forty delegates were present. Our own House of Representatives sent a number of strong men under the leadership of Congressman Bartholdt, president of the Interparliamentary Congress. There were also able delegations from the German, Austrian and Hungarian houses and from the parliaments of Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Sweden.

Many questions of the first importance were discussed in a manner that cannot fail to bear fruit in the coming years. But the most important action was the presentation and favorable reception of the plan offered by the American representatives, under the leadership of Congressman Bartholdt, for the establishment of a permanent congress of nations. This bold proposal, though tentatively and tactfully presented, as in the nature of the case such a proposition to receive consideration would have to be, was essentially revolutionary in character, yet the proposition received profound consideration, and though one of the leading Austrians and a prominent English statesman wished to move slowly, fearing America might be too precipitous in its proposed action, and though some of the German and Italian representatives opposed the provisions for arbitration, on the whole the reception was most favorable and the proposition was referred to a special committee with instructions that it should report to the Hague Tribunal which was to be called after the close of the Russo-Japanese war.

The fact that leading statesmen of the great civilized nations are meeting together for the purpose of promoting international peace and that the minds of so many men intimately concerned in the world's affairs are focussed upon the abatement of militarism and the advancement of peace, is in itself most significant and encouraging; and the further fact that such a body favorably received and discussed a proposition for international arbitration shows that the sweep and current of world sentiment is moving toward a goal new in the history of civilization.

We believe the time is not far distant when an international tribunal will be established, with authorized powers to decide all questions of dispute between nations, just as the department of justice within a civilized land settles disputes and contentions between citizens. Despite all superficial signs to the contrary and despite the blunted moral susceptibilities of church, state and commercial life of the present age, the face of the civilized world is set toward universal arbitration and the reduction and final destruction of the menace and curse of militarism.

A FASCINATING PEN-PICTURE OF A VANISHING RACE.*

A Book-Study.

I. The Author of The Book.

MR. EDWARD TREGEAR, the able Secretary of Labor for the Commonwealth of New Zealand, has contributed a work of great value to the literature of the world in his scholarly yet fascinating volume on *The Maori Race*. The author is one of the most remarkable figures in the group of distinguished progressive statesmen who have placed New Zealand in the very van of liberal democratic commonwealths and made it a genuine bogy to predatory wealth and the parasite class that aspires to occupy a position in our land not unlike that of the hereditary aristocracy of monarchal countries. But Mr. Tregear is far more than one of the most practical of the liberal democratic statesmen of Australasia. He is a philologist of world-wide distinction and an expert on all matters relating to the Polynesian peoples. Usually men who rigidly follow the scientific method in their research, as does our author, become prosaic; but Mr. Tregear is a happy exception to this rule, for next to fidelity to the demands of truth, his work is marked by the idealism of the truly poetic soul. This is true of his work wherever seen. In statescraft the practical idealist is ever seeking to introduce now and here that measure of justice that should mark a civilized people and bring into present realization in government the spirit of the Golden Rule. To the study of the Maoris he has brought the same sympathy and enthusiasm and the same broad, just and fraternal spirit that has marked his career as a statesman. Hence his study of the native New Zealanders is possessed of human interest and is rich in information and suggestive lessons.

II. Why The Dark Side of Maori Life Has Been So Uniformly Emphasized.

It is a humiliating fact, let it be frankly said, that the Anglo-Saxon peoples are conspicuous among the world's leading nations in their prejudice against all colored races; and it has been the custom too frequently pursued by nations seeking justification for their greed for conquest, to emphasize the evil characteristics of the native peoples against whom they have larcenous designs. The missionaries, also, in their zeal to collect funds to enable them to carry forward their work, have laid far greater emphasis on the repellant and savage sides of heathen life than on the nobler and finer traits of those whom they desire to convert. Hence the general impression given of heathen and barbarous nations has been usually unjust and misleading. No peoples, not the most civilized, could make a good showing if their darker sides and weaker expressions were given preponderating emphasis. Thus, for example, if an Inca traveler had journeyed through the Spanish peninsula at the time when the so-called Holy Inquisition was despoiling and driving the Hebrews from Spain and lighting the fires of death around the bodies of the noblest children of the land; if he had journeyed further and beheld the frenzy of religious persecution elsewhere in Europe taxing the ingenuity of man to devise means of torture more terrible than any hitherto invented, to apply to those who could not subscribe to the tenets of certain creeds and dogmas and who were too great and noble to lie or dissimulate; if he had from thence passed over to England and there found on every hand gibbets, each bearing a score or more of unfortunates, the crime of many of whom was merely theft of food to prevent starvation; and if further he had ignored the better aspects of life, he might well have painted a picture that would have created only feelings of loathing and revulsion in the minds of all his people who heard his story. Or, coming down to our own day, should a visitor from a distant planet come into our midst and have his mind riveted on the blots of our so-called Christian civilization to such a degree that he should ignore the better side of present-day life, he also might tell nothing but the truth and yet make a picture so distorted as not only to be markedly unfair, but repellant to every enlightened mind.

Now we have been accustomed to regard

**The Maori Race.* By Edward Tregear. Cloth. Pp. 592. A. D. Willis, Publisher, Wanganui, New Zealand.

the Maoris and their fellow-peoples with universal aversion. They have been painted as cannibals, banqueting on their fallen foes, and as people who on occasions used human victims to propitiate the gods or avert some threatened disaster; and these things in the early days were true of them, yet in spite of such revolting practices their life possessed much that was fine, noble, attractive and praiseworthy—so much so, indeed, as to make their story one of singular interest when told by one thoroughly acquainted with all phases of their life and great and just enough to give to his history that moral proportion which truth demands,—such a picture as we find in the present work by New Zealand's eminent statesman.

III. The People and Their Physical Characteristics, Habits and Customs.

The Maoris, that branch of the Polynesian race inhabiting New Zealand at the time when the white man first touched on the island, were in the elder day a powerful and numerous people, but since the coming of the European, with his diseases, his fear and his habits and customs so unlike those of primitive people, the Maori has rapidly declined. The remnant has also become to a large degree Europeanized, so that, as Mr. Tregear points out, between "the old Maori and the new there is indeed a great gulf fixed," and "it is then to the Maori of elder days that we must turn, if we wish to learn with reliability the influences under which this branch of the great Polynesian race thought and acted, fought and worked, lived and died."

"The Maoris," observes our author, "were a handsome and well-developed race; muscular, fleshy, with fine figures, good arms and well-shaped legs, but with the feet flat and broad. The men were as tall as the average Englishman. . . . Among a hundred Maoris, at least ten would be six feet high or over." Their bodily frames "possessed enormous stores of endurance. Like most races nearer the fountain-head of primitive life than ourselves they held a recuperative force which may have resembled that of our Viking ancestors, but which appears to the ordinary European little short of marvelous."

"The women were shorter than the men, but in youth were elegant and graceful; many of them had small and beautifully shaped hands. . . . They differed very much in complexion, some being as fair as Southern Europeans, some almost as dark as negroes. . . . A good comparison for the Polynesian skin has been made in 'the color of coffee with plenty of cream.'"

"The hair was very black and abundant; sometimes it was closely waved or curly, but never tufted or wooly as in negroid races." "They had oval heads with well-shaped brows and full brain development." Their eyes were frequently large and very beautiful. Their teeth as a rule were very fine and regular, but the mouth was coarse, a defect that was accentuated by the tattooing of the lips.

"They were a very long-lived race, having few if any fatal diseases," and barring the casualties of war, they usually died from natural causes. "Briefly put, the Maori died either in battle or in senility."

"If the art of the physician was little needed by the ancient Maoris, clean of blood and healthy of occupation, the help of the surgeon was very frequently necessary. Cannibalism with all its horrors has one redeeming point, it makes those who emerge from the struggle well acquainted with the anatomy of the human frame. They became masters of rude surgery so far as dislocations and fractures were concerned, setting the bones and applying splints of *totara*-bark or the base of flax-leaves to broken limbs with considerable deftness. Skulls were often severely fractured in the desperate fight with clubs and stone-axes, but the sufferers frequently recovered."

"Insane persons were few and were looked upon almost with awe." "Children were seldom born as idiots, or deaf and dumb, or blind."

The reader should remember that the conditions here described are those that prevailed before the European settlers arrived,—conditions as reported by the early missionaries and verified by the general history and traditions of the race. "As soon, however, as white men came among them," this condition was materially changed. "Diseases," observes our author, "were introduced, sometimes in unsuspected ways as that by which influenza arrives; sometimes by means only too well known." It is also probable that after the European came, with his general fear of disease, he transmitted this fear to the receptive mind of the Maori, for no fact has been recently better established than that a large proportion of our present-day ailments are primarily induced by fear and an expectant mental attitude. Before the Europeans came

the Maori thought little of disease. His feat was rather for the spear-thrust and the bake-oven of the powerful and warlike tribes that environed him.

The most terrible epidemic ever known in New Zealand swept over the island more than a century ago and well-nigh annihilated the people in many sections. It was said to have been carried thither by a shipwrecked crew of white people, probably Scots, as a ship containing sixty of these hardy people set out in 1782 to found a settlement in New Zealand and were never heard of afterwards. According to the story told by the Maoris, the ship was wrecked and the crew was captured by the natives and afterwards killed and eaten, whereupon a terrible plague broke out characterized by an eruption in spots over the body. It swept the island. Something of the ravages may be inferred from the fact that in one settlement, out of three hundred but two survived. Whether the plague was spotted-fever, small-pox, scarlet-fever, or some other disease, none will probably ever know. The plague that followed the human banquet, however, was by no means the only influence that served to reduce the population of the Maori people after the advent of the Europeans.

"The furious tribal wars that raged and the slaughter, especially after the introduction of guns and powder, was very great, as well as the ravages caused by introduced diseases." "Strong drink brought its curse for body and mind of those yielding to its insidious temptations. . . . The race had left the old paths and wandered to death on the new."

The Maori lived largely on vegetable food. The staple root-crop was the sweet-potato which was diligently and extensively cultivated. There were numerous other roots and plants used for food. "Bread was made from the yellow pollen of the bulrush. It was collected in summer, and when raw was like mustard in appearance. It was gently beaten out from the flowering spikes, and mixed up with water into thin, large, round cakes and then baked. The taste was like gingerbread, and it was both sweet and light."

Next to vegetable products, fish formed the chief article of diet. They enjoyed the benefits of "good fishing grounds all round their coast as well as in lakes and rivers." They also ate many kinds of birds and the few animals that lived on the island. Some apologists for the cannibalism of the Maoris insist that it was due to lack of food, but Mr. Tregear does not incline to this opinion, as he believes that the food-supply was amply sufficient.

"Their outward senses, like those of most other primitive peoples, were more acute than those of Europeans. The touch was so sensitive that in tracking they could ascertain by its use whether a foot had fallen in a certain spot. The sight was so unusually strong that they saw more stars than we can, and could distinguish nebulæ better. Mr. Colenso asserts that he has proved that natives could see the satellites of Jupiter with the naked eye, as he has stood by the observers with his telescope and watched while they gave the time of a satellite's eclipse. The Maoris had a real delight in color. The different artistic shades used in house-decoration would alone prove this; the dark-brown wood of the framework, the yellow reeds of the wall-linings, the scarlet, black and white of the rafters. Their staffs and carvings were often ornamented with iridiscent shell-work; the borders of the mats with subtly blended color. They had not only a love of color but a finely discriminating sense of it, for instance when looking at things beyond the vision of a European they could appreciate by the delicate shadings of green on a distant hill of what timber the forest was composed, and when gazing at some far-off point of land in the sea they could tell where was the shallow water about it, where the sea-weed, where the sand, where the channel, even the approach of a fish shoal, all these painted only in finest variations of color at an immense distance."

The Maoris were "an exceedingly good-tempered and sociable people, liking to be in company and arranging their homes in communities." They were "exceedingly courteous and polite." "They were a very industrious people and much of their work demanded common labor. During the day the men went to their cultivations, to sea-fishing, to building houses, felling trees, digging fern-root, making weapons, paddles, axes, ropes, fence-posts, figure-heads of canoes, etc. The women prepared food, brought firewood, wove mats and baskets, and worked in cultivations. The chiefs worked side by side with the slaves, the highly-born woman with her attendants, but the higher in rank they were, the more they were expected to excel through having had better instruction."

"They helped one another very generously; in fact the communal system, which has many

disadvantages from the point-of-view of an imperfect civilization, has the evident value of making mutual assistance so general as to be almost incredible to a European. Cheerful, willing, unselfish and unstinted service was yielded as a necessity common as air."

"The Maoris loved children and thoroughly spoiled them, allowing them a latitude and freedom not permitted to European children. This also was a part of the communal system; any woman's child was every woman's child, and if she did not nurse her own exclusively she was nursing the child of one who was paying her the same compliment. The men were just as fond of children as the women, and an old man (if not a chief) might be seen toiling all day with his little grandchild strapped on his back."

"This, then, is what can be said in favor of the Maori, *viz.*, that he was brave, strong of will, true to friends, hospitable, industrious, courteous, kind to women and children, helpful to his mates, skilled in observation, and with the sense to turn his perceptive faculties to useful purposes."

This people held marriage in far greater respect than most uncivilized races, and it was rare indeed that there were any cases of marital infidelity, though before marriage young people enjoyed a freedom rarely accorded.

"Boys and girls were brought up in company, sleeping and bathing together with the utmost freedom of conduct, yet there was little immorality induced by this practice; what unchastity existed among the unmarried was rather the result of social license centuries old and public opinion on the subject, than on account of propinquity in domestic arrangements."

The lot of woman was much better among this people than in many lands which make much greater pretensions to civilization. "It is a proof of the high esteem and respect in which the Maoris held their women that the right of showing preference in love affairs was reserved for the girl. In almost every case the first advances were made by the woman, either directly or through one of her friends." "Women had a high place among them and certainly justified the confidence and protection they received."

One curious custom of the Maoris related to the punishment of unintentional offences and was called "plunder." "It was a difficult matter for a European to understand, but was a method by which an offence was expiated. It consisted of a band of persons visiting the offender and stripping him of all his movable property, or at all events of as much as was supposed to pay for the damage done. If a man allowed one of his boy children to get hurt, the tribe would 'plunder' the father for the loss or possible loss of the child, since the boy probably would have been a future warrior. If a man's wife eloped with a stranger her relations would 'plunder' the deserted husband, since he should have taken better care of her, and not have lost to the tribe a mother of possible fighters."

IV. Mental Characteristics and Achievements: Love of Art, Poetry and Song.

In speaking of the mental characteristics of the ancient Maori Mr. Tregear observes:

"He was without doubt a highly-educated person, although he had never seen a book. The civilized man may have equal or superior mental powers to those once possessed by the Maori, but these powers have been specialized by the division of labor till the 'all round' man has disappeared. We are dependent one upon the other for food, clothes, dwellings, necessities, luxuries, but the individual man able to do everything for himself and do it admirably is rare indeed. Almost any of us, set down in an island covered with forest, naked, alone, told to make his tools from blocks of stone at his feet, and then with such tools to fell trees, build houses, make boats, weapons, carvings, ornaments, etc., or die, would think such a task almost impossible. If to these be added the arts of weaving, dyeing, cultivating the soil, catching fish, birds, getting firewood, he would humbly acknowledge his shortcomings and yield to despair. But to the Maori of old these things were only part of his training. He studied astronomy that he might get steering-points at night for his canoe, and time-points for his cultivations. He observed the blossoming of plants, the mating of birds, the spawning and migration of fishes. His mind was stored with religious laws, with ancient hymns and spells, with histories of his ancestors in the remote past, and knowledge of his tribe in the active present to the remotest cousin on whom he could call in time of war. He knew by heart every boundary of his land, by name every headland of the coast and bend of a river; he was a poet, orator, warrior, seaman, fisherman, cultivator, sculptor, ropemaker, weapon-maker, house-

builder, and these things were done with excellence; no flimsy, slip-shod work was to be found; patience, industry, skill and artistic effort were lavished unstintingly. Surely such a man was 'educated,' not in our sense, perhaps, but then in his eyes our 'education' would be looked upon as eminently unsatisfactory, as training only one side of character, and perhaps no side at all of usefulness."

"An old Maori chief was taken by a European friend to an art gallery, and the first thing on which the native set his eye was a replica of the Venus of Milo. Entranced, he could not be induced to leave that model of womanly perfection in form. From every side he viewed its symmetrical proportions, nor could he be torn away until the patience of his friends was well-nigh exhausted. The same rapture overtook him as he viewed the Quoit-thrower, the Dying Gladiator, and the Apollo Belvidere. His eye, trained to recognize strength and grace in the human form, paid full tribute to the masterpieces of ancient art. Nor is it to sculpture only that the homage of these nature-lovers is paid. In a picture gallery the eye of the Maori may be relied upon to pick out the true in drawing and the accurate in color, where an uneducated European would be utterly at fault, and where even the cultured disciple of some whimsical school may be led to false conclusions by a warped course of training or by minor principles run crazy. It was this sense of proportion and of 'balance' that gave their own good work its highest value, almost an 'art-value' to quite practical matters. It was this gift that enabled them to hew perfectly the two sides of the hull of a canoe (without our scientific aids) so that it would sit perfectly level on the water when launched. The sweet-potato plantations were pictures of mathematical accuracy and care. The two sides of a tattooed face were perfect doubles each of the other; their dancing, paddling, even digging the ground were executed in perfect time and often to vocal music."

As with so many of the more superior primitive peoples, the love of poetry and song was very strong in the Maoris. "Song and musical utterance were the natural expression of their every emotion. All their religious moods found an outcome in chants and hymns; love-songs to their sweethearts and dirges for the dead alternated with lullabies to their children and songs of defiance against their foes, while their more quiet and meditative moments were passed in crooning low ditties full of pathos and poetry. Children sung at their games and men and women at their sports. Even their ghostly fears were filled with music, for could they not hear the voice of fairies and spirits at night uttering their songs of warning and uncanny revelry? The poetry is of peculiar character, unrhymed, and with only a feeble attempt at rhythm."

The following examples of poetry will give some idea of their achievements in this respect:

"The tide of life glides swiftly past
And mingles all in one great eddying foam.
O Heaven, now sleeping! rouse thee, rise to power.
And O thou Earth; awake, exert thy might for me,
And open wide the door to my last home,
Where calm and quiet rest awaits me in the sky."

The mothers were ever crooning lullabies to their children, and when death called the little ones these lullabies became laments. Here is a typical example of a song sung by the Maori mothers long years before the white man's foot had pressed the soil of New Zealand:

"I silent sit as throbs my heart
For my children;
And those who look on me
As now I bow my head
May deem me but as a forest tree
From distant land.
I bow my head
As droops the tree-fern
And weep for my children.
O my child! so often called,
'Come O my child!'
Gone! Yes, with the mighty flood,
I lonely sit 'mid noise and crowd,
My life ebbs fast."

"The Maori mind was a treasury of pithy proverbs; hundreds have been collected." Here are a few typical examples:

"Though the grub may be a little thing it can cause the big tree to fall."

"A spear shaft may be parried but not a shaft of speech."

"The weaving of a garment may be traced but the thoughts of man cannot."

"Son up and doing, prosperous son; son sitting, hungry son."

"Great is the majority of the dead."

"Well done the hand that roots up weeds."

"'Those who escape the sea-god will be killed by those on shore' is an allusion to the legendary custom in the ancestral home of killing shipwrecked strangers. It is used as applying to a very perilous position, as we say 'Between the devil and the deep sea.' . . . 'The

road to Hawaiki is cut off' is equivalent to our 'The Rubicon is passed.'"

V. Myths, Legends, Folk-Lore Tales and Superstitions.

Many are the interesting myths, legends, and folk-lore tales that were handed down from generation to generation, and one is constantly impressed with the striking similarity between them and many of the well-known legends of Persia, Greece and Rome. Space forbids our giving more than two or three examples of these strange age-long dreams and fancies of the human mind:

The Romance of How Ponga Secured His Bride.

One of the many popular love romances of the legendary period describes the wooing and winning of the fair princess Puhi-huia by the valiant Ponga.

"The names of the lovers are themselves romantic, for the man's, Ponga means the graceful 'tree-fern,' while that of his sweetheart is, metaphorically, 'Head-dress of jewels.' The story is the more interesting because the wooing and declaration were performed by the man. The lovers were members of tribes often at war, but on the occasion of some peace festivities met at Mount Eden, Auckland. The young people took a great fancy to each other, but her station in life was superior to his, and they did not dare to openly express their feelings, as many of the man's seniors were present and were Puhi-huia's suitors, for she was a famous beauty. At last the youth hit on the strategem of calling loudly to his slave for water in the night, the slave being instructed to pretend absence or deafness. The girl's father heard Ponga calling without effect, so said to his daughter, 'Arise and get water for our guest.' The maid arose, and, though dreadfully frightened of the darkness and the spirits that move in darkness, took the calabash and went to the spring. Ponga also rose, feigning anger and saying, 'Let me find that deaf slave and his soul shall travel on the path to the realms of the dead.' He followed the track the girl had taken, for he heard her singing to keep her heart brave and prevent the evil ones from touching her. As she stooped to dip the water her lover stood at her side. She said, 'Why did you come? I was going to bring water for you.' He answered, 'You are the water I am thirsty for.' They then talked as lovers will till it was time to return to the *pa*, which they did singly, lest people should suspect their meeting. Puhi-huia's mother said, 'How long you have been! Ponga must be dead with thirst. Take our guest the water.' The girl did so, and Ponga drank, not from the cup, lest he should make it *tapu*, for he was a chief of rank, but he placed his hand cup-fashion below his lips and the maiden poured the water for him. After this the lovers eloped, pursued by angry kinsmen, but our 'Young Lochinvar' bore off his bride in safety. The story of their flight and its result is one of the purest and sweetest tales ever told, though far too long to be repeated here."

Among the legends that purported to describe the origin of tattooing among the Maoris is the following:

The Tale of Mataora and His Lost Bride.

"A man named Mataora who lost his wife went to the Underworld to search for her. When he arrived at the Door of Darkness and looked in, he saw forms resembling men walking about. He descended, and meeting a person asked, 'Has any human being met you?' 'Yes,' was the answer. 'She has gone with her lip hanging down and with a sobbing sound.' The man went and came to a fire whereat tattooers were sitting. Uetonga, the chief artist, looked at the decorated face of Mataora and putting up his hand wiped off the design saying, 'Those above there do not know how to tattoo properly.' Mataora was thrown prostrate and the operation of tattooing was begun. While this was going on, Mataora to dull the pain called on his wife Niwareka (Great Delight) in song, which thus began—

"'Great Delight! Great Delight!
Who has caused me to come to darkness
Speaking of the pain of the beloved one,' etc., etc.

"His wife, hearing him call her name, came to him and tended him in his pain. Niwareka and Mataora left the shades together in safety, but she omitted to leave the present necessary from those who travel to Life from Death, and thenceforth no mortal was allowed to return from the Underworld to the homes of men. Mataora taught men the art of tattooing."

This story of course suggests that of Orpheus and Eurydice, but there are other mythical tales that resemble the Greek legend even more closely, as, for example, the myth of Pare and Hutu. Pare, a handsome young warrior chieftain, was loved by a beautiful

princess named Hutu. The youth, however, was cold to her love, and in despair the princess committed suicide. Her friends were about to fall upon and slay Pare when he suddenly conceived a passionate longing to behold and possess the lost one and waving them back he declared that he believed he could restore her to life. Love has magic power, and the dauntless youth set out for the Underworld. At length he arrived at the dwelling of the Great Lady of Night, and in return for a precious gift the guardian of the nether world pointed the way while warning him against eating the food of the dead, else he might never return.

"When Hutu arrived at the dwelling-place of departed souls he tried with diverting games to lure the spirit of his sweetheart forth, but she obstinately refused until he had invented a new game. He induced the people (the spirits) to bend down the top of a tree and when he was seated on it to let go suddenly, he of course flying up into the air. Enchanted with this original and exciting game, Pare ventured to his side saying, 'Let me also play.' He put his arm round her, and called to his companions, 'Pull the head of the tree down, down, even to the earth.' They did so and on its being suddenly released Pare and Hutu were thrown by the jerk so high that they became entangled in the roots of the trees and shrubs that grow through the soil of the upper world. (O Sancta Simplicitas!) Hutu forced a way for both up through these, and restored the spirit of his beloved to her body, married her and 'lived happy ever afterwards.'"

The Maoris, like other primitive peoples of imagination, had a story which accounted for the origin of the sun and moon. According to this myth, "Heaven took a wife and begot the moon and then took another wife and begot the sun. These two were thrown up into the sky as 'the eyes of Heaven.' Before that time all was darkness and with these 'Eyes' came the first germ of life."

Many were the superstitions of this imaginative people. The most striking example is found in the *tapu*. Our familiar word "taboo" came, our author explains, from the New Zealand word *tapu*, meaning something prohibited, either from sacred or objectionable reasons. With the Maoris the list of things that were *tapu* or placed under the ban by the priest was appallingly large, and while doubtless good for the priest served to restrict the rightful freedom of the people and to take much from the pleasure of life that they might otherwise have experienced. The fear of giving offence to the ancestral spirits of the dead or to the vigilant and often highly sensitive and vengeful deities that were supposed to environ the people, served much as the old belief in the devil and hell-fire served to cast an ever-present pall over the mind of the simple and the superstitious of Europe during the Dark Ages and, indeed, far into modern times, making them the easy victims of religious fanaticism and the slaves of theological hierarchies and priestcraft. The Maori had ever to be on his guard lest wittingly or unwittingly he offend by coming under the curse of the *tapu*. If he so offended the priest had to be resorted to.

The Maoris could boast of something like the ancient cities of refuge of Israel. "At Mohoaonui on the Upper Waikato river stood a fortress that received its name from Hine, the daughter of Maniapoto. Hine was a woman so highly thought of by her tribe that her home was held forever inviolable and sacred. Even her foes respected her so greatly that when the fort in which she lived was attacked it was sufficient for her father to say to the storming party, 'Do not intrude on the courtyard of Hine!' to make them stay their steps and retire. No human being was allowed to be killed on that spot, and the 'courtyard of Hine' became a synonym for 'sanctuary.'"

VI. The Future Life.

The Maoris believed in a future life. Their concepts were in many respects similar to those of Greece. To them Hades was located under the earth. The soul descended to the nether world, where it was greeted by its ancestors and relatives who welcomed it and gave it food which, if it partook of it, would render forever impossible any return to the upper world. After a while the spirit died a second time and had to pass through a very narrow opening guarded by the genii Tawhaitiri and Tuapiko. The genii strove to crush the spirit as it passed between them. If, however, it was a pure, light shade, it could escape as a bird from the snare of the fowler, but if gross and clogged it would be destroyed by the guardians of the pass. Through stage after stage the soul passed, "dying afresh at

the entrance to each 'circle,'" and it is said that some at length entered the vast, shadowy abode of the heroes and demi-gods, though by far the greater number was ultimately annihilated.

Such, in brief, are some of the prominent traits, striking characteristics and peculiarities, beliefs, dreams and imaginings of this interesting people of whom there is but a remnant left on earth to-day. In a study like this it is of course impossible to even briefly touch upon many things discussed at length in a volume of almost five hundred pages, but enough has been given to show that the Maoris were a very remarkable people, and it is a melancholy fact that they, like our redmen, are fast vanishing from the face of the land they loved. A few more generations at most, and they will be a memory, even as ancient Egypt, Chaldea, Persia and Assyria are memories to-day.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

A Vital Book on Municipal-Ownership.†

A work of special value to friends of good government and progressive democracy has just been published from the pen of Judge Samuel Seabury of New York City. It is a clear, forcible and judicial discussion of municipal-ownership, with special reference to the Empire City; and thus with a definite object in view we have a treatment concrete in character that most admirably complements Professor Frank Parsons' *The City for the People*. The latter work covers the field far better than any other single treatise. Indeed, it is almost encyclopedic in character, but for this very reason it appeals less forcibly to many minds, and especially to minds not trained to digest a mass of information or to reach clear conclusions from extended presentations of a subject, than briefer and more concrete discussions. The business man or laborer, however much he may wish to see the community well governed, is as a rule so engrossed in his toil that he shrinks from a large volume of five or six hundred pages, but he will readily peruse and quickly grasp the significance of a succinct presentation fortified by tangible illustrations in which all phases of the question are lucidly yet briefly presented.

Judge Seabury in his work has achieved a marked success in presenting one of the most vital issues before the American people in a cogent, luminous and convincing manner. Moreover, the work, while of special interest to the citizens of greater New York, is almost equally valuable to patriotic workers for good government in all American municipalities; for the problem is at heart essentially the same in all cities, and more than that, it is a great, growing and a vital issue that will not be settled until the people have triumphed over corporate greed that is at once the prime factor in the corruption of government and a source of oppressive extortion from which all citizens are alike suffering. It better than any volume of recent months will help intelligent and sincere Americans to clearly understand the municipal-ownership question in all its bearings and how to best meet and settle the issue for the benefit of all the people. It is conspicuously judicial and fair in spirit and character, though an outspoken argument in favor of public-ownership. It is also eminently practical, showing precisely how the people can again come into the enjoyment of their own. The Judge fearlessly meets all the perplexing problems and obstacles which lie in the way of public-ownership, in a manner that cannot fail to be of inestimable value to all friends of good government who appreciate the importance of this progressive step in a programme of practical progress along democratic lines.

The work is divided into nine chapters devoted to the following subjects: "Public Franchises," "The Lighting Monopoly," "The Street Railway Monopoly," "The Rapid Transit Commission," "Bridges," "The Functions of Government," "Regulation and Control as a Remedy," "Arguments in Favor of Public-Ownership and Operation," and "Legal Methods by Which the City May Acquire and Operate Its Public Utilities."

Readers of The Arena who are following

*Books intended for review in The Arena should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, The Arena, Boston, Mass.

†*Municipal Ownership and Operation of Public Utilities in New York City.* By Judge Samuel Seabury. Paper. Pp. 202. Price, 25 cents. New York: Municipal-Ownership Publishing Company.

the masterly papers of the Hon. J. Warner Mills will find that in New York City is to be found much the same record of moral criminality, of corruption and the betrayal of the people through the domination and evil power of the public-service corporations as is so graphically pictured by Mr. Mills in his distinctly great papers. Judge Seabury's volume should be a handbook for municipal reformers. It will accomplish valuable missionary work wherever circulated.

In the Heights. By Richard Watson Gilder. Cloth. Pp. 96. Price, $1.00 net. New York: The Century Company.

Richard Watson Gilder is one of our most finished poets. He cannot be said to be a voluminous writer, though the present little book is his eighth volume of poems, but what he writes is always worth the reading and some of his verses are of a high order of merit. In addition to imaginative and poetic excellence, the present volume is marked by a high ethical tone that gives it moral virility. Sometimes the appeal is to lofty patriotism or civic spirit; sometimes to the individual, as an appeal to do right for right's sake and because in so doing the soul is enriched. Of the poems of the first class perhaps none is nobler than that entitled "Builders of the State." The following stanzas from this fine composition well illustrate the ethical character of our poet's work:

"Who builds the state? Not he whose power
Rooted in wrong, in gold entrenched,
Makes him the regent of the hour;
The eternal light cannot be quenched:

This shall outlive his little span;
Shine fierce upon each tainted scheme;
Shall show where shame blots all the plan;
The treachery in the dazzling dream.

He builds the state who builds on truth,—
Not he who, crushing toward his aim,
Strikes conscience from the throne, and ruth,
To win a dark, unpiteous fame.

. . . . . .

He builds the state who to that task
Brings strong, clean hands, and purpose pure;
Who wears not virtue as a mask;
He builds the state that shall endure,—

The state wherein each loyal son
Holds as a birthright from true sires
Treasures of honor, nobly won,
And freedom's never-dying fires."

Of the more than fifty poems that compose the volume, the one that we believe will most interest the readers of The Arena is the splendid tribute to the life and work of John Wesley. It is a composition worthy to rank with the best of the conscience appeals in verse that America has given to the world in recent years. Space forbids our quoting as extensively as we could desire, but the following lines will indicate the character of this poem:

"In those clear, piercing, piteous eyes behold
The very soul that over England flamed!
Deep, pure, intense; consuming shame and ill;
Convicting men of sin; making faith live;
And,—this the mightiest miracle of all,—
Creating God again in human hearts.

What courage of the flesh and of the spirit!
How grim of wit, when wit alone might serve!
What wisdom his to know the boundless might
Of banded effort in a world like ours!

. . . . . .

Let not that image fade
Ever, O God! from out the minds of men,
Of him thy messenger and stainless priest,
In a brute, sodden and unfaithful time,
Early and late, o'er land and sea, on-driven;
In youth, in eager manhood, age extreme,—
Driven on forever, back and forth the world,
By that divine, omnipotent desire—
The hunger and the passion for men's souls!

. . . . . .

Increase thy prophets, Lord! give strength to smite
Shame to the heart of luxury and sloth!
Give them the yearning after human souls
That burned in Wesley's breast!

. . . . . .

Baptize with holy wrath thy prophets, Lord!
By them purge from us this corruption foul
That seizes on our civic governments,
Crowns the corrupter in the sight of men,
And makes him maker of laws, and honor's source!
Help us, in memory of the sainted dead,
Help us, O Heaven! to frame a nobler state,
In nobler lives rededicate to thee:—
Symbol and part of the large brotherhood
Of man and nations; one in one great love,
True love of God, which is the love of man,
In sacrifice and mutual service shown."

The lines written on "The Passing of Joseph Jefferson" will be treasured by the hosts of those who have learned to love the gifted and versatile artist and the noble-hearted man.

Many of the poems are personal in character or were called forth for special occasions; but into almost all of his verse the poet has woven high, fine thoughts that will appeal to the artistic, the intellectual or the conscience sides of life. This is one of the few volumes of verse that we can heartily recommend to our readers.

The Pioneer. By Geraldine Bonner. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 302. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS novel, though we think hardly equal to the author's previous romance, *Tomorrow's Tangle*, is one of the best tales of western life cast in a somewhat conventional literary manner that has recently appeared. The author displays much power in her character-drawing and the volume has an added charm in brief, graphic and beautiful pen-pictures of natural scenery. Though her treatment is perhaps too conventional to please the realist, the story is thoroughly unhackneyed, while the human interest is strong throughout. The central figure, Colonel Jim Parrish, the pioneer, is an exceptionally well-drawn and a most lovable man of the fine old school, in whom honor, courtliness and friendship rank above all more sordid things.

But *The Pioneer* is more than a strong, interesting and at times absorbing romance of western life. It illustrates in an admirable manner one of the most important yet little recognized facts of life,—*viz.*, the susceptibility of certain minds to the influence of other brains. June Allen, the heroine, falls a victim to the subtile psychological influence of Jerry Barclay, a man who, to use Shakespeare's term, seems "framed to make women false," or at least to completely capture the imagination, making them henceforth the slaves of his imperious will. The psychological power thus exerted by certain persons over others who are entirely unconscious of its operation is, we think, far more frequent than most people imagine. A girl goes wrong or abandons the dictates of reason and the promptings of her nature to obey the wishes of another mind that has obtained domination over her imagination, and the victim is denounced, often ostracized and cast adrift; yet in many cases at least she has merely become the unconscious victim of another's will. the slave of a mind that has exerted a strange and compelling power or fascination over the unwarned and unawakened imagination and will-power of its victim. The study here presented is therefore not only true to life but it will tend to inform many readers on a very important subject and make them more tolerant and less ready to condemn those whose actions are the result of subtile mental influences exerted by others in such a way as to control the imagination and emotional nature.

Pipetown Sandy. By John Philip Sousa. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 384. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS sane and normal story of boy life in an American village is so photographic in its faithfulness and is rich in tender human interest that it will warm the heart and quicken the imagination of every boy of to-day as well as of those of us who are farther on life's journey but whose early environment was that of the village, the hamlet or the rural district. Here we have the annals of a typical American village told with the simplicity and the charm of a Goldsmith and the added interest of a writer whose intensity of feeling and vivid imagination have enabled him to invest simple life and homely circumstances with compelling fascination. Nor is the book wanting in exciting incidents. Indeed, the episode of the kidnapping of little Lillian and her rescue will satisfy the most exacting of those who desire excitement and action in their stories. But for us the delightful naturalness of the tale and the fine, humane and helpful spirit that permeates it constitute its chief charm. It is refreshingly real and true to life and is thoroughly wholesome in atmosphere and spirit. We heartily recommend the story for boys and girls and for older heads where the heart has remained young.

A Fool for Love. By Francis Lynde. The Pocket Series. Cloth. Pp. 204. Price, 75 cents. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

A Fool for Love is one of the best novelettes of the class of stories that aim merely to amuse and entertain that has appeared in months. It is for the most part natural and wholesome. True, there are exaggerations of the kind one expects in romantic fiction, but these exaggerations are in such perfect alignment with that which is natural that even when present they do not shock the reader or impress him as being improbable. The character-drawing is admirable. The tale is told in a spirited manner and there are several highly dramatic scenes. The story is a love romance in which the niece of a western railway magnate is the heroine and the civil engineer of the rival road the hero. It is a capital tale for an hour's diversion.

The Best Policy. By Elliott Flower. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 268. Price, $1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

The Best Policy is a book of capital short insurance stories written in the easy style of the bright present-day journalist. The stories, though not connected, all deal with incidents in the life of a successful representative of one of the great insurance companies and might well serve as effective propaganda literature for the insurance interests. They were, of course, written before the revelations of wholesale insurance corruption, dishonesty and political debauchery had been brought out. Consequently the glowing colors in which the great insurance companies are presented will impress the readers as either satirical or as an idealistic picture of what insurance ought to be, and what it is, in New Zealand, for example, where the government does the insuring instead of becoming, as with us, a criminal party to the most infamous conceivable scheme for taking away the rightful safeguards from the policy-holders, that the McCalls, the Hydes, the McCurdys, the Ryans, the Perkinses, the Alexanders, the Depews, the Morgans, the Harrimans, and scores of other members of the soulless feudalism of corporate wealth and gambling activity may amass fortunes out of money rightfully belonging to the policy-holders.

Considered as fiction the book is one of the brightest and best volumes of short stories of the season.

Born Again. A Social Vision by Alfred William Lawson. Cloth. Pp. 287. Price, $1.50. New York: Wox, Conrad Company.

Born Again is another social vision told in story form, in which the author contrasts his ideal of a true civilization with the civilization of to-day. This is done by his heroine, a survivor of the race of Sagemen who over four thousand years ago were supposed to have peopled the continent which now forms the bed of the Indian ocean and who represented an ideal civilization where men and women were as superior to us—the "flesh-eating apemen"—as we are in advance of the monkey tribe.

The author is a rationalist, or rather an advocate of what he terms the natural law, which embraces a system of ethics dominated by the spirit of altruism or love as taught by Jesus, with much of the austere morality of the Stoic philosophers of olden times. He is a believer in reincarnation and urges this theory in advancing his plea for the recognition of the sacredness of life. He believes that the world can only be saved by lives of self-renunciation —lives given to loving service to humanity, even though such living brings the way-showers to ignominious death.

The development of the life of his hero constitutes a well-drawn picture of the rise of man from the plane of selfish egoism to the lofty altruism demanded by love—that all-comprehending love that is the crowning dream of the noblest idealistic prophets, philosophers and sages.

The political and economic philosophy enunciated is that of pure Socialism—the union of all for the happiness, development and prosperity of all under such just conditions that the mastery of the few and the slavery of the many would be rendered impossible.

Sawdust. A Polish Romance. By Dorothea Gerard. Cloth. Pp. 361. Price, $1.00. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

THIS is a love story of more than ordinary charm. Though not particularly strong in treatment and though the author does not, it seems to us, reach the heights that ought to have been reached with the material in hand, still the romance is well worth the reading and will hold the interest of most readers from cover to cover.

It deals with the destruction of the forests in a certain section of Poland at the behest of modern commercialism. The millionaire lumber manufacturer, his son, an impoverished count and his beautiful and unsophisticated daughter are the leading figures in the romance, which, though conventional in many respects, impresses one, owing to its novel setting and the striking contrasts of the leading characters, as being unhackneyed. There is also a certain delicacy in the treatment of the love scenes and fidelity to truth in the descriptions of natural scenery that give the story a charm not present in most present-day novels.

The Bible Allegories. An Interpretation. By George Millen Jarvis. Cloth. Pp. 342. Chicago: Published by the Author.

THIS volume is a serious attempt by an able thinker to explain the occult meaning of many passages of the Old Testament that have long been stumbling blocks to Bible commentators

and clergymen. In his preface Mr. Jarvis observes:

"In presenting this book to the public the author desires to state that he has approached his subject from a literary point-of-view, with no idea of disturbing the faith of any one or of endeavoring to change existing landmarks.

"He found numerous seeming inconsistencies in the Scriptures; dark passages that have baffled the scholarship of the twentieth century, and the fact that no adequate interpretation of these passages has ever been given, led to the investigation of which this book is the result. The sole aim has been to find the truth and present it faithfully, the author claiming that wherever truth is found hidden or veiled, it is the bounden duty of every honest man to discover or uncover it."

In the introduction he gives the result of his conclusions touching much which he explains at considerable length later in the volume. In this connection he states that:

"After a very careful examination he has arrived at the general conclusion that, while the Bible is believed to be the literal word of God, a large part of it is allegorical, and therefore does not admit of a literal interpretation. Such passages as are found in the forty-ninth of Genesis and the thirty-third of Deuteronomy have been largely ignored by clerygmen and ministers, for, while they are frequently read, no attempt to interpret or explain them is made.

"It is a well-known fact that all the advanced nations of antiquity veiled their sacred or secret writings from the common people; hence there were two separate and distinctive meanings—a literal or historic one, intended for and accepted by the masses, and an esoteric or hidden meaning, which could only be understood by those of higher educational attainments, who were said to possess a 'knowledge of the kingdom of heaven.'"

The volume contains twelve chapters, besides the introduction and conclusion and to thinkers interested in the Bible the book will appeal with great force, as it is well written. The author evinces scholarship and wide reading, and he presents his subject in a clear and pleasing style.

Evolution—Revolution—Which? By H. M. Williams. Cloth. Pp. 290. New York: The M. W. Hazen Company.

Evolution—Revolution—Which? is the striking title of a 290-page book which contains much that is valuable and pertinent on our present economic and political situation, yet which is not worth the reading.

The style is often so involved that a sentence is not clear until re-read, except where principles are stated; but that could be easily forgiven if real thought was present. What is good in the book—and there is much that is good—is old; what is novel and new is worthless, and it is worthless because its fundamental analysis of the sources of power as muscle, brains and wealth, is wrong. This idea the author developes until he would have the legislative bodies divided into three branches, one representing muscle, elected by every male citizen over a certain age; the second representing brains, elected by every male or female citizen over a certain age and having a certain limited education; the third representing property, elected by men and women who pay a certain amount of taxes. The remainder of the book deals with this theory, the qualifications of voters, functions of government, etc., in a very ingenious way.

There is nothing in the book to connect it with our present system or to show how this ideal system is to be developed out of the present. It will only be read by the author's friends and by a few who care for fanciful schemes of government. It is a pity that the work does not come up to its pertinent title.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

The Evolution of Man. By Wilhelm Bölsche. Translated by Ernest Untermann, Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 160. Price, 50 cents. Chicago, Illinois: Charles H. Kerr & Company.

THIS is a little work of real value in which an able German scholar gives a succinct, graphic and general outline of the evolution of man. It contains in the briefest possible compass a summary of the demonstrations brought out by the evolutionary school of physical scientists. The subject-matter is presented in lucid style, easy of comprehension, and the book is valuable as a short exposition of a subject about which no well-informed man of the present day can afford to be ignorant.

Good Form for Men. By Charles Harcourt. Cloth. Pp. 234. Price, $1.00. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

THIS is probably the most valuable book of the character that has appeared in America. Most works dealing with good form are addressed to women. This treatise appeals exclusively to men. It is clear, concise and sensible. As the author observes, "it is not written for mere votaries of fashion. Its purpose is to help the man, be he a member of a rural community or of the club circles of a city, who desires to regulate his life after the manner of gentlemen." In addition to rules of good usage which are set forth in a lucid and practical manner, great emphasis has been placed upon "those principles which are infallible guides to right conduct under all circumstances." The volume deals with such subjects as dress, etiquette, correspondence, conversation, sport and traveling. It is a work that should be widely circulated, as the subject-matter concerns one phase of education which is highly important to all persons who would appear well in society, and though much of the matter will already be familiar to the reader, there are many points brought out which will prove helpful even to those accustomed to move in the best circles of society.

Old Tales and Modern Ideals. By John Herbert Phillips. Pp. 234. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company.

THIS volume comprises twenty-five Monday-morning talks prepared by the Superintendent of the Public Schools of Birmingham, Alabama. They form an important addition to the literature of moral elevation or practical idealism addressed to the American youth of to-day. We have far too few such works, and indeed, most volumes written for the young that deal with moral education or development are either weakened by mawkish sentimentalism or contain so many theological dogmas interspersed through the moral teachings that their value is materially weakened, for in the first instance they are not calculated to build up a strong, sturdy, clear-thinking, reason-governed character, and in the second place they confuse the mind of the youth on many vital points and obscure the sense of moral proportion through the mixing of religious traditions, dogmas and theological theories with fundamental ethics. Moreover, semi-theological moral treatises frequently emphasize religious dogmas or rites above the noble idealism of the Sermon on the Mount. and thus make belief in dogmas and speculative thought take the place in the minds of the young of conduct or the living of a noble life, which is absolutely essential to well-developed manhood or womanhood.

This volume is a happy exception to the rule, and is just the kind of a book that every boy and girl in our land should read. It will prove a distinct aid to character-building, as it impresses in an interesting and easily comprehended manner the fundamental ethical principles and that noble idealism that makes for greatness of manhood and permanent greatness and glory in national life. All the chapters are pregnant with important lessons for the young, but the chapters that impress us as of exceptional value are those which discuss "Janus, the Roman Gate-God," "The Choice of Solomon," "A Lesson From an Old Roman Coin," "The Passing of the Fences," "Vegetable Sociology," "Perseus and Medusa," "Work and Character," "The Story of Echo and Narcissus," and "Modern Chivalry."

We can conscientiously recommend this volume to teachers and parents, and would suggest that parents who have at heart the best interests of their children see to it that this book is placed in their hands; or better still, in those homes where books are read aloud during the winter evenings, we would suggest that this volume be placed among the number, as in that manner its lessons will be most effectively impressed upon the young.

Banjo Talks. By Anne Virginia Culbertson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 172. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

ALL THOSE who have come under the witching influence of the negro melodies, folk-lore songs and lullabies, and especially those who have lived in the South and are familiar with the free and joyous colored life of the rural districts, will highly value this little work. Here are many songs, poems and lullabies phrased in the homely terms and picturing the life and character of the Southern negro more accurately than labored essays. And more than this, these simple folk-lore songs, ditties and lullabies are composed with due regard to the laws of versification,—something which will make them especially attractive to lovers of finished verse at a time when mediocre

brains everywhere are essaying to write verses that are as innocent of rhyme and rule as they are of imagination. To fully appreciate these poems one must be familiar with the Southern negro, his belief in charms and spells, his superstitions, his child-like simplicity of character, his love of music, and his susceptibility to appeals addressed to his imagination or his emotions.

Here is a little poem in which an aged negro is represented as warning the little pickaninnies against "hants," a word that strikes terror to the mind of every negro child when uttered in the twilight or the dark:

"W'en de moon scrouch down behime de hill
An' de dark fol' roun' you clost an' still,
Keep outer de wood
Ef you know w'at 's good,
Fer dey 's things in dar dat nuver show
'Twel de dark comes on an' de daylight go,
An' dey races an' runs, an' dey flar's an' flants,
An' de name er dem creeturs is *hants*, chile, *hants!*

W'en de squinch-owl hootin' roun' de place
An' de bats fly low an' slap yo' face,
Keep outer de wood
Ef you know w'at 's good,
Fer de li'l warm gus'es thu de trees,
An' de li'l col' ones whar mek you freeze,
Is de bref er dem creeturs whar flar's an' flants,
An' de name w'at we calls 'em is *hants*, chile, *hants!*

W'en you see lights trab'lin' up an' down
Widout no pusson ter kyar' dem roun',
Keep outer de wood
Ef you know w'at 's good!
Foller dem things an' dey '*stroy* you, sho',
You kain't kotch up an' you go an' go,
An' las' dey swamps you, an' flar's an' flants,
An' de name er dem creeturs is *hants*, chile, *hants!*

W'en biggitty chillen, 'long to'des night,
Git cross an' norty an' doan' do right,
Dey better be good
An' 'member de wood,
Fer dey 's things in dar dat nuver show
'Twel de dark come on an' de daylight go,
An' dey races an' runs an' dey flar's an' flants
An' dey hone fer bad chillen, dey does, dem *hants!*"

Another delightful poem, very true to life, is entitled "De Stum'lin'-Block":

"You chillen done kotched in de ac', fer sho'!
You mus'n' hook milyuns dis way no mo',
Hit 's a monst'ous sin! Lemme jes' set down
An' tell how de milyun wuz fustes' foun',—
Ez long'z hit 's dar you gimme dat haff,—
I boun' you de story gwine stop dat laff!

De debil went studyin' 'long one day,
'Mister Darky bin gittin' too good,' he say,
'Done temp' him in vain wid a nice ham-hock,
Mus' fin' some new kind er stum'lin'-block.'
So he laid a ripe milyun acrost de paff,
An' hid in de bushes an' laff an' laff.

De darky ain' notussin' whar he goes
'Twel de milyun-vine done tankle his toes,
Den he fall right down wid a monst'ous shock
An' bus' Mister Debil's new stum'lin'-block.
De debil lay low at de side er de paff
An' he ain' say nuttin', jes' laff an' laff.

De darky he ses ter hisse'f, 'My law!
Yer's de pooties' sight dat uver I saw!'
He et hit all ter de plum' green rin',
Den up riz the debil an' ses, 'Youse mine!'
Wid tail a-switchin' an' lashin' de paff,
W'iles he grin an' he grin an' he laff an' laff.

Ses de darkey, 'Youse *deblish* mean, I'se yeard,
But I nuver half b'lieve hit, upun my wu'd,
Dis look mos' too mean, suh, eben fer you,
'Kase you knows dat milyun wuz bus' in two.'
Den de debil flewed off wid a howl er wraff
An' de darkey he sot an' he laff an' laff.

Sence den, no darky wuz uver known
Ter teck a milyun whar wan't his own
Widout he claim, lak de one at fus',
He tucken de milyun *bekase hit bus';*
An' de debil slinks 'long in de darky's paff,
An' he ain' say nuttin', jes' laff an' laff."

There are some delightful lullabies in the volume, one of the best being the following entitled "Quit Dat Playin' 'Possum":

"Quit dat playin' 'possum,
I see dem eyeleds peep!
Spec's ter fool yo' mammy
P'tendin' youse ersleep.
Sma'tes' li'l baby dat uver drord a bref,
Try ter fool he mammy, he gwine git sho'-nuff lef'.
'Possum, 'possum, 'possum mighty sly,
'Possum, 'possum, I sees you blink dat eye.
Bye-o, bye-o, baby,
'Possum mighty sly,
Bye-o, bye-o, baby,
Bye-o, bye-o-bye.

Quit dat playin' 'possum,
You torn-down li'l chap,
Gotter min' yo' mammy
An' teck a li'l nap.
Sweetes' li'l baby dat uver drord a bref.
Mammy knowed her honey wuz gwineter 'have hisse'f.
'Possum, 'possum, sleepin' mighty soun',
'Possum, 'possum, gwineter lay him down.
Bye-o, bye-o, baby,
Lay de 'possum low,
Bye-o, bye-o, baby,
Bye-o-bye, bye-o.

Lawd! he jes' play 'possum,
An' projeck wid me, sho'!
Dat 's a trick ter mek me
Set an' rock him mo'.

Sma'tes' li'l baby dat uver drord a bref,
Wanster stay wid mammy, he boun' he won' be lef'.
'Possum, 'possum, mammy love you true,
'Possum, 'possum, yas indeed she do!
Bye-o, bye-o, baby,
Dough dis 'possum's sly,
Mammy's gotter love him,
Bye-o, bye-o-bye."

The publishers have evidently determined to give the work a fitting setting and make it one of the most sumptuous little volumes of poetry of the season, for here we find more than a score of full-page half-tones admirably illustrating the poems and representing different familiar phases of negro life. Many of these are exceptionally good. The work is beautifully bound and printed in the highest style of the art and will make a dainty holiday-gift for an appreciative friend.

The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary. By Anne Warner. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 324. Price, $1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

CONSIDERED as a bright and humorous story, this tale is incomparably superior to the author's previous work, *Susan Clegg and Her Friend Mrs. Lathrop.* The principal characters are drawn with rare power and the tale abounds in delicious humor, although here as is the wont with humorous writers, we find exaggerations. However, in all cases they are in alignment with the character with which the story is dealing, so they do not impress the reader as grotesque or improbable.

The leading character is Aunt Mary, a lady past seventy, possessed of an ample fortune but very deaf, and who for many years has lived the life of a recluse with a maid, Lucinda, whose face resembles a monkey's, and a simple-hearted, faithful man-servant. It is not strange, therefore, that the isolations and her physical infirmity have made the old lady crabbed and hard to get along with, though at heart she is kind and fine of nature.

A favorite nephew named Jack, who has been raised by the aunt, is the source of continual financial drain and much anxiety to the old lady, owing to his innumerable scrapes and misdoings. He is expelled from college after college and is not unfrequently in serious peril from lawless acts committed when intoxicated. At length his aunt's patience gives way and she disinherits Jack. At this time the father of Robert Burnett, Jack's most intimate college-chum, denies him the parental roof for participation in the escapade which proved the undoing of Jack. A beautiful young widow, however, who is the favorite sister of Robert, brings the two culprits to her own home in New York city. Here the young woman, the two disgraced youths and two of their college-chums plot to ingratiate Jack again in Aunt Mary's favor. They plan to lure the old lady to New York and then give her the time of her life. The widow is to play the part of maid and the boys that of hosts for Jack's kinswoman. The plot succeeds to perfection. The old lady comes to New York, where she is received as a princess might be welcomed by the four young men, each striving to outdo the other in efforts to make her enjoy every moment of her stay. She is dined and wined; she goes automobiling and yachting; she visits the roof-gardens and the vaudeville theaters; and when at home she has the tender care of the refined maid who gives the name of Janice—a name which the old lady understands to be Granite.

To the old, faded woman, isolated for years and denied any manifestations of love or tender concern, this new revelation of tenderness comes as the summer rain to the parched field, and the new world of life, beauty and gaiety in which the boys keep her moving is like the entrance to paradise for a pariah. The result is that she is won completely and reinstates her nephew. Later, however, she sickens in the seclusion of her home, and Janice comes to nurse her. Jack comes to see Janice, and later the cup of the old lady's joy is filled to the brim, for her loved nephew weds the fair Janice, who of course is the beautiful young widow. Aunt Mary buys them a beautiful home in the city and settles a handsome sum upon them. The arrangement is that the old lady is to live with the young couple. The wedding is a grand success and the story ends with joy and happiness radiating over all the principal characters.

As a bright, humorous and altogether readable tale, full of real life and containing some remarkably fine character drawing, *The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary* is one of the most attractive and notable stories of the year.

If the moral atmosphere of the story was equal to its delightful humor and human quality it would be a work of exceptional value and interest; but the fact that the hero, who is invested with so many lovable charms that

he quickly wins the sympathy of the reader, is through all the earlier part of the story a carousing, drinking, devil-may-care character, constantly committing lawless and unworthy acts, sometimes held for assault, at other times fighting breach of promise suits or contending with other consequences of lawless deeds, and the further fact that the deception of the over-credulous aunt is rewarded with the victory of the deceivers, give to the volume a morally unhealthy atmosphere especially unfortunate at a time when so many influences outside of literature are exerting a demoralizing effect on the development of sturdy character which is the glory of a great manhood and the hope of a nation. True, the handsome young widow bids fair to make a man out of Jack by appealing to his higher nature; but the general moral atmosphere, especially of the earlier part of the story, leaves much to be desired.

Lohengrin. Wagner's music-drama retold in English verse, by Oliver Huckel. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 78. Price, 75 cents net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS is an important contribution to the Wagner literature. The story of Lohengrin, as told by the great German master in his music-drama, is here set down in stately blank verse with the addition of descriptive material necessary to make it intelligible to the reader unfamiliar with the stage settings that accompany the dramatic performance. Heretofore, we have had no satisfactory rendition of this beautiful work in the English language, the wretched librettos being wholly unsatisfactory for the appreciation or enjoyment of the work in the quiet of the home. Mr. Huckel's rendition is most satisfying, being stately and thus in keeping with the noble tale, and at the same time it is lucid and rythmical. The poem is preceded by an admirable introductory chapter relating to the work, the whole forming a little volume which will be highly prized by lovers of this noble music-drama.

The United States a Christian Nation. By Justice David J. Brewer, of the Supreme Court of the United States. Cloth. Pp. 98. Price, $1.00. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

THIS little volume contains three addresses delivered by Justice Brewer before the senior class of Haverford College on "The United States a Christian Nation," "Our Duties as Citizens," and "The Promise and the Possibility of the Future." Justice Brewer is, we believe, by general consent recognized as the ablest member of the United States Supreme Court. Whatever he says or writes is worthy of serious consideration. We do not think, however, that these addresses represent the eminent jurist at his best. They are full of important and timely truths, but it seems to us that the author in striving to get down to what he conceived to be the easy comprehension of his auditors, has underrated their mental grasp and capacity. The first address, especially, impresses us as being such as might be delivered before a Sunday-school class composed of young people of from twelve to fifteen years rather than before a senior class in an American college. The view-point also is strictly conventional, and the lectures all incline to be platitudinous. The young of to-day need to have the high ethics, which make up character, dwelt upon in such a manner as to make a lasting or indelible impression upon the mind, and the line of demarkation should be sharply and clearly drawn between present-day church-anity, which too frequently passes for Christianity, but which welcomes men like Rockefeller, Morgan, McCall, Ryan and individuals of their stripe into positions of honor, and that religion of Jesus which, while going out in love to the repentant wrong-doer, scourges the gamblers and money-changers from the temple of religion and insists upon the Golden Rule being made the rule of life by those who represent the Kingdom of God. Now the absence of this clear-cut and at the present time all-important distinction makes this work distinctly disappointing.

Deerfoot in the Forest. By Edward S. Ellis. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 366. Price, $1.00. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

WHAT memories are sometimes conjured up by the mention of a name! Edward S. Ellis, Oliver Optic, Horatio Alger, Jr., Harry Castlemon—how these names call to mind a world of romance to the average American boy, a world of fairy-like delight in which the eager mind of childhood followed with breath-

less interest the fate and fortune of daring youths as they encountered perils by land and water, and came out victorious after numerous hairbreadth escapes! Perchance the mystic doors leading into the charmed domain have closed for us. We may have come face to face with stern realities of a hard, prosaic life until we have learned to know that the heroes of other days were idealistic creations rather than real flesh and blood beings. They were the creations of vivid imaginations which emphasized some special thought, ideal, virtue or characteristic by special accentuation, but we were less discriminating in the old days, and in an ideal world of romance we dreamed, —aye, and lived in a dream-life of romance and delight, especially when under the thrall of our favorite authors.

These thoughts were recently called forth on receiving a copy of Edward S. Ellis' initial story in his "New Deerfoot Series" of pioneer tales for boys. Mr. Ellis was one of the favorites of the boys of yesterday. His pioneer tales were fountains of pure delight to thousands and tens of thousands of youths, and they possess merit such as is usually lacking in Indian tales. There is little of the savage and sanguinary spirit in them which marks most stories of conflicts between the Indians and the whites, and which, sad to say, was usually present in all such conflicts. The Deerfoot Stories are written by a strong believer in conventional Christianity, and apparently with a view to appeal to the tastes of Sunday-school librarians, a fact which has its good points as well as its serious drawbacks. Such books will not fill the mind of the youth with dreams of slaughter. They do not tend to make desperadoes of their young readers. They make for morality of a certain kind, and if they depart from historical verities or the facts as we would find them in life, the departures are on the side of idealism rather than otherwise. Now, having said this, the reader must not imagine that these books are of the puerile type of many Sunday-school stories, which hold little or no interest for the vivid imagination of youth. All Mr. Ellis' tales, like those of Castlemon, Oliver Optic and other writers of this class, are replete with interest, action and excitement, and the present volume, which is beautifully gotten up, containing one colored plate and seven full-page half-tones, is fully up to the standard set by Mr. Ellis in his popular series of tales that have preceded the present books.

Deerfoot is a Christian Indian, a young Red Man deeply attached to the settlers in general and to two boys who figure as the leading characters in particular. These youths go hunting, not knowing that the bad Indians are in search of trouble. They are surrounded by the hostile savages, and have no end of adventures. Deerfoot is the good angel, however, whose wisdom and marvelous foresight are sufficient for every emergency. This story is the first of three tales that will complete the "New Deerfoot Series," and which will take the heroes from the Ohio across the prairies to the Pacific in the wake of Lewis and Clarke.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

TO OUR FRIENDS IN DENVER AND VICINITY: A CALL FOR THE FORMATION OF AN ARENA CLUB IN THE CAPITAL OF COLORADO: We desire to call the attention of every reader of THE ARENA in Denver, Colorado, and vicinity to Section IV. of our editorial on "Civic Centers for Moral Growth," as there they will note the call for friends of civic righteousness and the preservation of democratic institutions to meet at Room 712, Kittredge Building, Denver, Colorado, on Tuesday, November 21st, at 2 P. M., for the organization of the first Arena Club of Colorado. THE ARENA will take pleasure in publishing a directory of all such clubs, with names of officers and news notes concerning the work being accomplished. Colorado is a storm-center in the great battle between democracy and reaction, between plutocracy and the rights of the people, between government of the corporations, by the corporations and for the corporations, and a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Hence it is of first importance that friends of political and economic progress unite for an aggressive onward movement. Let Denver lead the way. Before long we hope to have similiar centers all over the United States, all in close and sympathetic relation—a chain of centers that will prove a bulwark against plutocratic domination and reactionary encroachments.

Mr. Mills on the Tramway, the Lighting and the Telephone Monopolies: This month Mr. MILLS completes his consideration of the Denver Utility Trust. The almost incredible revelations contained in the story of the Denver water works, which appeared last month, form but a part of the story of how a great city has become the prey of human harpies who corrupt her servants until they become the most despicable of criminals—criminals who betray the municipality and deliver it over to predatory bands for the plunder of the citizens at every turn. We repeat what we have said on several occasions before. No wide-awake American with the true interests of his city, state and country at heart can afford to overlook these invaluable papers of Mr. MILLS; for the story of Denver's shame is the story of many other of our great cities where public-service corporations are not only acquiring untold millions of the peoples' money, but are becoming the chief source of that corruption in government which is fatal to the life of democracy.

The Bournville Village Experiment: In the beautifully illustrated and admirably prepared sketch of the Bournville Village experiment, THE ARENA presents the first of a series of papers on constructive, practical work now being carried on by conscience-guided men and women who are laboring to enrich, dignify and ennoble the lives of those who are within the sphere of their influence. We believe that certain great fundamental political and economic changes are urgently demanded, but we also recognize the fact that there must be a vast amount of education before the people will be wise enough to turn a deaf ear to the instruments of selfish privilege who deceive them in order to enslave and exploit; and while this educational agitation is in progress, we hold that all noble labor, such as that of Mr. CADBURY, is to be highly commended, because it makes for happiness, for a better order, and for a nobler manhood.

Vital Issues in the Present Battle for a Great American Art: In this number of THE ARENA we introduce a new feature,—that is, conversations with leading present-day thinkers and workers, accompanied by an editorial sketch of the person thus interviewed. Mr. ELWELL is one of America's great sculptors, a man of genius, of lofty idealism and loyalty to his convictions. For years he has led in a movement for a great, free, untrammeled American art, and as Curator of the Department of Ancient and Modern Statuary in the Metropolitan Museum of Art he made an enviable reputation, bringing order out of chaos and raising his department to the foremost place in our greatest museum. His noble statue, "Intelligence," a picture of which we reproduce this month, speaks of the artist's genius and reflects something of his soul-power. Among the early conversations which will appear in this series will be an interview with the people's poet of democracy, EDWIN MARKHAM, and one with the eminent sculptor, poet and essayist, WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE.

The American Judicial System: A very scholarly paper on our judiciary is given this month from the pen of the eminent statesman, Hon. WILLIAM V. ALLEN, ex-United States Senator from Nebraska. It will be read with deep interest by the more thoughtful members of the bar and judiciary. Senator Allen was one of the strong members of the Senate during the closing years of the last century, but his able antagonism to the railroad oligarchy and other privileged interests and his steadfast and unyielding adherence to the cause of the people marked him for defeat at the hands of an alarmed and determined plutocracy which for years has systematically attempted the political destruction of every great statesman who has in an uncompromising and determined manner opposed the advance of a class-interest which is rapidly undermining republican government in the interests of class-rule and special privilege. We believe, however, that we are approaching an hour when the people will again take over the government, and when this hour arrives Senator Allen will, we believe, be one of their chosen leaders. In an early issue we expect to publish a paper from the pen of Senator ALLEN on the resources of the great West.

Possibilities of Government Railroad Control: We invite the attention of our readers to the paper in this issue on government railroad control, by Professor JOHN BURTON PHILLIPS of the department of economics and sociology in the University of Colorado. Much that our author says will appeal with great force to thinking people. We do not share his views, however, in regard to government ownership. We believe, on the contrary, that corruption will abound, that the laws will be defied and violated, and that the moral ideals of the people will be steadily lowered so long as sordid, greed-dominated and powerful private companies own and operate our public utilities. They have proved the chief fountain-head of corruption in government, and so long as they remain in power the people's servants will be debauched. We believe that the only solution to the railway question is for the people to take the railroads and operate them for the benefit of the whole people. When this is done high freight-rates, unjust discriminations, high passenger fares and rates for those who can least afford to pay them, and courtesies and passes for the tools and those corrupted by the railroads, will give place to a uniform and equitable service, and it will not then be impossible to have evils that may arise adjusted, as it is now when the railroads virtually own the government.

Guarded Representative Government: In our series of papers on that most urgent and vital of all pressing reforms, Direct-Legislation, we this month publish a very thoughtful contribution from the pen of GEORGE H. SHIBLEY. A paper by ELTWEED POMEROY, President of the National Direct-Legislation League, is unavoidably crowded out, but we expect to be able to publish it in our December issue. Direct-Legislation will be a subject to which THE ARENA will give much space during the next year, as it is *the* coming issue—the most important next step to be taken in order to arrest the reactionary movement now going on under the direction of political bosses and privileged interests.

Social Scarecrows: Our readers cannot fail to greatly enjoy the admirable satirical paper by Mr.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT in this issue of THE ARENA. Mr. SATTERTHWAIT is one of the strong, clean, high-minded lawyers who are ornaments to the American bar, and his sense of humor combined with high ideals and a keen appreciation for moral rectitude enables him to discuss social scarecrows in an altogether charming and edifying manner. The interest of this paper has been greatly enhanced by the admirable drawings by GARNET WARREN. Mr. WARREN is one of the foremost newspaper cartoonists of the New World. Our readers will be pleased to know that a special feature of the December ARENA will consist of four full-page cartoons drawn expressly for this review by Mr. WARREN and illustrating the criminality and folly of the age of gold-worship. These drawings will, we believe, be widely copied. Certainly they will merit general attention and they will do much to stimulate thought.

Why I Favor the Single-Tax: In a brief but timely paper Mr. HARDINGE gives the reasons for his adhering to the social philosophy of Mr. GEORGE. It had been our purpose to publish an extended editorial on Count TOLSTOI and the land question, embodying a large part of the remarkable manifesto recently published by the Count in the London *Times;* but the insurance question seemed to demand consideration while the subject was uppermost in the minds of the people. We expect, however, to publish this editorial in our December issue. We are also arranging for a series of papers on the land and the people, to be prepared by the ablest advocates of the Single-Tax philosophy, as one of a number of striking features which will make THE ARENA for the ensuing year indispensable to the more thoughtful, advanced and progressive citizens.

A Physician's View of the Divorce Question: We trust all our readers will carefully peruse the paper on divorce by R. D. BUSH, M.D., Dr. BUSH has been recently appointed Professor of Anatomy and Gynecology in New Orleans University. This contribution gives a physician's view of the question and is an admirable complement to ERNEST DALE OWEN'S "The Divorce Question: A Lawyer's View." Nothing to us is more amazing than the superficial manner in which the advocates of divorce suppression seem to view this great question that is so fundamental to the development and happiness of the race. The contention that a man and woman should live together and bring children into the world when hate has taken the place of love, or when the husband is a drunkard or otherwise debauched, so that any offspring would be probably cursed with a heredity that would make his life a blighting failure, a charge to the state and a clog on the wheels of civilization, is to us so incomprehensible that we marvel how those who want to foster morality can strive to make such abhorrent conditions inescapable.

Two Souls in One Body: No, this is no fanciful sketch, no wild dream of an erratic imagination. It is a scientific study of a phenomenon not unknown to psychology. In his letter to us enclosing this paper Dr. WILLIAM LEE HOWARD said: "I enclose an account of a case that has been under my personal observation for three years. At present the case is under the observation of the United States War Department." Dr. HOWARD is an eminent and trained physician and psychologist and a valued contributor to many of our leading medical journals. The phenomenon which he describes is one of the most perplexing, amazing and almost incredible of the many new phenomena which have during recent decades challenged the most serious thought of leading scientists of Europe and America.

Our Stories: This month we give our readers two stories of interest and worth. It is our purpose during the coming year to make a feature of capital short stories—stories worth the reading and which will carry some helpful lesson or emphasize some important truth on the mind of the reader.

In *The Spirit of the West* we have a fine story of the great free West with its splendid idealism and dreams—the West which we believe holds the promise of democracy's redemption as does no other section of our land. And this story is rightly named. We are in the midst of as titanic a battle as has ever been waged for freedom in the New World—the battle between a real or true democracy in which the people are the source of government and the arbiter of laws and in which equality of opportunities and of rights must take precedence over all special privileges or class considerations, and that vicious, reactionary class-government that would steal the livery of democracy and wear it so as to deceive and enslave the people while substituting class-rule or government of privileged wealth through servile tools, political bosses and party-machines, for the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many. It is the old battle between privilege and the people, between money and manhood. The exaltation and deification of the dollar has well-nigh destroyed the old-time democracy. The hour has struck for the revolt of freemen against the domination of the dollar, the rule of the financiers and the debauchment of government by sordid, corrupt. wealth-seeking privilege. The spirit animating the hero of Mrs. COCKERELL'S story is the spirit of true democracy. Mrs. COCKERELL, we predict, is going to do for the West what MARY WILKINS FREEMAN has done for *the* New England and what WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE has done for the South and especially for Tennessee in her short stories. We shall at an early date publish another story from Mrs. COCKERELL'S pen which will be of special interest to all friends of honest industry.

In *When the Gensdarmes Came* Mr. DABO has given us a story of an entirely different character from *The Spirit of the West*—a simple, realistic pen-picture, sad but deeply interesting and teaching a lesson very much needed to-day,—the lesson of ever being thoughtful in speaking words that may wound, disturb or injure another. There have been many minds wrecked—hopelessly wrecked—by such thoughtless—wickedly thoughtless—treatment as that so vividly described in Mr. DABO'S *When the Gensdarmes Came.*

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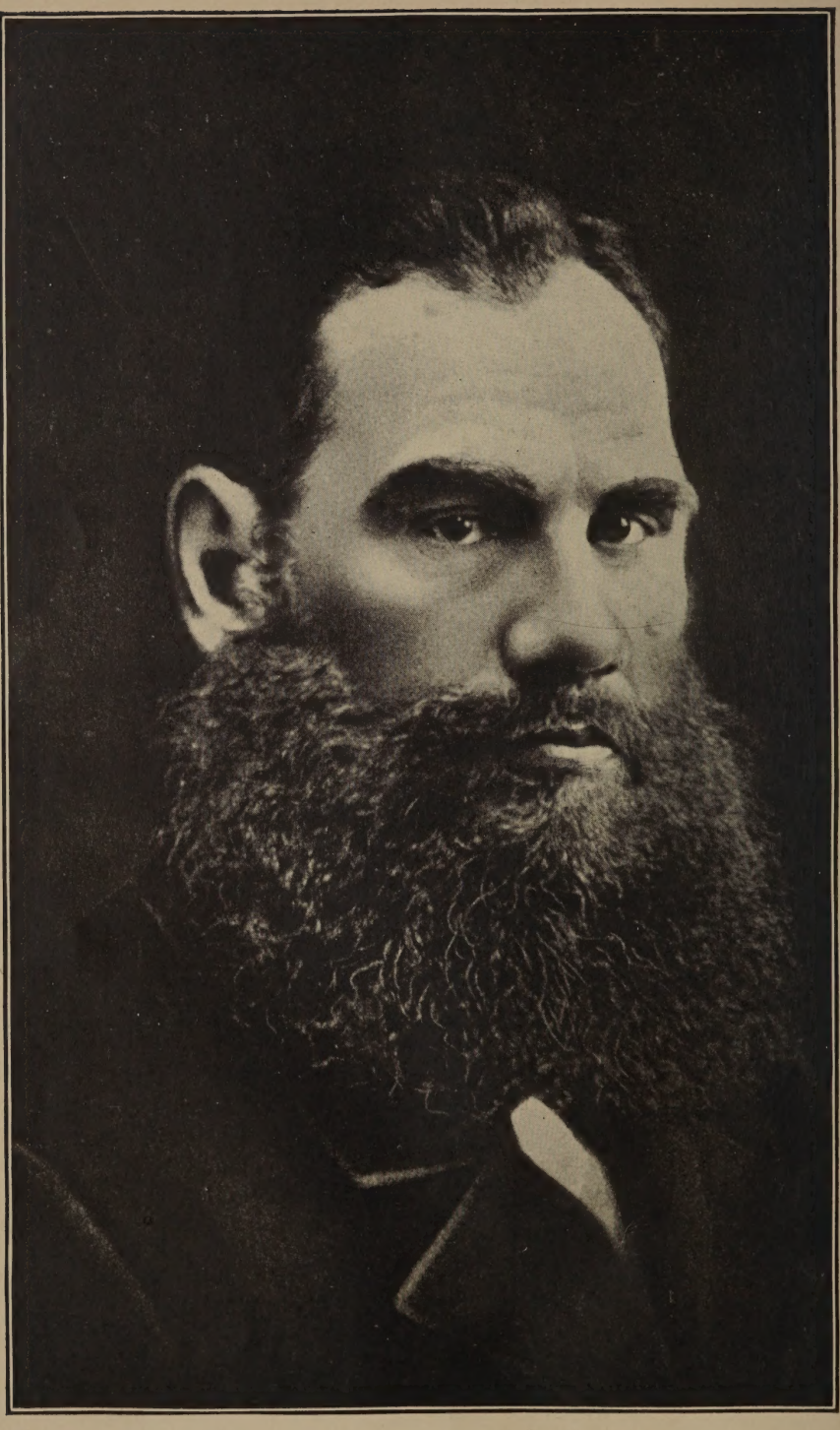

COUNT TOLSTOI IN HIS PRIME

"*We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,*
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

The Arena

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UNCLE SAM'S ROMANCE WITH SCIENCE AND THE SOIL.

BY FRANK VROOMAN.

Part I. The Field.

MORE advance has been made in agriculture since the Centennial Exhibition than has been made before since men ploughed their maize with a stag-horn and hoed it with a clam-shell, and invoked the rain with the incantations of a howling dervish. Long since those days the principle of state interference has been considered a synonym for corporate impudence, as, indeed, it is to-day when vested interest demands and vested ignorance tolerates. The crass individualism of the world's yesterday's ideals of democracy has been slowly disintegrating in the crucible of events, together with its corollaries; *e. g.*, the *laissez-faire* economy of Manchester, the states rights theories of the thirteen colonies, and later of the Southern states, as indeed the discredited atheism which conceived the universe as a "fortuitous concourse of atoms."

The fact stands that the present tendency of all intelligent politics is away from anarchy and toward nationality. The public interest as an idea and an aim, is becoming crystalized in the laboratory of public opinion and the public is beginning to look out for itself.

It is no part of my purpose to discuss here the political or ethical aspects of the work our government is doing directly for 5,700,341 farming families, and indirectly for the common weal; but to invite to a passing glimpse of the most brilliant and most useful scientific organization in the world, as well as one of the most romantic contributions of human genius to the welfare of the race. The question: "Does it pay?" will interest more the average Yankee, and the answer to the question must be found in the fruits of this great tree itself which has grown in sixty-six years—shall I say from a grain of mustard seed?—certainly from a very small lot of very small seeds sent out through Commissioner Ellsworth in 1839.

It has now been sixty-six years since the federal government began to "interfere" with the farmer's business. This "interference" has made of it another business. In the past farming has been a *dernier resort.* Now it is a dignified and scientific profession. It is such for the most part because the United States Government has made a national concern of the interests of the man that tills the soil; because under the direction of one constructive and administrative genius, correlating and unifying the technical work of over 2,000 scientists and trained

experts—each man probing the secrets of nature along his own line—roaming the world, solving the problems of soils, seeds, weathers, fertilizers, forests, plants, insects and farm animals, their foods, diseases and adaptabilities in all their infinity of possible permutations; in other words, the problems of plant and animal and environment, with direct and unswerving reference to the interest of the working farmer, agriculture in the United States has been revolutionized and placed on new, scientific and permanent foundations.

Behind the present moment, lie in the background of the ages the swarming millions of those who have unintelligently tilled the soil; peasants and yokels, helpless in the solitude of their individual ignorance and weakness, and unsuspicious of the potentialities which lay under their feet. For still other centuries this unfortunate class of men might have ploughed the same dismal furrows, but that a nation advanced to loan its resources, to multiply their personal opportunities toward results the most daring would not have dreamed of a hundred years ago.

The people paid last year, for the War Department, 117½ millions of dollars; for the Navy Department, 103½ millions; for the Post-Office, 152¼ millions; for the Interior Department, 167 millions; for the Department of Agriculture, less than six millions of dollars. One battleship costs enough to run the whole department a year, and Mr. Landis, a "gentleman from Indiana," thinks the scientists, who are laboring in obscurity in this department and boarding themselves, are writing farmers' bulletins to see their names in print, and that Uncle Sam. must economize in their publication.

The expenses of the Interior Department are nearly three times as much, and the Post-Office Department two and a half times as much, every year, as national agriculture has cost for all the sixty-six years of its history.

Whether it is time to talk of economizing in the Department of Agriculture will appear further on in this brief glance at a few of the conspicuous outlines of its work.

The dimensions of this task are so great compared with the space allotted, that the reader must be invited to it as he might be asked to take a bird's-eye view of the solar system. The staggering outline confronts him, that the principal elements of the American farmers' wealth amounts to the sum of $27,000,000,000.

The value of this year's crops alone amounts to about five times the total output of the mines of the United States, including gold, coal and iron, and nearly twice the entire value of all the farms and their stock and improvements in the United States when the nation first went a-farming in 1839.

The total amount of money it takes to run the United States government for a year would not within many hundreds of millions of dollars buy the increase of this year's crop over that of last year.

Within the last twelve months the American farmer has invested in farm machinery alone about six times as much as Jefferson paid for the half continent of Louisiana, when he consummated the greatest real-estate transaction in the history of the world.

The American farmer in the last year has also laid away, as part of his profit and fully paid-up capital, several hundred millions more than Uncle Sam.'s entire gold-reserve hoard in the national treasury.

From 60 per cent. to 84 per cent. of all the exports of the United States each year, since 1800 A. D., have been products of the American farm.

The corn crop, when Secretary Wilson went into office, was 1,902,967,933 bushels, selling at 25 to 27½ cents, farm value a half billion. The corn crop of 1905, estimated at 2,716,900,000 bushels, selling near 60 cents at the time of this writing, farm value over a billion and a half, or 200 per cent. increase of value under Secretary Wilson's administration.

The barley crop has increased in four years from 59 to 140 millions of bushels. The value of the farmers' horses increased during this *régime* from 478 millions to 1,200 millions; mules from 92 to 251 millions. The increase in values in farm crops has been in six years from $2,526,345,478 to $3,583,339,609 in 1904, and to quite $5,000,000,000 in 1905. About 100 per cent. total increase in six years. In other words, from 1899 to 1905, the increase in values of the crops of the American farmer aggregate about the same as the sum total of the increase from 1492 to 1899.

In 1839 Congress appropriated the sum of $1,000 for the purpose of collecting and distributing seeds, procuring agricultural statistics and prosecuting agricultural investigations. Three years later (when doubtless their money was all gone) Commissioner of Patents Ellsworth, the disbursing steward of this fund, submitted the first agricultural report to Congress, which contained, amongst other interesting discussions, one on the use of lard-oil instead of whale-oil for illuminating purposes. Was not this report the beginning of a greater light? Twenty-three years after was appointed the first Commissioner of Agriculture, Isaac Newton (of New Jersey), who studied falling apples from a new point-of-view.

A superficial survey of the sixty-six years may be made by a few figures, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Galloway, Chief of the Bureau of Plant Industry. The census of 1840 covered twenty-four states and the territories of Wisconsin, Iowa and Florida. Then there were a million farms, averaging 280 acres each, value 3 billions. In 1904, there were 6 million farms, 170 acres average, 850 million acres, value over 20 billions.

Seven times as much wheat was raised in 1904 as in 1840. Crop value, 1904, 510½ millions.

The increase in barley was from 4 to 140 million bushels, value 58 millions.

In 1840 the corn crop was 377½; in 1905, 2,717 million bushels.

Hay increased from 10 to 60 millions of tons. The total valuation of all farm products in 1840 was 500 millions. Plant products alone in 1905 were 5,000 millions. The total cost of the Department of Agriculture for sixty-six years, has been in round numbers 61 millions, or 7½ cents per capita, 1½ cents per acre farm land.

One can only mention, and that for illustration, the work of a few of the bureaux. There is no straight line between their fields.

The Division of Publications, with George William Hill, chief, is the nerve-channel of information. This department in 1904 issued 12,421,386 copies of the 972 separate publications, 600 of which publications were reprints, showing their popularity. All the results of the investigations of two thousand experts are distributed to every part of the body of American agriculture. These books say to the farmer, "put this seed or this fertilizer in this soil, plant and reap at such times; do thus and so with thus and so," and this with never a piece of guess-work but always with definite scientific precision.

Agricultural chemistry is the foundation of all intensive agricultural progress. While all the contentions of the Leibig school, founders of the mineral theory of plant-growth, have not "made good," it is nevertheless the agricultural chemist who has more than any other made of agriculture a science out of the old-time heterogenity of fields and farms.

Just now Dr. Wylie, Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry, is working out an idea attracting relatively little attention, but in which he is laying foundations for future agricultural progress. His investigations cover the composition of plant-life as affected by its environments. Not only the soil, but temperature, rainfall, altitude, clouds and sunshine, methods and times of planting, cultivation and fertilization, and this all with reference to two things:

First. The feeding of the plant to produce the maximum crop on strictly scientific principles.

Second. Such distribution of crops, after numberless experiments, as to take advantage of all the natural conditions, *viz.*, all the elements of the environment. The soil can be made or unmade anywhere, *e. g.*, they grow certain oranges in pure sand in Florida and feed the trees artificially; are bringing them up on a bottle, as it were. By a scientific adaption of these principles Dr. Wylie thinks the American farms can be made to yield three times what they are yielding now.

Dr. Wylie, who saved about $7,000,000 in his sugar crucible for Uncle Sam., and shunted the American sugar industry from sorghum to the sugar-beet, by many thousand analyses and experiments laid out the zones twenty years ago in which alone the sugar-beet has thrived to this day.

The important work of this bureau on adulterated food is well known. But does anybody know why we spend more on analyzing what we ship to foreigners than on what we eat ourselves? And more on what we feed our cattle and hogs than on all the rest? Is it because we can eat and drink poisons and not diminish our exports?

Why are we fighting with mosquitoes in Panama and not prescribing every ounce of food and drink used there?

The Japs send their chemists and bacteriologists ahead of their armies. Why do we fight one bug in Panama and not another?

A sneak-thief can enter one open door as well as twenty. The problems of our new tropical possessions, to say nothing of those at home, call for a national Department of the Public Health. Such a department could make a health resort of Panama and the Philippines and save millions of lives in the United States.

The Bureau of Soils deals primarily with the fundamental element of plant environment, and since 1899 has surveyed a hundred thousand square miles of land over forty-four states and territories, involving four hundred different kinds of soils, chemically examined. This has all been mapped with their needs and capabilities and adaptabilities. Dr. Whitney's chemical laboratory has been at work lately on the problem of soil fertility, and his investigations have led to astonishing changes in our views on the subject. The writer is informed by Mr. Bonsteel, a scientist of this bureau, that solid matter of soils, as well as soil-waters, from which plants draw their food, vary but slightly in concentration and composition, and that the failure of food supply is a remote contingency. The soil's failure to produce depends upon unwholesome or disordered conditions of the organic matter in the soil. Fertilizers, therefore, correct conditions rather than add plant-food, like a medicine, which, instead of nourishing, corrects the stomach. Then the relationships of crops to heat, moisture, movements of wet solutions, and alkali salts are all studied through patient investigation, and this is largely the basis of the field-surveys. This bureau is doing a most interesting and valuable work in its alkali reclamation service, in five irrigation areas where lands which were too alkaline three years ago to produce anything, are now yielding satisfactory crops.

The Bureau of Plant Industry is four years old, of honorable record. The ramifications of its development and influence have been nothing short of the marvelous. This bureau has been studying plant-diseases and remedies, establishing new plant industries, searching the world for plants that will thrive in our untilled and now impossible soils, and, in general, making the farmer's burdens light and his profits heavy. It spends nearly a million dollars a year through the experimental work of five hundred men, creating new plants, importing alien plants, healing sick and improving old ones. Better methods of shipping as well as raising products are being introduced. What can be more interesting than the

discovery of nitrogen fixing bacteria, by which Dr. Moore has enabled every farmer in the United States, if he wishes, at a cost of something like a cent an acre, to add from 15 to 35 per cent. to all of his legumunious crops?

To mention another interesting example. Last winter, Mr. Harold Powell went to Riverside, California, to investigate the rotting of oranges in shipment East. The growers were losing about 60 per cent. He discovered the fruit was injured by the clippers in picking, or by finger-nail punctures. He turned the points of their clippers, and manicured their snippers, and this simple application of an idea saves enough for the Riverside district in eighteen months to build the new agriculture building at Washington, which will cost $1,500,000.

Work is carried out in common school, normal school, agricultural college and experiment stations, and post-graduate work is given to about 500 young men. It is to be hoped that this, one of the most valuable ideas of the department, may be developed toward the founding of a national agricultural university, where complete lines of special work may be given young men in all the applied and related sciences; that it may affiliate the agricultural schools in a kind of university extension, which shall stand as a rock in the stream of modern tendency towards city congestion and degeneration, and divert a larger part of our young life where it belongs—"back to the soil."

Why do men and women swelter and sweat and rot, cankering in tenements, packed like eggs in a box, their progeny playing in ash-barrels or pilfering in alleys, when the illimitable prairies lie beyond where the lowing kine are calling and the yellow corn beckons—"back to the soil"?

Second only in interest, financially and sentimentally, to the reclamation of deserts to fertile land, is the development of new plant industries, imported from different corners of the globe and planted in soil worthless to our home plants. For example, the bureau scientists have brought the date from Arabia and Sahara, and now it thrives in the alkali desert where nothing grew before. The bureau discovered the adaptability of the durum or macaroni wheat to the semi-arid West, which adds millions to our wealth every year.

The table follows of the annual wealth added to the land by a few of these importations, which all amount to creations of this bureau. It does not include many new plants, such as citrous fruits, forage cactus, dates, bulbs, tea, drug plants, one hundred new varieties of cotton, oriental mattings, and beet sugar now yielding over 200,000 tons a year.

The cow pea, soil renovator, seed alone	$20,000,000
Sorghum (from China)	8,000,000
Fultz wheat	5,000,000
Japanese Kuishi rice	1,500,000
Oats, white shonen, excelsior, and Swedish select	25,000,000
Barley—chevalier (1871)	5,000,000
Naval oranges	6,000,000
Macaroni wheat grows where nothing else will, practically	7,000,000
Total	$119,500,000

One year's yield of this fraction of the created industries of this one bureau will about double the entire cost of the whole department, and its antecedents for sixty-six years. Here is a good place for Representative Landis to economize.

The Government "Bug" Industry has a fascination all its own; its little bugs and big bugs, from the bacilli, bean-leaf beetle and beet aphis, brown-tail moth, bed-bug, boll-worm and boll-weevil down the line to the Board of Trade and Beef-Trust, the Queen B's of all the besoms that lay waste the farm, these countless hordes of devastation are a myriad-headed menace to every man engaged in the elemental occupation of tilling the soil or shepherding a flock. It costs the farmer to feed these terrifying and insidious armies of lilliputian Huns and Vandals, more every year than it costs to run the United States Government, including the pension-roll, the army and the navy, and

that for the vegetarian bugs alone. And this does not count those which leave with man and beast their trail of disease and death. In the old-fashioned days of ante-paternalism and anti-paternalism, and the style of farming of "every fellow for himself" and the bugs take the hindmost, the black scale and the grasshopper, the chinch-bug and the Hessian fly and the Texas fever-tick, swept unhindered over the farmer's possessions, his farmstead open at every angle of his ignorance and his prejudice and his individual helplessness, and the last scenes of the tragedy were seen in the auction advertisements, the sheriff's hammer and the pathetic procession of the old man and his wagon full of children driving down the road, if he had saved as much as a horse, to begin life over again as somebody's else hired man.

A rough estimate of the annual losses of farm products, chargeable to bugs preying on vegetable products alone, is cereals, 200 millions of dollars' worth; hay, 53; cotton, 60; tobacco, 5; truck crops, 53; sugar, 5; fruits, 27; farm forests, 11; miscellaneous crops, 6; animal products, 175 millions of dollars, to which is to be added a loss of 100 millions each for natural forests and forest products, and as much for products in storage. C. L. Marlatt, whose estimate this is, is Assistant Government Entomologist in charge of experimental field-work, and makes up a total of $795,100,000 annually that the farmer feeds one subdivision of his bugs.

Dr. L. O. Howard, Chief of Bureau of Entomology, has established a valuable work in international economic entomology. He imported from Australia the parasite of the white scale, the Asiatic lady-bird, enemy of the San Jose scale, the European lady-bird enemy of the black scale, which have probably saved the citrous industries of California. He has just returned from Europe with very many parasitized larvæ and pupæ of the gypsy moth, the scourge of New England. He has organized in Europe a service of official entomologists, and parasitized material is to be sent to Massachusetts in large quantities for the next two years and a half. If these parasites do for New England what they have done for Europe, their money value will be very great.

This bureau, and that of Animal Industry, represent the army and navy of the administration of agriculture. My own studies lead me to suspect the estimates of loss prevented here are too modest by much. From all I can gather, the Bureau of Entomology alone, with its correlated work and allied influences, saves the farmer some years between 300 and 400 millions a year. I notice in the last report that the total amount appropriated for entomological investigation for 1905, is $70,000, and the chief of the bureau modestly asks that his salary be *increased* to $3,500 a year. He, the most conspicuous entomologist in the world, the directing mind of the largest and most important and most profitable (for somebody else) work of its kind in the world; a work that has prevented a loss to wheat from the Hessian fly of from $100,000,000 to $200,000,000 a year; that has taken apples out of the mouths of the coddling moths and put them in the farmers' bins to the value of $15,000,000 to $20,000,000 a year; which has saved the California citrous-fruit industry from extinction; which in offering the simple device of rotation of corn crops with oats or other crops, has saved the corn industry $100,000,000 in the Mississippi valley; which saves $30,000,000 annually from ravages of the cotton-worm, and is doing many other brilliant and effective pieces of work; the head and front of this work is asking that his salary be *increased* to $3,500! Uncle Sam., you ought to be ashamed of yourself!

One has only to read the histories of cattle epidemics to see what would have been happening in our own midst nowadays but for the work of these scientists. While Europe was discussing pleuropneumonia in cattle for a half-century, as to whether it was contagious or no, the contagion spread from Switzerland, Ger-

many, Italy, France, in fact, over the whole world, until the existence of farm animals, and, consequently, the farm itself was threatened with utter annihilation. This led Congress in 1884 to establish the Federal Bureau of Animal Industry, the principal object of which has been the study of animal disease and methods of control. It has not yet been considered of sufficient importance to do the same for human life. Rigorous sanitary measures have led to the final eradication of the contagion in this country. The next important government work was done with anthrax and blackleg, almost invariably fatal. One of the most important achievements of this department has been Texas fever, by Dr. Salmon, Chief, just resigned after a notable service of a quarter of a century. For years Southern cattle carried death with them when they came North, and Northern cattle went South to their death, ninety in a hundred. The ravages of this disease were dreadful and uncanny and mysterious. The disease threatened the cattle industry. Dr. Salmon took up the study of Texas fever in 1879. He first discovered that the disease was carried by ticks, that contagion was carried in the blood of immune Texas cattle and remained in blood once inoculated. This discovery has led to the control of the disease and has had a money value reaching high in the millions.

But this discovery has led to more important results than control of Texas fever. It has led to a study of insects carrying fatal diseases to human beings. With a national Bureau of Health we would have had no yellow-fever epidemic in Lousiana this season. We would have controlled the *stegomyia* mosquito. We are engulfed in peril of the bugs—the house-fly carrying typhoid, scarlet fever and small-pox; the rats harbor fleas, and these fleas have other fleas and they carry the dreadful "black death" or bubonic plague. The Egyptian eye-disease, now firmly established in New York via Castle Garden, is carried by small flies. Seventy-seven species of flies, says Dr. Howard, are dangerous. The bed-bug carries lupus, or skin tuberculosis, and also leprosy. What else? Some say cancer. Who knows? And now we learn that we are being invaded by a vast army of gigantic bed-bugs with wings—bugs an inch long, "black body, pointed head and strong beak." They are coming from Texas and are as far as the Mississippi river *en route*. What new possibilities of disease and death they bring, time will tell. And yet we have no national department of public health!

In four years past the bureau inspected 227,000,000 of animals before slaughter, and 148,000,000 after slaughter. The imagination can form no idea of 227,000,000 cattle. Drive them into the abattoir one by one, line them up behind, allowing ten feet to each animal, you have the modest line of cattle nearly 430,000 miles long, reaching over seventeen times around the world.

This is but one item of the many-sided work of this bureau. The same bureau has inspected 148,000,000 animals after slaughter. Allow 50 cubic feet to the animal, pile them up in a crib built 100 yards square, you would have to build your crib a mile and a half high. When it is remembered that each individual animal is separately inspected, many microscopically, one has a faint conception of the work involved.

The inspection by this bureau of ocean-going vessels, carrying live-stock abroad, has brought insurance rates down from eight per cent. of the value of animals shipped to one-third of one per cent. That is one side. Does this not tell a story of the lives of cattle saved? The amount saved in insurance alone would pay the whole cost of the bureau. In addition to much beneficent legislation secured by the bureau, it investigates communicable diseases of live stock, superintends measures for the extirpation of such diseases, makes original investigations as to the nature and prevention and reports on conditions and the means

of improving the animal industries of the country. The record of Dr. Salmon and his associates has been a brilliant one, and the money value of their patient and patriotic services has run to the farmers' credits in actual hundreds of millions of dollars.

I find, in the report of the Bureau of Animal Industry of 1904, a table of the causes of condemnation of carcases, in which, roughly speaking, 19,000 cattle, 12,000 sheep, 4,000 calves and 91,000 hogs, besides as many more parts of each, were condemned and thrown away on account of the presence of forty-five different diseases, including tuberculosis, cholera, Texas fever, erysipelas, cancer, tumor, abcess, gangrene, tapeworm, trichinæ and thirty-five others.

We used to eat all this!

And we did n't know what was the matter with us!

I have been impressed from a study of the records of the Department of Agriculture with the faithfulness with which every resource of this vast machinery has been made to subserve the actual and tangible interest of every farmer, and that a remark the secretary made to a bureau chief nine years ago, upon assuming office, may serve as a key to the interpretation of his whole policy. "Do n't tell me now about your laboratories. Tell me what you are doing for the man at the plow, out in the field, with his coat off." It is impossible to study the records without being profoundly impressed with the faithfulness of the prosecution of such a policy and with a sense of the adequacy of the constructive genius which has administered this great department towards these great results.

Who would not rather have to his credit in the Hall of Fame, the achievements of Secretary Wilson than those of Napoleon or Alexander? Certainly anyone who can see straight. The world does not see in perspective the relative values of the service of its constructive and destructive genius. Fame has ever been a "follower of false lights." Her ghoulish fancy has sought the poppy-colored fields of carnage, or fields where bones lie like daisies amidst the grass. The future surely holds in another day the laurel for brows which have not planned waste, and her epics shall be sung into ears that have not been deaf to the wail of the widow and the fatherless; a day, perhaps, when the sword shall be beaten into ploughshares; a day of blossoming deserts.

Would not the Hebrew prophet have rejoiced to see this day?

Here lies a romance, running through just two generations of men, such as Aladdin never dreamed of in all his glory. The stories that used to hold us breathless, of the genii of Arabia arising at the wizard's call from uncorked bottles, fade away into an insignificant curl of smoke, when compared with these certain, tangible marvels the magic wand of science has called forth from their sleep of ages in American soil.

All the past has not performed the miracles science has wrought in a hundred years. And all literature of science holds no more charming tale than that buried in the government stack of black cloth and paper-covered farmers' bulletins and United States argicultural reports and year-books—the romance of science and the soil—the making of two farmers to grow where one grew before.

Let some one come now and sing us a new song: *The Man With the Plough.*

There he stands in the fields in his shirt-sleeves, with his head erect, the lord of the continental demesne. No longer yokel or peasant! His is the cleanest occupation in the world and his the most dignified and independent. The American farmer bows to no living man. Toward only God Almighty is there tone of supplication in his voice—and to his messengers, the rain and sunshine and dew. Heroic and picturesque, his is the foremost figure in the landscape—the belated scientist—the last who has become first.

FRANK VROOMAN.

Washington, D. C.

ECONOMICS OF MOSES.

By George McA. Miller,
President of Ruskin University.

ECONOMICS means household law. Among the Greeks, where the science originated, it was designed to regulate the material affairs of the patriarchal family. A nation is but a family of families. When "household law" came to be applied to nations neither its name nor its principles were changed. The former merely took a larger meaning and the latter a wider application. The application, however, still continued to be confined to material things. The reason for this is that super-material things do not need to be regulated by human statutes. This is because they are practically limitless. Their enjoyment is normally bounded only by the capacity of the individual. Men seldom quarrel over air or sunlight. They have quarrelled over faith, hope and love only because of the delusion that these things were limited and subject to economic law. Since divine right to monopolize them is now denied, the quarrel quiets.

Land and Tools are all that Economics needs to deal with. Virgil sang well in the Æneid of Man and Arms. But he sang better in the Georgics of Land and Tools. The Virgil of to-morrow who sings best of Land and Tools will sing best of Man and Mind. The "Angelus" in Art and the "Man with the Hoe" in Literature are prophecy of this.

Relations as to Land and Tools require regulation only because these commodities are limited. Only when these limitations are removed will pure anarchy be in order. Such a time is now scarcely conceivable. Invention and intensive use only diminish the necessity for regulation. For the present, then, economic law must be recognized. This rightly done, human statutes as to all other social relations become, for the most part, superfluous.

It should not be inferred from these statements of general principles, however, that Economics has nothing to do with Ethics. On the contrary, a normal ethical condition can rest only on a normal economic condition. Nearly all systems of jurisprudence, however, past and present, show a reversal of this order. Economic matters are left almost without law, on the theory that they can and will be regulated by the competitive conflict of selfish interests. On the other hand, ethical matters which need little, if any, statutory regulation, given a normal code of economic law, have been made the subjects of systems of legislation compared with which the seventy thousand commandments of the Mahometan code are a bagatelle. Hence the proverb: "As long as the moral law." Hence the abnormality and immorality, for the most part, of nearly all systems of jurisprudence.

But few attempts have been made by legislators in any age to establish the normal order by making the two things with which Economics deals the basis of a national polity. Nearly all legislation pertaining to them has been enacted for the purpose of protecting their abuse rather than for promoting their use.

It results from this condition that all historical study of Economic subjects must be pathological rather than physiological, dealing with diseased and not with normal functions. This is responsible, in part, for Carlyle's calling Economics the "dismal science." It also explains the origin of the "Utopias" of literature. For the want of affirmative historic fact our Platos, Shelleys, Moores and Bellamys must fashion their ideals out of poetic fancy. It further accounts for the only school of Economics which claims to be scientific depending upon geological, zoölogical and anthropolog-

ical speculations as to sociological conditions prior to the beginning of history for most of its affirmative data.

In this general dearth of data relating to normal Economics, if any social unit of people furnishes facts, either physiological or pathological, which connect directly with legislation founded on the two fundamentals of Economics, their history should be "grappled to the bosom with hooks of steel."

A careful reading of the Jewish Literature, commonly called the Bible, reveals the fact that there was such a people. No question of divine authority, inspiration or chronology needs to be considered in dealing with the economic facts and principles which were the vital element of this people's national life. Those who regard the Bible as a divine statute-book should treat these facts and principles as the "oracles of God." Those who look upon it as they do upon other literature should give the vital element of this people's history its true economic significance, regardless of the use or abuse to which this literature has been subject.

Most nations have grown from small beginnings in the localities in which they have attained to nationhood. They have passed through the successive economic stages through which the race, and each separate section of it has passed, under the same general environment, one condition merging into another almost imperceptibly. This sort of evolution is not favorable to the formulation of any fixed economic polity.

This was not the case with the Jewish people. They had passed through the pastoral stage during the patriarchal period from Abraham to the immigration into Egypt. During the Egyptian bondage the slavery period was passed. Emerging from Egypt as a social organism, they had already developed a social consciousness that called not only for a political polity that would protect them from the tyranny of kings, but an economic polity as well that would protect them from the oppression of plutocrats.

While Moses is generally credited with being the author of this Jewish system of economic law, the fact that the law was adopted by the people by a popular referendum vote (Ex. 19:8; 24:3-7), is evidence that a new thing had come to pass, so far as recorded history can testify; *viz.*, the operation of a general social consciousness present at the founding of a new government in a new environment. Moreover, it is a social phenomenon never completely realized since.

Nothing short of the "Utopias," which are yet but "dreams of dreamers who dream that they dream," in the opinion of the average human microbe that thrives as he may in our social malady which we call civilization, approaches this economic experiment of ex-Egyptian slaves led by a rebel prince of the court of Pharaoh.

Whether this seeming social miracle, which out-wonders the "Seven Wonders of the World," be a special dispensation of Divine Providence or one of those leaps in the natural process of social evolution, the existence of which, in geology, zoölogy, anthropology and sociology the most materialistic modern science now not only acknowledges but welcomes into its laboratory, it holds the same position in sociology that the Nazarene holds in Anthropology. And this sociological phenomenon is equally marvelous whether we regard it as only a survival of the economic democracy which once existed among all primitive peoples or a social anticipation of the universal economic democracy yet to be.

With the foregoing, about which there is but little room for parley, as inducement, may not the religionist and the skeptic enter together with us into a study of this subject from the standpoint of Economics as a thing worth while?

Let our study of this economic code be first with anatomical or structural phenomena, both as to Land and Tools, consideration of the physiological or functional phenomena coming in a later article.

As to the structure of the Mosaic law relating to Land, little needs to be said.

The original allotment did not resemble that of William the Conqueror. It did not, therefore, provide for anything like the English deer-park nor the Irish pig-parlor. Neither did it resemble the American syndicate land-grant system. It failed, therefore, to provide for Idaho-Colorado "Bull-Pens." But its purpose lay with man rather than with beasts and provided as follows:

"Unto these shall the land be divided for an inheritance according to the number of the names. To many thou shalt give the more inheritance and to few thou shalt give the less inheritance."—Num. 26:53.

This land system did not prevent temporary alienation of title, but no legal deed could contain the vital clause of modern deeds, "to said grantee and his heirs forever." There was no eternity clause in a legal Jewish deed. It made no provision, therefore, for such a condition as existed in Egypt when two per cent. of the population owned ninety-seven per cent. of the wealth; which condition may be responsible for making Moses a sort of Henry George.

It did not provide for the Belshazzar revelry of Babylon when two per cent. of the population owned all the wealth; which condition may account for some utterances of Daniel, Nehemiah, Ezekiel and Zachariah, which will be quoted later, based on data gathered during the seventy years' enforced vacation spent by the Jewish people on the plains of Shinar. Nor did it provide for the conditions which Esther and Mordecai found in Persia when one per cent. of the population owned all the land. Nor for the conditions which Paul and Peter found at Rome, according to *Quo Vadis* and of which John sings a dirge on Patmos, when eighteen hundred men owned the Roman Empire; details of which condition may be found in Froude's *Cæsar* beginning at page 6, in which he says in part:

"The free cultivators were disappearing from the soil. Italy was being absorbed into vast estates held by a few favored families and cultivated by slaves, while the old agricultural population was driven off the land and crowded into towns; the occupation of the higher classes was to obtain money without labor and spend it in idle enjoyment.

"Redemption, if redemption was to be hoped for, could come only from free citizens in the country districts. The numbers of such citizens were fast dwindling away before the omnivorous appetite of the rich for territorial aggrandizement."

Nor was any provision made for the Astor and Vanderbilt class, representing two per cent. of the population, to write leases for ninety-eight per cent. of the population of New York City. Nor for the Field and Leiter class to do a similar service for Chicago.

The following two lines were designed to prevent this sort of thing:

"The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me."—Lev. 25:23.

And when convenience or hardship made it desirable or necessary to give up the Hebrew home for a short period, these two other lines readjusted these land matters:

"And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year; it shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return every man to his possession."—Lev. 25:10.

With this sort of a land system any law relating to landlord and tenant would seem to be superfluous. And yet, for these ancient people who were not yet sufficiently civilized to be able to organize a Bureau of Charities or a Social Settlement system to look after the tenement districts, provision was still further made to prevent there being any opportunity for the "Four Hundred" to amuse themselves by "going slumming."

The term "rent" does not occur in

connection with the Jewish system of land tenure, but the taking of rents was clearly prohibited in the provisions against taking "increase."—(Lev. 25:36; Ezek. 18:8; 22:12.) This view is sustained by the action of Nehemiah (Neh. 5:11), when he compelled the "nobles and rulers" to restore the people "the corn, the wine and the oil" which they exacted of them. Amos (5:11) denounces the rich for taking from the poor "burdens of wheat." This unquestionably refers to rent; and not the taking of too large an amount but the taking of itself is the thing that is condemned.

Whatever of truth there may be in the contention of a large and increasing school of economists, that regulation of social relations as to land is all that economic legislation needs to take into account, the Mosaic system regarded such regulation as to Tools as of at least secondary importance. It may be well, therefore, to inquire into the structure of the Mosaic regulations as to Tools.

For convenience the word Tools may be treated as covering all means of applying labor to land or to the products of land, including all means employed for exchange of products.

As the means of production were very simple at that time, detailed regulations were not necessary. The principle by which Tools, well typified in the millstone, were to be guarded against the control of wealth is strongly stated:

"No man shall take the nether or the upper millstone to pledge; for he taketh a man's life to pledge."—Deut. 24:6.

It is but fair to infer from the latter clause of the above quotation, giving the reason for this law of the millstone, that it was the intention of this code of economics to keep in the hands of the people whatever Tools might be necessary in any period of social evolution to enable them to live without one class being put to the necessity of paying tribute to another class for the use of the means of life, or even being put to the inconvenience of producing new Tools to take the place of those taken under chattel mortgage. Hence the provision making a chattel mortgage on such Tools invalid.

This millstone statute was very crude and the principle it expresses is not at all adapted to modern times. Its operation would have made it impossible for the world's select coliseum of wealth to have witnessed the awful tragedy of bread riots in Italy some years ago, in which thousands lost their lives; which tragedy grew out of another tragedy called a bread famine; all this because the millstones were owned by a Flour Trust in Minneapolis and a man by the name of Leiter had cornered the wheat supply of the world on the Chicago Board of Trade.

If taking the millstone out of the control of him who needs it is taking life under control it is a fair inference that Tools necessary to the maintenance of civilized life should be in the control of each individual or all Tools in the control of society as a whole, so that each can have such use of them as he needs, whether the Tool be a postage stamp, a railroad, a needle or a navy. If individual ownership is or should become impossible or impracticable, as to properly serving the individual, in the case of any such Tools, collective ownership is the only alternative, whether such a condition be ideal or unideal.

The Mosaic code provided definitely for the government control of all Tools easily subject to abuse. A good example of this is the statute regulating weights and measures; the observance of which law was considered to have direct relation to the life of the nation:

"Thou shalt have a perfect and a just weight, a perfect and a just measure shalt thou have; that thy days may be lengthened in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."—Deut. 25:15.*

*To the same effect are Lev. 19:35-36; Prov. 11:1, 16:11, 20:10, 23, with numerous passages which will be given later in dealing with the effects of the violation of this system of economic law.

This statute may not appear to have much relation to modern affairs other than scales and yard-sticks; but in harmony with the principle of justice and fair dealing upon which it insists, "weights" may easily be made to spell "freights" and "measures," "short and long hauls"; while "falsifying the balances" may be translated into "giving rebates."

Another example of government control of Tools is the monetary code of this Mosaic system. So complete was the law relating to the use of money, that, taken together with the stringent land-laws of this system, it furnished such a strong commercial safeguard against injustice and oppression as to make other economic laws almost unnecessary.

The shekel was the standard of value, and so important were its purity and stability that they were tested by a sacred coin kept in the sanctuary for that purpose:

"And all thy estimations shall be according to the shekel of the sanctuary; twenty gerahs shall be the shekel."—Lev. 17:25.

The importance of the weight of the shekel is emphasized not only by the test shekel being associated with the holiest things belonging to this intensely religious people, but to further guard its integrity or to correct abuses by way of varying its value, which grew up from time to time, almost every time the shekel is mentioned its weight is specified.* The object of this regulation of the shekel and other matters as expressed in Ezekiel, 45:9, is to "remove violence and spoil" and to "take away exactions from the people." The prophet's remedy for strikes and lockouts and their accompanying violence was *not more policemen and a greater standing army, but more industrial and commercial righteousness.*

But the shekel was protected not only as to its composition, but also in its use, so as to prevent its becoming monopolized by the few who might find it convenient to make use of it for levying tribute upon the many.

This was accomplished by prohibiting the taking of money for the use of money:

"Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury."—Deut. 23:19.

This prohibition is also stated in Leviticus, 25:36, and Exodus, 22:25; and in innumerable passages the taking of usury is listed among the vilest of crimes and assigned as the cause of national disaster; the object of the prohibition being national prosperity, as stated in Deuteronomy, 23:20: "that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all that thou settest thy hand to in the land whither thou goest to possess it."

It scarcely needs to be stated that the word usury as it occurs in the Bible has the same meaning as the word interest, except that it included any valuable thing given for the loan of any kind of property, "usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury" (Deut. 23:19). Our English lexicons give this as the first meaning; and there was no second definition giving it the meaning of excessive interest until by Act of Parliament in 1623 usury was legalized and christened interest to hide its shame.

That it had already become such an evil by custom that it could exist longer only by being legalized is evident from Bacon's arraignment of it shortly before the law was passed, when he said: "Usury bringeth the treasure of a realm into few hands."

That the law was not passed without protest is evident from the phillipic against it by the great Selden, who was then a member of Parliament, in which he said: "Would it not look oddly to a stranger that should come into the land and hear in our pulpits usury preached against and yet the law allow it?"

The attempts of economic and theo-

*Ex. 30:13; Num. 3:47, 18:16; Ezek. 45:12.

logical writers to explain away this prohibition of interest would be pitiful if it were not pusillanimous. One writer in a popular encyclopedia under the caption "Interest" says:

"A strong prejudice against exacting interest existed in early times, arising from a mistaken view of some enactments of the Mosaic law; and as late as the reign of Edward VI. there was a prohibiting act passed for the alleged reason that the charging of interest was 'a vice most odious and detestable and contrary to the Word of God.'"

This writer's assumption as to "a mistaken view" of this law was no doubt derived from such sophistry as the following from the author of a set of ponderous volumes misnomerically called the "Self-Interpreting Bible." Commenting upon Exodus, 13:25, he says:

"The usury forbidden is not *legal interest* for the loan of money to persons in affluent circumstances, but requiring temporary accommodation. The usury forbidden is that which feeds upon the poor by the practice of extortion and sells for profit what it should give for brotherly kindness."

But our economic writer quoted above, who is a good type of the entire school to which he belongs, did not read his Bible or his commentary far enough; for the same theologian, quoted above, commenting on Deuteronomy, 23:19–20, says:

"The former loan, Exodus, 22:25, and Leviticus, 25:36, forbade the exaction of usury from the poor only. Here is a total prohibition of money lent by one Jew to another, whether rich or poor. The prohibition of usury between Jew and Jew rests first upon the implied principle of the brotherhood of the whole nation."

Josephus gives this construction in Book 6, Chapter 8, in which he quotes the law: "Let no one lend to anyone of the Hebrews on usury, neither usury of what is eaten nor what is drunken."

In all history none except a degenerate Jew ever exacted interest from another Jew, and since the doctrine of the "brotherhood of man" has come to be theoretically recognized by all civilized people there is no moral reason in Christendom why the "implied principle" should not be operative throughout the world.

But in order that this prohibition of usury might not prevent the getting of assistance when some extreme necessity demanded it, gratuitous lending was commanded in such cases:

"If there be among you a poor man of thy brethren thou shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need in that which he wanteth."—Deut. 15:7–8.

So dangerous a thing is debt, however, that in order that lending of this kind might not become a means of oppression, a provision was made for the complete cancellation of all debts every seven years, whether such debts were seven years or only seven days old:

"At the end of seven years shalt thou make a release; every creditor that lendeth aught to his neighbor shall release it save when there shall be no poor among you: for the Lord shall greatly bless thee.

"Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart saying the seventh year is at hand and thou givest him naught."—Deut. 15:1–9 (condensed).

The above quotation contains two important suggestions as to the practicability of the principle involved. First, that if the Mosaic system as a whole were practiced but little of such lending would be necessary. Second, the possibility of there being no poor at all under such a system.

But there was still another means of exacting usury against which provision was made by the Mosaic code.

History attests that when the masses of the people in any "civilized" nation have become too poor through exploitation by rent, interest and profit, to be able to furnish individual security for loans,

and to some extent before this condition has been reached, the money-lender has put into operation a fiscal machine which makes every citizen a payer of usury. This is the bond system. It is very safe and convenient. It has all the property and all of the taxing power of the nation behind it to furnish security. It is indirect exploitation, and, like a tariff, operates with such subtleness that its work is scarcely recognized until it is too late to protest.

The Jewish constitution made specific provision against contracting a national debt either by borrowing from another nation or from Jewish citizens; as the word "borrow" in the following and its companion passage in the fifteenth chapter of the same book is used without limitation:

"Thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow, and the Lord shall make thee the head and not the tail, and thou shalt be above only and thou shalt not be beneath."—Deut. 28:12–13, 15:6.

Such a provision in the Constitution of the United States would have been inconvenient for the bondholders, who during our Civil War forced on our country a debt of three billions, which, after being paid by the people at least six times, through financial legerdemain, still requires as much of the product of labor to satisfy it as it did at the close of the war.

Having thus treated of the structure of the economic code of Moses, our next article will deal with its functions, physiological and pathological, giving an account of the angel of prosperity that has waited upon its observance and the Nemesis of adversity that has ever pursued its violation.

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SAINTED MONEY.

By Bolton Hall.

"GOD," said John D. Robinhood, "has committed to me the wealth of this country. I acquired it by my superior ability, strictly in accordance with the golden rule—of the road—to take all that the traffic will bear.

"My Ancestor's system was to rob the rich; and give to the poor; a bad business principle, for white sheep have more wool than black ones and the poor have more money than the rich, because there are more of them (and I am making still more of them). Besides, the poor do n't *kick*, so we overcharge them and give some of the *swag* to the Universities.

"What a blessed privilege it is for the thriftless poor to contribute indirectly to our great institutions,—through me!

"Harper, is there a chair of political economy anywhere that has n't been oiled?"

Bolton Hall.
New York City.

MAYOR JOHNSON: ONE OF THE STRONGEST LEADERS IN MUNICIPAL PROGRESS IN AMERICA.

A CHARACTERIZATION.

By Edward W. Bemis, Ph.D.

NO GREAT American is so much misunderstood to-day as Mayor Tom L. Johnson, although, thanks to Mr. Lincoln Steffens* and to other fair-minded observers, a truer view is beginning to be taken. There are very interesting reasons why he has been treated worse by the press, through which most persons form their opinions, than have any of the other five famous municipal and state reformers, save Altgeld, who have held public office of late years. Neither Altgeld, Pingree, Jones, Folk nor LaFollette made a moderate fortune in early life out of the very monopolies he later fought. None espoused any economic creed like the Single-Tax that, whether rightly or not, is still looked at askance by the majority of farmers and small property-holders. Public operation of public utilities, advocated by Pingree, is not particularly offensive save to the few vastly powerful but not over popular holders of franchises. The same may be said to be true of LaFollette's platform of railroad taxation and rate control, Folk's attack on graft and Jones' advocacy of non-partisanship. Mr. Johnson, on the other hand, in the face of the unpopularity of some of his most widely advertised ideas on taxation, has served two terms in Congress, been twice elected mayor in a strongly Republican city, despite all Senator Hanna with untold millions at his back could accomplish, and all signs point to his reëlection with a larger majority than ever before. The explanation lies in those characteristics I have been asked to point out. So strongly convinced is the writer of their force that it is my great effort in this brief statement to so restrain utterance as to avoid the appearance of exaggeration or eulogy. No attempt will be made to determine the relative importance of most of the factors of success where all have been so important.

1. Despite an unusually smiling exterior, Mr. Johnson is terribly in earnest in his opposition to every form of special privilege from government and in his determination to strike effective blows at it. Any weapon, whether of just taxation, regulation of rates where practicable, or public-ownership and operation of what are known as public utilities, is eagerly grasped. Cato never insisted upon the destruction of Carthage more earnestly than does Mr. Johnson upon the destruction of all special privilege. He places this far above those attempts to investigate, regulate and control, which have their place, but only as introductory to a real solution of our trust and monopoly problems. This point-of-view is undoubtedly the sound one, but few of our public leaders and teachers understand it or are bold enough to acknowledge it.

2. While having in sight his goal, he is always willing to work for the immediately attainable. Though an outspoken believer in complete free trade, he was always ready in Congress to cooperate with any effort, however moderate, for a reduction in the tariff. Though a believer in immediate city operation of street-railways and lighting-plants, he has shown himself ready when such operation was legally impossible, to admit a natural gas company to fight the extortions of artificial gas and coal companies, and to charter a three-cent-fare road or to advocate a lease at a liberal price of an entire city railway system to the right kind of trustees, as a step toward municipal-ownership.

3. He is a democratic Democrat with a faith in the ultimate good sense of the

*See July *McClure's Magazine*.

TOM L. JOHNSON

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people and in the triumph of high ideals that sustains his arm even when smarting under defeat and which is beginning to be realized by the people.

4. He has broad views of public policy and a keen desire for a clean, pure government as well as for a government that can hold its own in the contest with special privileges. No man in Ohio has done so much as he against the spoils-system and in favor of administrative efficiency. Referring to the matter at a time when disgruntled spoilsmen were fiercely demanding a surrender, he said of the merit system: "I believe it is good politics; but anyway, it is decent." As evidence of his broad views, one may instance also that during the past four and a half years in office he has effected great improvements in street-paving and cleaning, the construction of sewers, the popularization of parks, the development of playgrounds, the efficiency of the water, police and fire departments, the separation of grade crossings, the management of the reformatory and of juvenile delinquents, and of many other matters.

5. His capacity in at least two respects is extraordinary. First, his executive capacity, an important evidence of which is his conceded ability to select strong subordinates and to impress them with somewhat of his own enthusiasm, and second, his ability to look to the heart of the problem, whether of engineering or of political and economic science—in other words, his power of perception. One of the most prominent civil engineers of the country, after contact with our mayor, pronounces his power of perception the greatest he has ever met in a very wide acquaintance. Mr. Johnson has taken out many patents, some being of large value. This engineering ability joined to financial keenness greater than that hitherto shown by any of our reform leaders makes his advice in the development of municipal-ownership along safe and rational lines invaluable. It has been often sought and freely given in more than one large city. His universally admitted success in giving Cleveland the purest, most efficient government she has ever enjoyed and one that is better than that of most, and possibly of all, the other forty cities in this country of over 100,000 population, has drawn to him the support of thousands of Republican voters who have not yet been converted to his taxation, public-ownership, home-rule and direct-legislation policies.

6. Finally, he possesses a personal magnetism and buoyancy of spirits that attract the admiration and remove the element of personal antagonism from most of those that come into personal relation with him. Although handicapped by the normal Republican majority of a hundred thousand in the state at large and by the control of the courts and the state government by monopolistic affiliations and partisan considerations, such a man as Tom L. Johnson, vastly aided by the whole spirit of modern thought which is on his side, may be expected before he is many years beyond his present age of fifty-one, to reach even the now ignorant and prejudiced voter in the country districts and in the machine-ruled cities of the state. Home-rule will then be secured and every municipality will have the chance to draft its own charter, pursue its own desires as to municipal-ownership, and exempt from taxation such classes of personal and other forms of property as it may elect.

Even though he may hold no office, he has consecrated his best thought and effort for the rest of his life to advancing his ideals. The closer one comes to him and the more one is given the chance permitted the writer to see him in his own home and in travel, the more will one appreciate and love the at heart deeply religious and great soul working so unselfishly for social progress.

Edward W. Bemis.

Cleveland, Ohio.

THE EVOLUTION OF MARRIAGE IDEALS.

By Theodore Schroeder.

THE TASK which I have assigned myself is that of tracing the historical forces which have changed, and which are changing, our ideals as to the status of married women. We shall deal with motives, not ceremonies, and shall see that these have been as varied as the aspects in which woman has been viewed.

We will begin with Ancient Greece, where several different classes of women were recognized, as each supplying a social need. It will be seen that the ideal of Plato, caused by his sexual inversion, ultimately became the Christian ideal; and with the addition of the frenzy of fanaticism, an unanticipated result was achieved in the mad hatred and degradation of woman and marriage. The next most potent influence was a reactionary one, and came from the chivalric love-intoxication of medieval knighthood. The third change of ideal was produced by our industrial reorganization, which transferred most of the household occupations to the factory. Next we come to our present transitional state, wherein economic pressure furnishes the dynamics, and it is believed will compel the acceptance of an economically independent wifehood as the future ideal. To amplify these suggestions, and more specifically to point out these causes and trace their operation and consequences is the mission of this essay.

Demosthenes, in his oration against Neara, described the sexual life of the Athenians in these words: "We marry a woman in order to obtain legitimate children, and to have a faithful warder in the house; we keep concubines for our service and daily care; and hetairæ for the enjoyment of love."*

The hetairæ (or kept women) were the only women of Greece who enjoyed at the same time, "freedom, education, accomplishments and contempt." They were the constant companions and often the instructors of the great men of their time, and models for the great artists. Their lives are better known to us than those of the matrons.†

Among the wives there was a well-recognized distinction between the economically dependent and the independent ones. The former were hardly more than head slaves of the Grecian households, with little or no freedom, and were looked upon as but the master's concubines, and as such, were commonly bought and sold. These conditions did not attend their higher types of marriage. The most sought and most envied position for the Greek woman of that time was an economically independent wifehood.

Writing upon this subject, the Rev. John Potter, late Archbishop of Canterbury, has this to say: "So common became the custom for women to bring portions to their husbands, that some made the most essential difference between 'wife' and concubine to consist in this, that wives had dowries, whereas concubines were usually without. Hence, men who were content to marry wives who had no fortune, commonly gave them an instrument in writing acknowledging the receipt of their dowry. The rest of their distinction was chiefly founded on this, that she who had a dowry thought it a just title to greater freedom with her husband, and to more respect from him, than such as owed their maintenance to him. . . . In consideration of her dowry, she had the privilege, when her husband was impotent, of consorting

* Babel's *Woman under Socialism*, p. 35.

† Lecky's *History of European Morals*, Vol. II., p. 293; Potter's *Grecian Antiquities;* also Sanger's *History of Prostitution*, 54-62; *Celebrated Courtezans*, by Jean Richepin.

with his nearest kinsman,"* and under special circumstances, even with others.†

Our Bishop also informs us, that among such, divorces were easy and were usually, but not always, granted on the same terms to men as to women. When a woman was divorced, the husband must return her dowry.‡ Polygamy was prohibited, but within the monogamic family stirpiculture was practiced with the consent of the married couple and encouraged by public opinion. Adultery (which of course did not include these permitted relations) was most cruelly punished. The result of so natural a marital code, in which the right of the offspring to be well-born was esteemed of more consequence than a husband's vanity-tickling sex-monopoly, made the glory of Greece to consist in the physical and intellectual superiority of its people. When a woman of another country said to Gorgo, the wife of Leonadas: "You of Lacedæmon are the only women in the world who rule men," she answered: "We are the only women that bring forth men."§ With such women, motherhood was a right, not a duty.

The same substantial equality of the sexes found expression in their religion. In the old Greek and Roman Pantheons, the goddess was quite as conspicuous as her divine consort. In their temples, we find officiating priestesses as well as priests, and in their festivals, there was as much glorification of the feminine in nature as of the seemingly masculine qualities. "The Gospel according to the Hebrews," which was in use as late as the second century of the Christian era, taught the equality of the feminine in the God-head and also that daughters should inherit with the sons.‖

During the Pagan Empire, Rome had conditions, which, in their legal aspect, very much resembled those of Athens. Even then "One might see the Emperor's wives honored with the titles of August Mothers of their country. Some of them had place in the Senate, governed Rome and the Empire, gave audience to Embassadors, and disposed of posts of employments. Others were consecrated priestesses, and even exalted to the rank of Goddesses."¶

This, then, brings us to our first, if not our chief problem. What were the forces, and whence came they, which destroyed these superior features of the marriage ideals of these Pagans, and in the Dark Ages reduced all Christian wives to the status of chattel-slaves?

Going back to about 400 B. C. we find at the extreme of Greek ideals, two boldly contrasted and equally dangerous tendencies. On the one hand, were the excessive sensualities of the degenerating mysteries of Phallic worship; on the other, the equally salacious aceticism of the philosophers, among many of whom pederasty was a glorified vice. Among the victims of this sexual inversion, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were conspicuous,** and therefore, probably, for at least a portion of their lives, indifferent—if not impotent—to women. Thence came this doctrine of passionless love between persons of opposite sex, which is boastfully lauded even to this day, by persons too ignorant to know the pathological significance of Platonic love, but whose afflictions impel them to an ostentatious "purity."

The Apostle Paul was born in the free city of Tarsus, whose population was largely Greek, though within the Roman Empire. "Recent historical investigation teaches that Paul's father was of

* Potter's *Grecian Antiquities*, p. 616; see, also, Lecky's *European Morals*, Vol. II., p. 289; Wade's *Woman Past and Present*, p. 26.

† *Woman, Past and Present*, p. 26; Lecky's *European Morals*, Vol. II., p. 290; Potter's *Grecian Antiquities*, p. 631.

‡ *Woman, Past and Present*, p. 26; *Woman Under Socialism*, p. 45; Potter's *Grecian Antiquities*, p. 630.

§ Potter's *Grecian Antiquities*, p. 645; see, also, pp. 631-632.

‖ *Woman, Church and State*, pp. 50, 38; see, also, *A View of Ancient Laws Against Immorality*, p. 9.

¶ Molesworth's *The Roman Empresses*, Vol. I., p. 2.

** *A Problem in Greek Ethics*, by Symonds; see, also, *Woman Under Socialism*, p. 37; also, *Suggestive Therapeutics in Psychopathia Sexualis*, Chap. 8.

Greek nationality, and his mother of Jewish."* The schools of Tarsus, attended by Paul, equaled those of Alexandria, Athens and Rome, and here he undoubtedly studied the Greek philosophers.† This education in the Greek classics was possibly supplemented by his instruction under Gamaliel.‡ Being afflicted with epilepsy,§ quite necessarily St. Paul possessed a foundation of sexual hyperestheticism. He boasts that he is unmoved by the temptations of women.‖ This impotency is a stigma of perverted sex-instinct, whence comes also woman-hatred.¶

Whatever the cause, Paul became possessed by the perverted opinions of Plato, as has been shown by his very scant tolerance of marriage. The only other apostle upon whom the ascetic ideal made any great impression was St. John, whom Jesus undoubtedly had in mind, when he spoke, with evident sympathy, of those "eunuchs who made themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake."** All the remaining apostles were married men.††

The teachings of St. Paul and St. John are the beginning of Christian asceticism, and through their popularity, Plato's "celestial love" and many of his mysticisms were adopted into Christianity. "Of the early influence of this [Platonic] philosophy upon Christianity, there exists distinct evidence in the opening verses of St. John's Gospel, which are pure Platonism in language and thought; and it is not, perhaps, too much to refer all the disputes which divided and disturbed the infant church, to a contest between those, who in forming their religious creed, adopted and those who rejected more or less of the new philosophy."‡‡ In recognition of this men like Erasmus call Plato "a Christian before Christianity."§§

The first effective organized impetus towards the Christian acceptance of the ascetic ideal came with the opening of the second century, through Montanus, whose following was impelled to asceticism by a desire to glorify the martyrdom of their prophet. He had suffered involuntary emasculation by irate husbands, who felt themselves injured by his unexcused trespasses within their families.‖‖ Through the added sexual enthusiasms engendered by voluntary suppression, the frenzy of fanaticism grew apace. In A. D. 385, celibacy during life was made compulsory for the priests of the Western churches.¶¶ About this time monachism as an institution and celibate orders of the church were first founded.*** By a natural law, every increased success in sex-suppression resulted in more numerous and more vivid erotic hallucinations, in which women always appeared as the supposed instruments of Satan for the tempting of priestly virtue.††† Thus evolved to their acute stages the mysogyny and erotophobia of the Dark Ages, with their resultant witch-burning and like horrors.

Under the influence of clerical suppression of the natural, sexual perversions abounded, and the church became saturated with an ever-intensifying hatred of women. The Pauline doctrines, that husbands should rule over wives, and that "it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church"; that "it is good for a man not to touch a woman"; that "he that giveth her in marriage doeth well,

* Haeckel's *Riddle of The Universe*, pp. 313, 328.
† *Plato and Paul*, Chap. 17.
‡ Renan's *The Apostles*, p. 167.
§ James' *Varieties of Religious Experiences*, p. 13.
‖ Renan's *The Apostles*, p. 166.
¶ See, generally, Kraft-Ebbing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, and on page, 417. *Schrenck-Notzing*, p. 132, citing many authors, among them, Moll.
** Matthew, Chap. XIX., V. 12.
†† *Variations of Popery*, p. 529.
‡‡ *Woman and Her Master*, Vol. II., p. 382.
§§ *Revelation the Best Foundation of Morals*, Vol. II., p. 107.
‖‖ Lee's *History of Montanism*.
¶¶ Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 49; Edgar's *Variations of Popery*, p. 552; Day's *Monastic Institution*.
*** Dibdin's *Monasticism in England*, p. 13 et seq. Lecky's *History of European Morals*.
††† See Sinistrarie, *Iucubi and Succubi*, unexpurgated lives of the Saints, as St. Jerome, or accounts of the "Witches' Sabbath."

but he that giveth her not in marriage, doeth better," became then the dominant thought of Christianity.

As this Christian erotophobia grew, womanhood suffered more and more of religious degradation. Tertullian denounced woman as "the gate of hell"; St. Bernard called her "the organ of the devil"; St. Anthony said: "The woman is the fountain of the arm of the devil, her voice is the hissing of the serpent"; St. Bonaventure denounced her as "a scorpion, ever ready to sting, . . . the lance of the demon"; St. Cyprian saw her as "the instrument of the devil"; St. Jerome as "the gate of devil, the road of iniquity, the sting of the scorpion"; St. John Damascene labeled her the "daughter of falsehood, a sentinel of hell, the enemy of peace"; St. Gregory the Great adds: "Woman has the poison of an asp, the malice of a dragon"; St. Chrysostom announces that "through woman the devil has triumphed. . . . Of all wild beasts, the most dangerous is woman."*

Many of the saints would not look upon a woman, nor allow one to look upon them, not even a sister or a mother. Women who presumed to enter churches with uncovered heads were denounced.† On the celebration of the anniversary of Saint Simeon, women were wholly excluded from the church, which was built around the pillar upon which he mortified the flesh.‡ Because of their impurity, a provincial council, in the sixth century, forbade women to receive the eucharist into their naked hands.§ For like reason, they were not permitted to sing in church choirs, and eunuchs were put in their stead.‖

At the council of Macon (A. D. 585), fifty-nine bishops taking part, it was a matter of serious discussion whether or not women had souls. By a majority of one it was decided that they had.¶ In the seventh century one Christian sect taught that females could not be resurrected, but that they could and would be transformed into men before their entrance into their final exaltation.** A thousand years afterward it was still a matter of ecclesiastical debate whether the native American women possessed souls. In the Greek Christian Church of Russia women were not classified as human beings until the time of Peter the Great.†† These are the lingering consequences of that madness which came from adding religious zeal to the unnatural ideals developed in Plato, from his psycho-sexual disease.

The acute erotophobia of the monks, through sympathetic imitation, was transfused into the masses as an all-pervading mysogyny. When the church had established that association with woman "was unclean," her religious and social equality were synchronously destroyed. When it became currently accepted, that the erotic hallucinations of celibate priests, evidenced that woman was but an instrument of Satan to tempt their virtue, that was the kindling of the witch-burner's fire. So, also, when dominant ecclesiastics asserted that woman was as soulless as the lower animals were supposed to be, and "the most dangerous" of wild beasts, her degradation as a chattel-slave was quite inevitable.

By the tenth century, woman's subjection as a chattel-slave was complete. Her husband-owner could mortgage, sell or kill her, just as he could any other live

*Requoted from *Woman, Her Glory and Her Shame*, p. 13; Babel's *Woman Under Socialism*, p. 51: also *Variations of Popery*, p. 539; Lecky's *History of Rationalism in Europe*, pp. 98-100; Day's *Monastic Institutions*, p. 259 et seq; Gage's *Woman, Church and State*, chapter on "Celibacy."

† *Fathers of the Desert; Woman, Church and State*, pp. 60-61; Lecky's *Morals*.

‡ Day's *Monastic Institutions*, p. 35; "Women may not enter second enclosure of the Carthusians and are excluded from their church," *Eastern Monachism*, p. 54; see, also, *Woman, Church and State*, pp. 58-61.

§ Lecky's *History of European Morals*, Vol. II., p. 338, citing decree of Council of Auxerre, also Troplong; for other restrictions, see *Woman, Church and State*, pp. 114 and 124.

‖ *Woman, Church and State*, p. 57.

¶ Gage's *Woman, Church and State*, p. 56; Babel's *Woman Under Socialism*, p. 52.

** Ross' *View of All Religions*, p. 219.

†† *Woman, Church and State*, p. 56.

chattel. No wonder, then, that thousands of women were driven into monasteries, as the only place offering even a little freedom, economic independence and respectability.*

The same crime was more severely punished, if committed by a woman, than if committed by a man.† The wife's rebellion against her husband, was punished as treason.‡ President Roosevelt still esteems it akin to treason for the sex-slave in marriage to refuse to render sex-service. Before the Mothers' Congress, speaking of the deliberately childless wife, he said: "Such a creature merits contempt, as hearty as any visited upon the soldier who runs away in battle."§ The deserter before a foe is killed. Does Mr. Roosevelt's "contempt as hearty" mean that he desires also to inflict the death penalty on married women who have deliberately limited their offspring to a number less than their utmost physical capacity? That is the logical inference.

In England, as late as 1814, a husband sold his wife at public auction.‖ There is a record of the sale of a polygamous wife in Utah, as late as 1850. Even in 1892, the New York courts decided that the service of the wife belonged to her husband as a matter of right, and that she could not recover for it, even if holding his written promise to pay. Thus she is still his legal slave.¶

"Toward the close of the fourteenth century, hardly a woman could be found in Europe who could read her native language."** Even the erudite Erasmus doubted whether learning was a suitable accomplishment for her,†† and all lesser clackers echoed his sentiment for centuries. Even to this day, some belated victims to tenth-century ideals still deplore female education; especially through women's clubs.

We have now seen how Christian denunciation of marriage, as impure, and of women as subordinate and vile, produced a wifehood of chattel-slavery. This necessarily involved that rendering sex-service had become a woman's slave-duty to her husband-owner. Under our present partial emancipation and enlightenment, husbands lack the courage, publicly, to insist upon this as their personal right, but instead, ask for it for themselves in the name of a class, nation or race, which every such man feels himself in duty bound to save from its imminent danger of extinction. As formerly he demanded a slavish slave, so now he demands a "womanly woman," one who joyously defends and meekly submits to the male imposition of economic dependence, intellectual inferiority, a dual standard of morals and female duties. Motherhood, as a right, has vanished, and motherhood as a duty is still preached by the benighted as the highest mark of female slave-virtue.

Other forces have contributed to the persistence of this ideal. The tribal chiefs and war-lords, needing soldiers for slaughter, rediscovered their advantage in making breeding a virtue. Napoleon needed "food for cannon," so when the brilliant but barren Madame de Staël asked him: "Who is the greatest woman?" he said: "She who has borne her husband the greatest number of children." Frederick the Great, in 1741, wrote: "I look upon men as a herd of deer in the zoölogical gardens of a great lord; their only duty is to propagate and fill the park."‡‡ President Roosevelt still endorses this ideal as the highest, for womankind, when he says that "the wilfully barren woman has no place in a

* 2 Lecky's *European Morals*, pp. 299-339; Gage's *Woman, Church and State*, p. 302, citing Spencer.

† Gage's *Woman, Church and State*, p. 312.

‡ *Woman, Church and State*, pp. 314-315.

§ *Christian Advocate*, March 23, 1905.

‖ Lecture by Rev. Dr. Walker, in Presbyterian Church, Madison, Wis. (about 1888.); also, Gage's *Woman, Church and State*, p. 39.

¶ Blaehinska *vs.* Howard Mission and Home for Little Wanderers, 130 N. Y., p. 497.

** *Woman, Past and Present*, p. 57.

†† *Woman, Past and Present*, p. 58.

‡‡ *Woman Under Socialism*, p. 75, citing Kautsky's "Ueber den einflus der Volks-vermehrung auf den vortschritt der gesellschaft."

sane, healthy and vigorous community," and adds, before the Mothers' Congress, that: "There are exceptional men and exceptional women, who can lead, and ought to lead, great careers of outside usefulness, in addition to . . . not as a substitute for . . . their home duties."* Until the zoölogical garden of her great lord and master is full of deer, and these adequately cared for by her, woman may not even aspire to a career of other usefulness, without forfeiting her right to live in a "sane, healthy and vigorous community"! It is quite incomprehensible, how women with any education can sit calmly under—or even applaud—such degrading denial of an equal opportunity for the exercise of other than their breeding capacity and its incidents.

The demands of the war-lord helped to kill the motherhood of privilege, and from its corpse raised the ghastly motherhood of patriotic duty, which refuses to recognize any amount of social uplifting as an equivalent substitute for her sex-service. The continued advocacy of this ideal, after the war-lord's motives ceased to operate, has the appearance of a compromise between the ascetic ideal and an insatiable lust, where cowardice and stupidity induce a vociferous apology for over-generous self-indulgence.

Perhaps the most potent thralldom which perpetuated this new ideal came again from the church. In celibate, priestly eyes, "marriage is something unholy and unclean," to use the words of Origen.† Sometimes it was explained as an unavoidable evil, and at others, magnanimously endured as "the thorny bush from which has come the rose virginity."‡ The sentiment of St. Hieronymous ultimately prevailed. He said: "Marriage is always a vice; all that we can do is to excuse and to cleanse it."§

To minimize and excuse the "vileness," marriage must produce virgins. Therefore the duty to procreate, which was the price of permitted "impurity," became as extravagantly over-valued as was the evil to which it justified an exceptional concession. The motherhood of privilege, which was already succumbing to the motherhood of slave-duty to a military despot, now yielded also to the motherhood of religious duty to God.

Thus the husband-master of a sex-slave in marriage, not caring or daring to repudiate the whole of the ascetic ideal, yet seeking a moral justification for a wife's compulsory gratification of his sensual appetites, secured the aid of both the church and the state, and all these still seek to limit a woman's activities, to coerce propagation and its incidents. All are united to laud her compulsory sex-submission as a virtue.

Even to this day, in probably every state in the Union, the law still recognizes the husband's ownership of his wife's body. He may rape his wife with practical impunity, since marriage is a defense to the crime of rape. When he rapes a woman without having acquired that right, by priestly ceremony, even though she is his paid mistress, the criminal law against rape will send him to prison. Even if the law were changed, economic dependence and a perverted public opinion, which in consequence of such dependence prates of "wifely duty," would still compel submission; and all this, because the Bible says: "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands in all things."

The Christian ascetic ideal, born in the sexual-psychopathy of Plato, had now run its full course, from religious mysogyny to spiritual inequality, to the denial of her possessing a soul, to her enslavement as a husband's chattel.

In short, through the influence of Plato's sexual inversion, Christian asceticism destroyed motherhood as a right, and created the motherhood of duty, primarily

* *Christian Advocate*, May 23, 1905.
† Requoted from Babel's *Woman Under Socialism*, p. 51.
‡ Requoted from Felix Adler.
§ Requoted from Babel's *Woman Under Socialism*, p. 51.

to her husband, secondarily, and in modern times, hypocritically, to the State and to her God.

Ecclesiastical authority was unable to wholly suppress or pervert the human sex-nature. Under the pretense that marriage must be purified and excused, the priests now sought to keep it under their control. "Popish casuists such as Costerus, Pighius, Hosius, Campeggio, and those reported by Agrippa, raised whoredom above wedlock."* Under the influence of such ideas of the "vileness" of marriage, it was early prohibited to perform the ceremony within church edifices.† Though many, like Jerome, had said that the duty of a husband was "incompatible with the duty of a Christian,"‡ yet in the ninth century it was argued that an act of the church could validate marriage; and in 1085 Pope Hildebrand VII. declared matrimony a sacrament,§ and the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, was the first Church Council to declare matrimony one of the seven sacraments of Catholicism.‖

Many authorities had declared for divorce and remarriage upon varying grounds. St. Ephiphanius allowed divorce for any crime.¶ Justinian forbade divorce unless both parties desired to enter a monastery.** St. Gregory the Second, and others, blessed with infallibility, authorized bigamy. In response to Boniface (A. D. 726), he answered that when wives were incapacitated by infirmity, men, if unendowed with continence, might marry again. This theory was adopted in 752 by the Council of Vermeria or Verbery. Pepin, the French king, with the French prelacy, was present in this assembly. The Gallican clergy allowed the privilege of repudiation and subsequent wedlock to those who married slaves, pretending to be free; and to men whose wives were guilty of certain contumacy.†† To keep sexual relations under priestly control, marriage with heretics was, in the twelfth century, prohibited, and such marriages could be repudiated and remarriage allowed.‡‡ The Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, for the first time authoritatively declared marriage indissoluble.§§

When the priests made marriage a "sacramental authority to live unchaste," though its religious sacredness was thereby grossly overestimated, it was yet recognized as religiously semi-respectable, and this was the first step towards our growing sanity upon the subject of sex.

Monks and priests, in their mad desire to discredit marriage, came to an ever-growing exaltation of the alleged virginity of the mother of Jesus. In their nocturnal erotism, these mad victims of sex-suppression thought they received solace from the "Virgin Mother," who appeared to them in their hallucinations.‖‖ Mariolatry grew apace. In the fifth century, a mere recognition of Mary's good fortune in her maternity began to change to acts of homage.¶¶ The first feast of the Immaculate Conception was celebrated in A. D. 1134,*** and at the ecumenical Council of 1849 the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was first authoritatively promulgated, although her worship had long existed.††† "True Catholics no longer pray to Jesus, except through Mary," so declare Romanist authorities.‡‡‡

* Edgar's *Variations of Popery*, pp. 559-560, citing the original authorities.

† Gage's *Woman, Church and State*, p. 120.

‡ Edgar's *Variations of Popery*, p. 539.

§ Gage's *Woman, Church and State*, p. 222.

‖ Babel's *Woman Under Socialism*, p. 56; also *Woman, Past and Present*, p. 328; Bungener's *History of The Council of Trent*, Chap. VI.

¶ Edgar's *Variations of Popery*, p. 547.

** Babel's *Woman Under Socialism*, p. 45.

†† Edgar's *Variations of Popery*, pp. 561 to 565.

‡‡ Father" H. A. Brann, in New York *Herald*, June 4, 1905; Edgar's *Variations of Popery*, p. 564.

§§ Edgar's *Variations of Popery*, p. 562; see, also, p. 65.

‖‖ Prof. James Leuba, "On the Psychology of a Group of Christian Mystics" in *Mind* (of London) for January, 1905; Edgar's *Variations of Popery*.

¶¶ Bungener's *History of The Council of Trent*, p. 494.

*** *Woman, Past and Present*, p. 71.

††† Gage's *Woman, Church and State*, p. 222.

‡‡‡ Bungener's *History of The Council of Trent*, p. 509.

Many, like the great Dominican ascetic and mystic, Suso, when meeting a woman, stepped respectfully aside, though their bare feet must tread the gutter or thorns. But this was done, not to exalt woman, as such, but rather to discredit married women by exalting the Virgin. Suso said: "I do this to render homage to our Holy Lady, the Virgin Mary."*

While by contrast with the Virgin idol, this was intended as a reflection on the generality of women, it undesignedly brought about, among laymen, that worshipful attitude toward women which was characteristic of that chivalric love of medieval knighthood. Thus the priest unconsciously sowed the seed of chivalry, for the homage he paid to women for the sake of a dead virgin, was soon imitated by laymen, for the sake of a live lover. On the part of those who "sigh like a furnace," this led to that mad apotheosis of love passion which found its public expression in the poetry and songs of the troubadours and glee-maidens, and the special code of sex-ethics which was administered by their "Courts of Love."

They seem to have esteemed love far higher than religion or virtue, or any restraining influence. In their "Laws of Love," it was laid down that: "Marriage cannot be pleaded as an excuse for refusing to love"; that "It is not becoming to love those ladies who only love with a view to marriage"; that "Nothing prevents one lady being loved by two gentlemen, or one gentleman by two ladies"; and that love cannot exercise its power on (between) married people."†

No wonder, then, that every court lady esteemed it necessary, as a point of amorous etiquette, to have a troubadour in her train, and that he, in silly proof of the madness of his devotion, often suffered the greatest bodily mascerations. All this but furnished added evidence of how extremes beget extremes. As the monks and priests overestimated the sinfulness of love, so to the same extent did the knighthood of bachelors over-value the ethical potency of love-passion. Even to this day, a large mass of people still judge unauthorized sexuality to be immoral *per se*, and another large mass determine its ethical status by the degree of intensity of the love-passion which prompts it. Both are equally wrong, because they alike ignore the essential factor of social utility as an ethical criterion.

This chivalry developed among the only people outside the clergy who had any influence, and therefore supplied a new element in the future ideal of marriage. The harshness of the old slavery was ameliorated. The husband, imitating or competing with the knight, must at least seem to be a generous and benevolent master, granting favors, though imposing duties and denying equality. The wife must be a willing and dutiful serf, whose chief virtue must be the inexpensiveness of her keeping and the absence of even a longing for equalities of opportunity and liberty. Although this marital chivalry was but a verbal exaltation and an empty ceremonial idolatry of women,‡ it served a useful purpose in initiating a reaction against the dominant ascetic mysogyny.

More and more the wife ceased to be a mere slave who served wine to her husband's guests, and oftener was allowed a seat at his table. Gradually those old legal discriminations against women and wives, which had their origin when the wife was a chattel, are being supplanted by more enlightened statutes. Gradually, social customs are according a nearer approach to female equality. Gradually, the more liberal churches are recognizing woman's equal rights, not only in the pews, but even as preachers. Gradually, a few are seeing the injustice in the continued denial of political equality; and still later will come the insistence upon

*Wagner's *Simple Life*, p. 32. (McClure Phipps edition.)

†Rowbotham's *Troubadours and Courts of Love*, Chap. XIV; Gage's *Woman, Church and State*, p. 117.

‡*Woman, Past and Present*, p. 51.

marriage ideals which now seem new—but are not—in which the wife will be economically independent of her husband, intellectually the equal of her husband, politically with the opportunities of her husband, and morally as free and as responsible for herself as is her husband, with no sexual duties, but with privileges, and the recipient of an equal wage for the same labor.

All the remaining inequalities by which women are discriminated against find their sole justification in her economic dependence during marriage, which is the potent remnant of her slave-condition, about which clusters that public opinion which excuses all the continuing wrongs to women and seeks to conceal them under a meaningless verbal exaltation. So she has become "the queen of the kitchen-stove." The influence of the church in the matter of shaping marriage ideals is waning. Organized bigotry cannot cope successfully with the silent industrial and economic forces which compel readjustment.

During the later Middle Ages, while the actual chattel character of woman's slavery was disappearing, all of its incidents remained. A "gentleman" could have no occupation, except to fight and to love. The wife was a drudge. She could and did shear sheep, spin yarn, weave the cloth, and make the clothes. While the quality of livelihood and "protection," which her lord and master furnished her in return, was never measured by the quality or quantity of her drudgery or progeny, there can be no doubt but that she never received from him as much as the market value of her labor. In one sense she was dependent, because her husband alone determined the compensation for her services; yet there can be little doubt that, except in rare cases, the balance was so much in her favor that more often it could be said that her husband was living upon her labor than that she was an idle dependent upon his.

This has been changed in a very large measure by our industrial development. Where nearly all were peasant, millions are now city-folk. The shepherd is far removed from the throng. The home-made wooden shoes, sandals and moccasins have been replaced by the factory-made shoe. Spinning is no longer a fireside occupation. The stockings which were commonly knit by our grandmothers are now factory-made. The old ancestral hand-loom does not compete with child-labor running machines. Sweat-shop clothing and fashionable tailors have removed the disgrace, which, until recently, attached to the woman who could not make her own and her family's clothes. The cooking, and even the washing, are largely and often better and cheaper done at the bakery, the cannery, the hotel and the laundry, than within the domicile.

One by one, the occupations of the house have been removed to the factory. Only in the rural districts do any of them remain. Even the care and education of our children is now better done by trained nurses and kindergartners and by professional pedagogues than could possibly be done by most mothers. Except where dire economic necessity compels it, married women have not followed their work when it left the home. This, then, brings us to a condition where there are thousands of women of the mis-called "better" classes who live in boarding-houses and hotels, in idle ease, or in homes where they are figure-heads, posing as their husbands' exalted head-servants, but whose only ambition in life is to be accredited with respectability, and whose only occupation is to render sex-service, mostly barren, to the husbands who furnish support as compensation.

Such wives are not chattel-slaves, but willing dependents. They are not the drudging house-servants of old, nor the co-laborers of their husbands, as in our rural population. They differ in no essential from the kept woman, unless we have so low an estimate of the marriage state that we call the ceremony the essence, and a carelessly misplaced "re-

spectability," the final test of marriage morals.

These women have neither the freedom nor the relative intelligence of the hetairæ of Greece. Doubting their ability for self-maintenance, or unwilling to assume its labors, when the methods of discredited women are quite adequate to insure a husband's generosity, economic and social pressure induce them to submit meekly to a double standard of morals when it does not lessen the luxury of their own support. The same conditions combined with the great mental indolence, make them ever willing to tickle their husbands' vanity by a worshipful attitude toward their mediocre intellect.

Thus it has come to pass that with a large section of our public the wife's economic dependence, intellectual inferiority, submission to a double standard of morals, and the acceptance of support in compensation for a fruitless sex-service, have come to be a part of our marriage ideal, and, I fear, is the predominant ambition of even those married women who do work.

We hear "eminently respectable" people speaking of girls as "well married," meaning only thereby to indicate that they have made an advantageous bargain for their future support in idleness. These conditions seldom find duplications in past history, outside the harem and our ever-present houses of prostitution. This situation has perhaps been unavoidable, and represents the remnants of our former female chattel-slavery partially adjusted to our modern industrial conditions.

The course of evolution is never completed. The still "respectable" marriage-ideal just portrayed, and the other contemporaneous ideals, mark a transition in which the chief compelling force will be economic pressure, and its influence must now be pointed out.

These anomalous ideals of the past century, did not long pass without being vigorously challenged. Years ago Phillips Brooks wrote: "Self-support is as much the duty of a woman as a man. Servile dependence in money matters is no longer deemed honorable."

With the granting of equal educational opportunities to women, and a growing —but still restricted—business chance, there have come into being, large numbers of women who decline to marry except on terms of equality to themselves. Men of the same class have not so numerously adjusted to the new conditions. The woman of capacity, not compelled to enter matrimony as a business offering support, and seldom able to find a suitable man who shares her advanced ideals, declines to marry at all. As a result, the much-envied "bachelor girl" has replaced the formerly despised "old maid." From such conditions were unavoidably evolved the ideals of an economically independent wifehood so vigorously defended by an increasing number of women, as in Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Woman and Economics.*

Among the peasants and unfortunate classes least influenced by the bourgeoise opinion, the wives have always remained the co-laborers of their husbands. These women, besides raising their families, have done much of the sewing and drudgery of their more fortunate and less prolific sisters. Among the very wealthy, women have their separate estates, and enjoy independence and equality to as high degree as they are capable of appreciating. Indeed these often have reversed the conditions, by taking a male dependent as a spouse. This is notoriously true of those American heiresses who purchase foreign titles, to which the acquisition of an impecunious husband seems a mere incidental detail.

It is precisely in that large and pretentious middle class, falsely claiming to be the bulwark of our marriage morals, that we find the largest number of wives accepting and longing for support in idleness as a return for a barren sex-service. Notwithstanding their comparative poverty, they, more than all else, love to imitate the ostentatious, wasteful and idle

luxury of their wealthier sisters. They can discover no easy road to the goal and retain their respectability, except by selling themselves in marriage. This condition is receiving vigorous bombardment, not only from progressive thinkers, but also from certain reactionaries, who are seeking a return to ideals of the latter Middle Ages, where fecundity was the measure of the married woman's respectability.

However, our moral progress is very seldom the result of conscious effort to arrive at moral truth. The very great majority of mankind acquire ethical concepts solely by the process of making a virtue of their necessities. The arguments of Phillips Brooks and Charlotte Gilman, and the declamations of Theodore Roosevelt and the Mothers' Congress, will have influence only in so far as they supply a defense to wives for the doing of what they must do, even without a defense.

It is economic pressure which will compel our acceptance of an economically independent wifehood as an ideal. As our industries are now organizing, competition among employers is rapidly disappearing, and the competition among employés is likely to become ever more keen. This means that an increasing number of families will be compelled to enter the ranks of those wherein the wife must contribute toward the family maintenance, or submit to the family's dissolution. Likewise an increasing number of young women will find themselves confronted with a choice between celibacy and a married life in which they continue to be productive workers.

So long as the marriage relation implies a difference of financial and moral responsibility, so long will there exist between men and women a double standard of necessities and morals. Under the pressure of adverse conditions the provider naturally, if not justly, to some extent measures the necessities of his dependent wife by his own financial surplus over personal necessities and pleasures, and never by the market value of the services rendered by his "helpmate." Thus it is, that the wife's allowance usually increases as her household and motherhood service decrease, with the growing prosperity of the husband. With disappearing prosperity, the wife's ability to adapt herself to her source of supplies becomes ever more difficult.

Reinforced by the transmitted ideals of the Dark Ages, the average husband's peculiar sense of justice, or his vanity, demands of a dependent wifehood, as the price of benevolence in his economic mastery, that he shall be the exclusive owner of her body and mind, and so long as he believes in his own dominance, under the influence of temptation, he will deny reciprocity in these respects.

Now we come to a tracing of the operation of the economic pressure in its remoulding of our ideals of the marriage state. We shall here discover how necessity is compelling, in the middle classes, an acceptance of the ideal of an economically independent wifehood.

An army officer, with an impecunious wife, endeavoring on a small salary to keep up the required ostentatious waste of social life, must almost necessarily inflict upon himself such worries as naturally unfit him for the performance of his duties. In Austria and Germany, to insure the government against this incapacitating influence of marriage, the officers, before being allowed to marry, must demonstrate their financial resources above salary to be such as preclude these baneful consequences.* Recently there has been some agitation in army circles of the United States over the prospects for placing similar additions to the matrimonial embarrassments of its officers.

Quite similar motives very often determine employment in the commercial world. The married man, with a dependent wife, applying for a position of trust with but a small salary attached, is silently discriminated against, because the temptation to keep up the required

* Babel's *Woman Under Socialism*, p. 137.

social bluff of family life on a small salary so increases the moral risk of his employment as to make him an unsafe servant. These motives of the employer do not always become known to the rejected applicant, and almost never to the public. However there are exceptions.

The press dispatches recently announced that the Corn Exchange National Bank of Chicago had posted this notice: "Employés of this bank receiving a salary of less than $1,000 a year, must not marry without first consulting the bank officials and obtaining their approval." The reason assigned was that: "It is nonsense for a man to attempt to care for a wife and family with an annual income of $1,000. We would feel ourselves partly responsible for any misery which might follow, if we approved of such a course."* The clear imputation is that an economically dependent wife, to a husband with small salary, is a direct inducement to embezzlement, and prudent business men are unwilling to assume the moral risks.

All this but makes it clear that economic and social pressure are compelling the abandonment of our present ideals which, without clearer moral vision, we refuse voluntarily to relinquish. Thus we will arrive at a legalized, easily dissoluble monogamy, into which woman will enter on terms of perfect equality as to her economic, moral, religious and political status, and her compulsory maternity will be replaced by the enlightened motherhood of privilege, in which the right of the child to be well born will be the paramount consideration. The realization of this ideal, toward which we are tending, is still far off, and what may be beyond is not given me to know.

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

New York City.

THE REIGN OF GRAFT IN MILWAUKEE.

BY DUANE MOWRY.

THE STORY of public corruption and dishonesty in Milwaukee is a long one. To trace its beginnings down through all of its interminable windings and intertwinings would be a tedious, difficult and, probably, impossible task. That official dishonesty and crookedness had a beginning in Milwaukee city and county government no one doubts; that the acme of public tolerance and endurance of a corrupt public service was reached, when, in September, 1903, a mass-meeting of the citizens of Milwaukee was held protesting against official corruption, is equally clear.

It is interesting to examine some of the circumstances and events which preceded the calling of this mass-meeting. Sometime during the early part of the year 1901 it was claimed and charged that an attempt had been made to "hold up" a citizen to the amount of several thousands of dollars for the granting of the privilege by the park commissioners to join with such citizen in opening and making a street on property abutting one of the parks of the city. The secretary of the park commissioners was discharged from the public service because it was claimed that he did the negotiating for the corrupt fund. He was later arrested and on the preliminary examination was discharged. He was said to have made certain disclusures with reference to this particular transaction, acknowledging his guilty part in the same, but implicating others prominent in social and official life. The opinion seemed to be uppermost that exact justice had not been meted out in

*New York *Herald*, about February 21, 1904.

this matter. But the case was allowed to pass into history.

A few months later, but in the same year, a grand jury was summoned to investigate alleged corrupt conditions in the public service. This jury convened in the early part of December, 1901, and was in session over thirty days, but returned no indictments. It was quite freely charged in the public prints and on the streets that little would come of the grand jury investigation. This, it seemed, came true. It was said, however, that the reason of this result was to be found in the manner of selecting the jury and the personnel of this particular one.

Some things said by this grand jury, however, in its report to the court, were of far-reaching significance, as subsequent events have proved. They said:

"The grand jury reports no indictments. This, however, is not because there was no evidence brought before it of crimes having been committed, but, primarily, because of the present method of selecting grand jurors, and because it requires twelve votes to return a true bill. It is for this reason that we suggest a change in the present law governing the selecting of grand jurors."

The same jury urge "that the power of granting special privileges in this city (Milwaukee), such as side-tracks over streets and alleys, extensions for bay-windows, and bridges over alleys and streets connecting buildings, be taken from the common council and vested in the board of public works." They also say that "we would, indeed, deem it a serious omission did we not bring to your attention the loose and unbusiness-like manner in which the present county board recently acquired a morgue and poor-office site," following the above with a somewhat detailed statement of the method adopted to acquire the site.

The significance of the report and recommendations of this grand jury is to be found in the fact that the jury, by implication, does not hesitate to reflect on certain of its members who failed to vote for true bills, and also in the further fact that there was discovered the existence of crime in the public service. It is also worthy of remark that the next session of the legislature of Wisconsin incorporated into law its recommendation for a change of the manner of selecting the grand jury. The new grand-jury law became operative in the spring of 1903.

The report of this grand jury had the additional effect of calling public attention to the rottenness and corruption in our local official life. It was of vast consequence. And when, a little later, it was charged that saloon licenses were sold for hard cash by certain members of the common council, and that gross mismanagement was rife in the house of correction, the so-called county penitentiary, it being claimed that the latter institution was corruptly losing to the county of Milwaukee, annually, many thousands of dollars, the public pulse of the honest citizens of Milwaukee became quickened into righteous indignation. This feeling found expression in the following language of a member of the Milwaukee Turnverein: "In view of the exposures of corrupt actions, in many cases, criminal, among the county and city officers, it is the duty of every honest citizen to take steps to insure the punishment of the guilty ones, and therefore, be it resolved, that the Milwaukee Turnverein arrange a mass-meeting to be held as soon as possible, to which all honest citizens should be invited, to take proper steps to secure the punishment of those guilty of corruption." A mass-meeting quickly followed the adoption of the foregoing resolution,

This mass-meeting, while not as largely attended as it should have been, was made up of representative business and professional men of the city. The chairman of the meeting made this significant observation: "It is, indeed, a sad condition of things when we find men occupying official positions that will, with impunity

and unpunished, pocket all the way from twenty-five cents to thousands of dollars that ought of right to be returned into the public treasury. It is a sad commentary upon popular government to know that a vote can be purchased for five dollars, or a suit of clothes; or that bills against the county government could be raised, audited, allowed and paid, and the spoils divided among the officials."

The resolutions which were adopted at this mass-meeting had an important bearing on subsequent events. For they served to sustain the officers who were attempting to uncover official corruption, and they also provided for a Citizens' Committee of Ten who did valuable work in preparing the way for grand juries which soon followed this meeting.

Following closely the above mass-meeting, November 19, 1903, another grand jury was ordered. In his petition to the court asking for this second grand jury, the prosecuting attorney makes some interesting observations. "Two years ago I made a similar motion, and your honor ordered a grand jury summoned for the December, 1901, term of the municipal court, and such grand jury examined a great many witnesses, but returned no indictments." Then follow the reasons given by the grand jury, already referred to in another part of this paper, why they failed to return no true bills. Continuing, the public prosecutor says: "The report of the grand jury, which is of record, it having been filed in the municipal court, contains also the following: 'A great difficulty which we have had to contend with has been the unwillingness of citizens called as witnesses to divulge to the jury all the knowledge which they may have had of wrongdoings and irregularities, fortifying themselves behind the impregnable barrier of "can 't remember," "know of nothing," and similar phrases, and, in some instances, even claiming their constitutional privileges. Furthermore, we have found that those who upon the streets and in public places have been loud in their denunciations of city and county administrations, either did not take advantage of the opportunity offered by the sessions of the grand jury to bring their charges before the proper tribunal, or when called upon, also answered our questions in a general manner, as above stated.' As your honor is aware, the method then existing for selecting grand juries was changed by the last legislature. . . . It is to be hoped that better results may be obtained by the next grand jury." The prosecuting attorney says that he was required to attend the sessions of the former grand jury, examined witnesses, gave advice, and the like, and from what he knew of the testimony, considered that it warranted the returning of several indictments. He also assures the court that "there has also come to my attention since the last grand-jury session, many additional complaints of city officials receiving and soliciting bribes in connection with the granting of franchises, privileges of laying sidewalks over public streets and alleys, extending bay-windows, and of building bridges over alleys and streets; of receiving and demanding money for the granting of licenses to sell liquors, and in fact, of receiving and soliciting money for doing many acts, which the law required them to do, and of acting corruptly in their offices. These complaints are chiefly concerning the action of members of the common council, as well as ex-members thereof, but there is also testimony that other city officials have acted corruptly in office, and I think, should be prosecuted for violations of the criminal statutes. There is also, I am informed, additional testimony to be laid before the grand jury, of corruption in office of many of the members of the county board, and of officials holding offices by virtue of appointment by the county board. There is also some testimony that members of the legislature have solicited bribes from citizens of Milwaukee who desired certain measures enacted into laws."

This second grand jury was convened

early in December, 1903, and continued its sittings until the following February. The corruption which it uncovered in official life in the city and county governments of Milwaukee was simply appalling to the public conscience and amply justified all that had been charged in the report of the previous grand jury; that had been said at the citizens' mass-meeting; that had been published in some of the newspapers of the city; that had been embodied in the prosecuting attorney's comprehensive petition to the criminal court asking for a second grand jury.

It is interesting to study some of the offenses charged, as having been committed, by this grand jury and by the two other grand juries which have since been drawn. One alderman is charged in one indictment with agreeing to accept a bribe of $600 for a side-track privilege. In another indictment with other aldermen and ex-aldermen, he is charged with accepting $125 for a bay-window privilege. One supervisor is charged with having stolen a horse belonging to the county and of committing perjury while testifying before the grand jury. Another supervisor, in fact there are several supervisors indicted on the same charge, for obtaining county orders under false pretenses in connection with coal deals. A former alderman is charged with having received three tons of coal in one indictment; in another with soliciting a bribe of $350 for a bay-window privilege; in another with soliciting a bribe of $100 for settling a personal injury claim against the city; in another with accepting a bribe of $1,400 for a side-track privilege; in another with soliciting a bribe of $10,000 while a street-railway franchise was pending in the common council. Several aldermen are indicted with having solicited bribes for saloon licenses. Aldermen and ex-aldermen are charged with having received and solicited bribes for saloon licenses. An ex-alderman is charged with soliciting a bribe for an alley-bridge privilege. A state senator is charged with having solicited and received bribes for his action or vote on certain legislation then pending in the legislature. A former officer of the house of correction (county state's prison) is charged in several indictments with embezzling county orders, with accepting a bribe of $100 and he is also charged with having obtained county orders under false pretenses. The foregoing only summarizes in part the charges in several hundred indictments and informations against over a hundred officials, ex-officials and citizens.

Naturally, one would be induced to inquire how it is possible or safe for public servants to ply such a nefarious and crooked business? Of course, it is only possible to do so and succeed where there are willing victims. And those who consent to such dishonest practices, and who participate in them, are no better, morally, than the criminal public servants. Undoubtedly, the unfeeling rapacity of corporate demands and desires has much to do to debauch public life and honesty. It is often the entering wedge which makes easy the way to whatever vast capital may wish. But it is not the only phase of easy public virtue. There is discernible a growing indifference to civic duty among a class of our citizens who would be offended if they were characterized as unworthy of democratic privileges. And yet, the so-called "better citizen" of the state, who does not wish to soil his fingers or garments with what he believes exists in the sea of practical politics, is, in fact, one of the worst citizens, because he fails to do his whole civic duty. The just price of living in a representative government is active, constant and intimate participation in the affairs of such a government. He comes far short of his full duty who fails in this. There have not been many convictions under charges so far found in Milwaukee. But it is worthy of mention that there have been fewer acquittals. And not a few have already pleaded guilty to the charges against them and have paid their fines, or are now serving time behind

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Photo. by Stansbury, Philadelphia, Pa.

JOHN L. DE MAR

prison bars. The consensus of opinion seems to be that very few of those indicted will escape conviction.

It is believed that the public house-cleaning now in progress in Milwaukee will provoke such a wide-spread awakening of the public conscience as cannot withstand the condemnation that awaits public boodlers and grafters, that comparative public honesty will be the future concomitant. It ought to be so. Let us hope that it will be so, although the price to be paid for it is high, needlessly high, and should have been wholly unnecessary.

DUANE MOWRY.

Milwaukee, Wis.

DEMAR A CARTOONIST OF CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

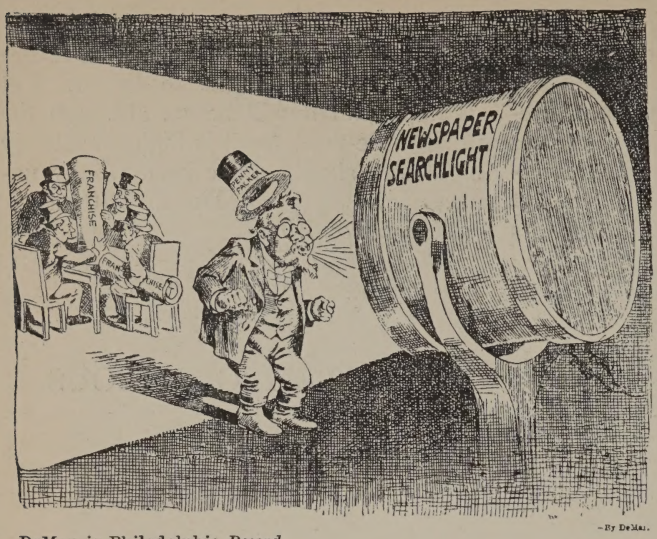
OUR REPUBLIC, notwithstanding certain unhappy changes of recent decades, still offers wonderful opportunities to the youth of strong heart who enters the battle single-handed and alone, but with fixed determination to succeed, with concentration of effort on some definite work, and with that innate strength of character that makes a youth the master of himself. True, the opportunities to-day are less than were afforded before the Civil war. When Abraham Lincoln, before the glow of the log-fire in the rude, primitive cabin wrung from the meager books within his reach a wealth of knowledge destined to bear the fruits of wisdom in after years when he became the foremost moral leader among the rulers of the nineteenth century, the world of political life was free to youths in every station, for a degree of democracy prevailed that favored freedom and fostered the aspirations and ambitions of youths who, guided by high ideals, sought to rise in public life.

To-day all this is changed. The party-machine, owned and controlled by corporate wealth and privileged interests whose master-thought is the retention of selfish advantages through the control of government by their tools, agents and *protégées*, bars the way to a great extent for the poor but incorruptible youths who refuse to become the special-pleaders of interests inimical to pure government or the rights of all the people.

So, also, in business life. With the rapid

DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record*.

"UP THE HILL AND DOWN AGAIN."



DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record.*

TRYING TO BLOW IT OUT.

consolidation of various industries into the hands of ever-narrowing groups of men the gates of opportunity for success and great achievements are closing in many directions against tens of thousands of our young men. But, happily, on the other hand there are everywhere growing evidences of a brighter future for the rising generation through the resumption of government by the people.

Switzerland has taught the democratic world precisely how the fundamental demands of democracy, through the initiative, the referendum and the right of recall, can be preserved under the changed conditions of our day and how reactionary, class and privileged interests, that have debauched government and closed the door against merit while oppressing the people, can be overthrown or can be forced to give place to that equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people which was the ideal and the dream of the founders of this nation. The importance of these safeguards of free government to the young of our land cannot be overestimated, and happily a growing number is coming to realize that the republic can through them be in fact restored to the people. With each victory for popular sovereignty will come a broadening of opportunities for splendid success for the brave, resolute young man who concentrates his efforts on some special work and steadfastly bends every energy to reach his goal.

Great, however, as has been the narrowing of the field for success since the domination of the trusts, corporate wealth and privileged interests in political and business life, there still remain multitu-

DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record.*

"ROOSEVELT AN IDEAL FATHER."

—*Charles R. Skinner to the Mothers' Congress.*

DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record*.

UNCLE SAM—"AIN'T THESE PAINTINGS OF YOU?"
ROOSEVELT—"YES; BUT I'VE REFORMED."

dinous avenues for victorious achievement for our young men—more, we believe, than can be found in any other land. Our attention is constantly being called to some life that has worthily succeeded after breaking the bonds of environment that seemed to chain the victim to a treadmill existence while his imagination and the craving of his inner nature urged him to other fields. A typical example of this character is found in the life and success of John L. DeMar, the popular cartoonist of the Philadelphia *Record*.

Though born in Philadelphia, at the age of seven his people moved to Kansas, where for the next fifteen years John lived. Here he received his education and here he began a stern struggle for a livelihood —a struggle marked by those frequent changes of occupation that one often notices where an aspiring nature is battling with uncongenial environment and blindly struggling to reach some sphere of activity where the innate cravings of mind and imagination can find satisfaction. The grave question of daily bread and the lack of specific educational training that would have early fitted the youth for success in a congenial field, compelled him to accept the work which was offered at the time. Thus he labored for a while on a farm; then he was a clerk successively in a grocery store, a drug store and a hotel. Finally he accepted for a short time the position of a railroad brakeman; but all the time his imagination called in

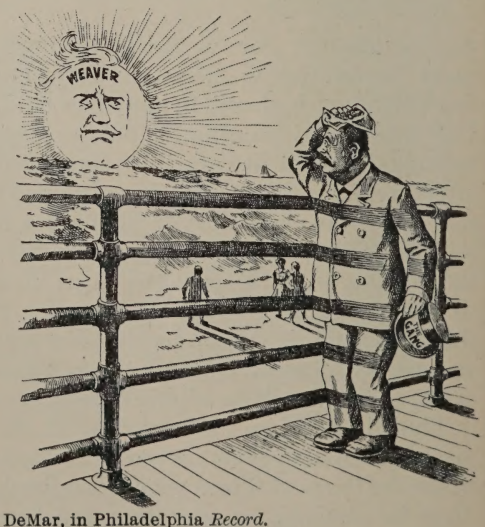
DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record.*

OUR UNCLE IN A NEW *ROLE.*

vain for satisfaction—the satisfaction that comes only when the heart is in the work. From early youth young DeMar had conceived a passion for drawing pictures. One of his chief pleasures was found in making sketches, crude and inartistic at first, but that gradually improved, for through all his varied labors for the bread to sustain the physical man he persisted in satisfying or at least in ministering to the cravings of his imagination by uninterrupted practice in drawing.

One of the gravest shortcomings of the world's educational system lies in the failure of all past methods to give, in addition to a general intellectual training, that specific or complete instruction in some industry, trade, art or craft for which the child has a strong aptitude and in which he evinces marked skill. Were we wise enough to introduce such a system of training in our schools and universities and make graduation dependent upon proficiency in some special work, the land would not be full of educated incapables whose lives spell failure and whose natural cravings have never been satisfied; nor would we find so many young men vainly striving to adjust themselves to environments that fail to minister to their natural tastes and desires and that crush the finest aspirations of the brain. Many youths so circumstanced finally give up the hope of realizing their boyhood's dream—close the eyes to the ideal and accept with heavy hearts the work which to them means drudgery, through to others differently organized it would yield satisfaction.

Happily young DeMar was not of their number. Through all his struggles he clung tenaciously to his dream, and every leisure moment was given to practice and instruction in the work so dear to his heart. One day Mr. G. M. Venable, a wealthy Texan, saw a pencil-sketch drawn by DeMar on a sheet of note-paper. "That is too good to throw away, young man," he exclaimed. "Let me have it.



DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record.*

GETTING HOT FOR THE GANG.

I am well acquainted with Sweet and Knox, and I know they will be glad to publish it in *Texas Siftings*." The paper was at that time published in Austin, Texas. A few weeks later the drawing appeared in print.

"I was delighted beyond words," said DeMar when recently referring to his first appearance in print, "and I thereupon determined to try to succeed in the work I loved."

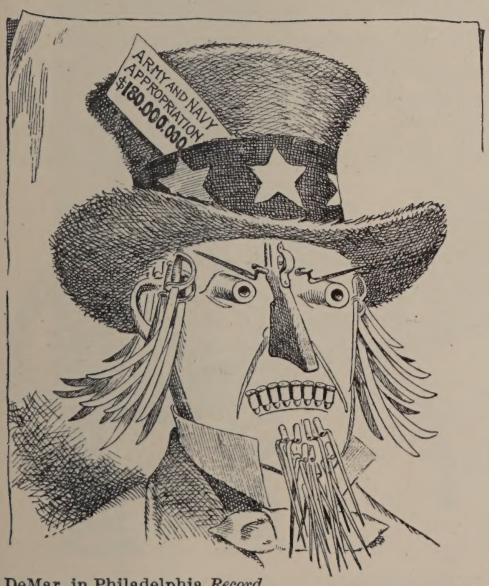
With this object in view, he went to Philadelphia, found employment in a lithographic establishment and later in an engraving house. Still later he was employed by the Philadelphia *Record*, where he has worked consecutively for the last thirteen years, ten of them in the art department.

DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record*.

"THIS HAPPENED ON YOUR BEAT!"

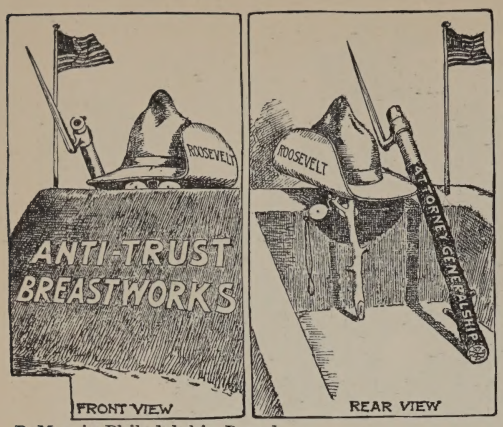
II.

DeMar's cartoons have been widely copied, as many of them are peculiarly apt and not a few are quite unique in character. His political cartoons have been especially popular, as in numerous instances he has administered a stinging rebuke or illustrated in a telling manner the hollowness of some high-sounding pretensions in a semi-humorous way. Such cartoons are in caricature what satire is in literature. They promote a smile yet emphasize a needed lesson in a manner that sometimes is well calculated to sting the object of the cartoon into a realizing sense of how his mistakes, inconsistencies or wrong-doings impress the keen-witted and the discerning. Among this class of illustrations are found the cartoons which we reproduce entitled "This Happened on Your Beat," "Our Uncle in a New *Rôle*," "Roosevelt an Ideal Father," "Up the Hill and Down Again," and the cartoon in which Mr. Roosevelt in one of his favorite *rôles*, that



DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record*.

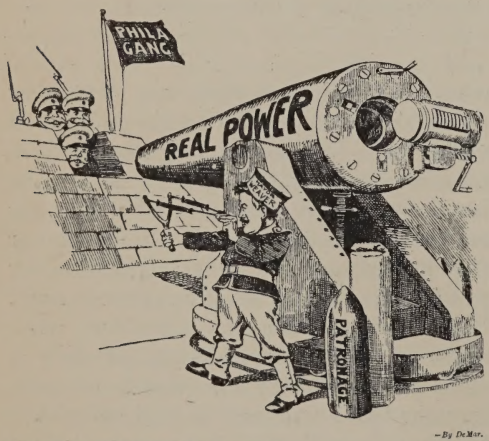
PEACEFUL SAM.



DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record.*

COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S ANTI-TRUST CAMPAIGN.

of a preacher of ethics insisting on law, order, justice and moral rectitude, is confronted by Uncle Sam, who, pointing to some striking symbolic illustrations of other *rôles* assumed by our president, inquires if they are not paintings of him. Another political cartoon that was quite popular last January when it appeared,



DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record.*

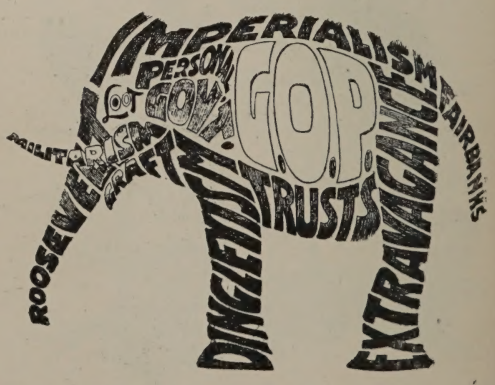
WHY DOES N'T HE USE THE GUN?

and which will be equally apt this winter if Mr. Roosevelt holds steadfastly to his former purpose, is entitled "The Big Stick to the Rescue." It represents the iniquitous freight rebates which have so largely destroyed the small shippers and built up enormous monopolies, such as the Armour Refrigerator-Car Trust, the Standard Oil-Trust and the Elevator-Trust, as a serpent composed of coal, oil, refrigerator, grain and stock-cars, coiled around the small shipper where, anaconda like, they are crushing out his life, while Mr. Roosevelt with his "Big Stick" is hastening to the rescue.

DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record.*

THE BIG STICK TO THE RESCUE.

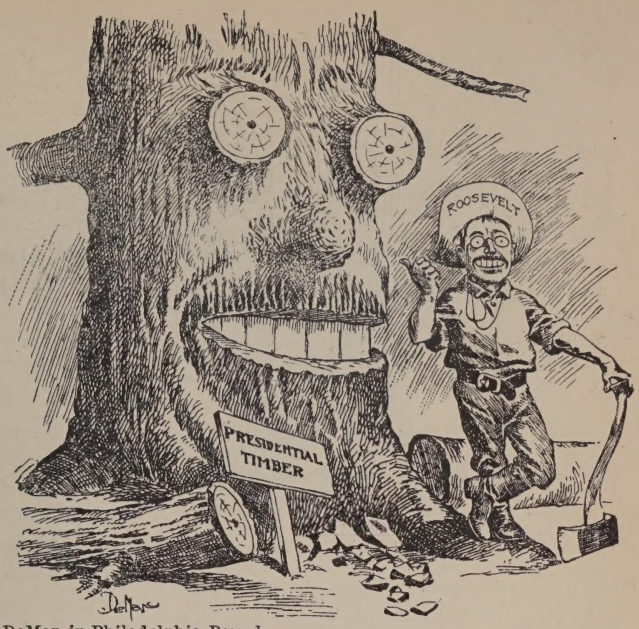
Though of less interest to the world at large, some of DeMar's most efficient and valuable work has been done in exposing the evil deeds of recreant state and municipal officers in Pennsylvania and Philadelphia and in turning the searchlight upon the almost incredible corruption of the city Republican machine, better



DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record.*

THE REAL INSIDE OF IT.

known as "The Gang." One very effective cartoon in this series represents Boss Durham and his confederates carrying the city gas-plant over to the headquarters of John Dolan's United Gas Improvement Company. This picture brought clearly before the minds of the people in a direct and startling manner the exact character of the colossal steal which was at that time being hurried to completion through the determined effort of the respectable rogues of the United Gas Improvement Company and the corrupt "Gang" that operated the city government. This cartoon was one of the highly



DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record.*

THE ONLY TREE IN THE FOREST.

DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record.*

FAIRMOUNT PARK NEXT?

effective factors that served to arouse the whole city until public sentiment practically forced Mayor Weaver to break once and for all with "The Gang." After the mayor had taken a stand but seemed reluctant to adopt any effective measures, and while the ring was insolent, defiant and confident, the Philadelphia *Record* published DeMar's cartoon entitled "Why Does n't He Use the Gun?" referring to the real power in the hands of the mayor given him by patronage. A few days later Mayor Weaver acted on this suggestion, and from that time forth the ring was placed on the defensive. On June 25th of the present year the *Record* published DeMar's suggestive cartoon entitled "Getting Hot for

DeMar, in Philadelphia *Record.*

"The boy, conscious of many lapses, who is invited by a stern father into a private room, enters with a vague dread, and yet the purpose may only be to arrange for the coming holidays."
—*From the Governor's Apology.*

the Gang," wherein Mayor Weaver, the rising sun, throws shadows from the railings behind which "The Gang" stands, in such a manner as to form the prison-stripes.

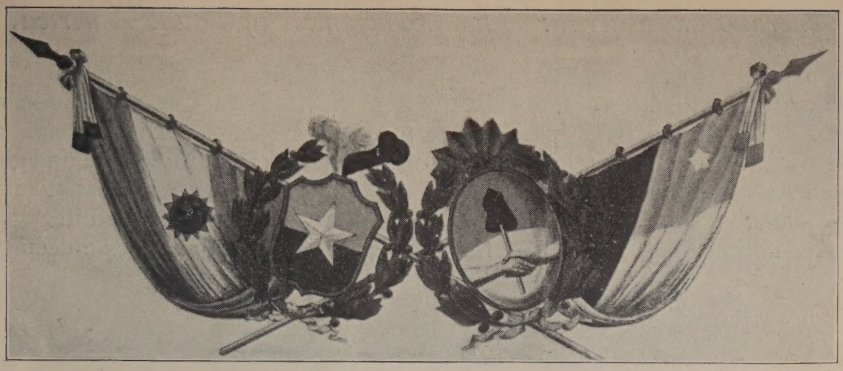
Governor Pennypacker, who time and again has made Pennsylvania the object of ridicule throughout the nation and who has so efficiently served the corrupt "Gang" and the franchise thieves, especially in his persistent attempt to muzzle the press, has been admirably caricatured by DeMar. In one of these effective cartoons the governor is represented as attempting to shield the franchise-grabbers from the searchlight of newspaper publicity by blowing out the light. Another picture published at the time of the passage of the bill to muzzle the press represents the governor, with a tack-enforced paddle, bringing the press to punishment. The press, however, represented as a strapping youth, is screening his smile from the irate governor, secure in the knowledge that he is amply protected by the constitution.

In one respect we know of no cartoonist who is the peer of DeMar. He can with a few strokes give to inanimate objects facial expression so striking that the subject he has in mind will be instantly recognized. He also possesses the faculty of framing outline-pictures from objects and words, that instantly epitomize a situation or contention. Of illustrations of the first class we reproduce one entitled "The Only Tree in the Forest." Of the second class we give three characteristic examples, the first representing "Peaceful Sam," the second "Colonel Roosevelt's Anti-Trust Campaign: The Front and Rear Views," illustrating why Philip Armour of the Beef-Trust, President Cassatt of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and other great trust and corporation magnates strongly supported Roosevelt, in spite of his vigorous utterances against the trusts; while the third, the Republican elephant formed of words, was one of the most popular Democratic cartoons of the late campaign.

These drawings will serve to illustrate DeMar's versatility and enable us to understand how real a power the clever caricaturist is becoming in the land, not merely as an entertainer and as a mental stimulator, but also as an ethical force in periods of moral stress and upheaval.

B. O. Flower.

Boston, Mass.



Flags of Chile and Argentina at the siege of the Chilian port of Talcalmano, 1817. The flag on the left, facing reader, is the famous Banner of the Sun, borne across the Andes by General San Martin's liberating expedition from Argentina into Chile, in January and February, 1817. Notice liberty cap clasped by the hands of Chile and Argentina. Also, the star of liberty.

GENERAL SAN MARTIN: THE WASHINGTON OF SOUTH AMERICA.

By Professor Frederic M. Noa.

AMONG the great military geniuses through whose efforts the independence of South America from the yoke of Spain was accomplished, General José de San Martin ranks so high that many authorities regard him as the Washington of the southern half of the New World. By his side only one figure arises which can be compared to him; it is that of Bolivar.

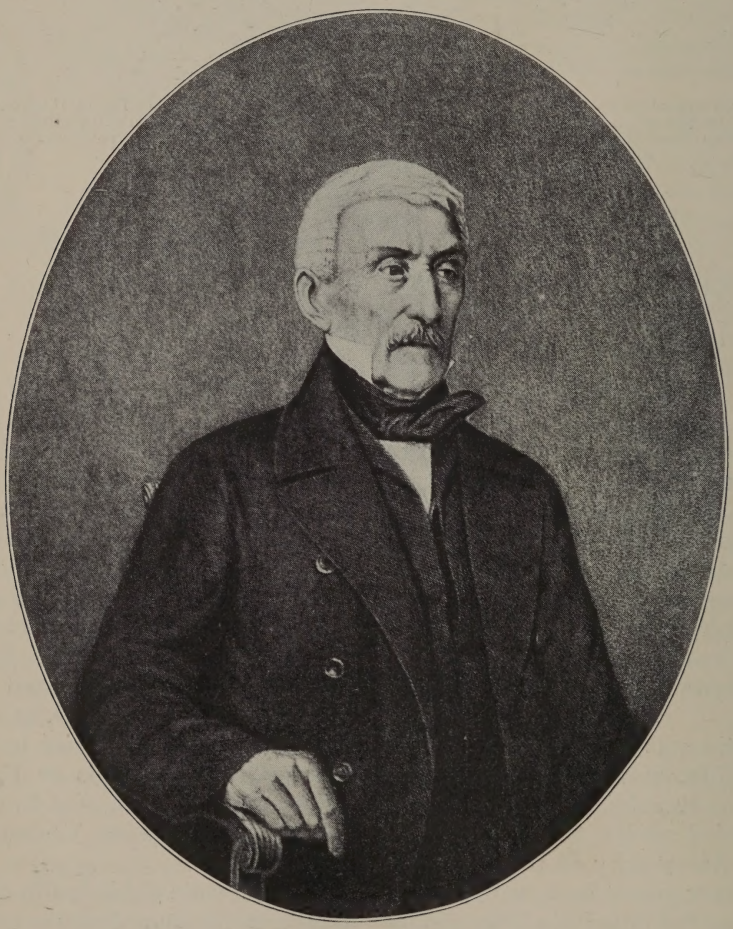
San Martin was born on the 25th of February, 1778, at Yapeyu, a village of the Argentine Republic, or, as that country was called under the old Spanish *régime*, the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires. When still very young he went to Spain, where, during the invasion of that peninsula by the French veteran troops of Napoleon Bonaparte, he distinguished himself, especially at the memorable battle of Bailen. For his services he was promoted, in the Spanish army, to the rank of colonel. Whilst in this position, San Martin heard of the South American revolt against the intolerable oppression of Spain. Abandoning the splendid career before him in the latter country, he fearlessly set sail for his native land in order to offer her his services and practical knowledge of the art of war.

The Argentine provisional government at once recognized the value of Colonel San Martin's offer and entrusted him with the organization of the insurgent army. He did not disappoint the expectations formed of him. He skilfully drilled, trained and organized the troops of his native country, and, at their head, gained important victories in Argentine territory and in Bolivia or Upper Peru, whither he had been sent to oppose the forces of the Spanish Viceroy of Lima, Peru.

The bad state of his health obliged him to give up for some time the command of the army, and, at a most critical moment in the fortunes of the South American patriots, he repaired, in 1814, in the capacity of governor, to the Argentine province of Cuyo, the capital of which, Mendoza, lies at the foot of the eastern slope of the lofty, forbidding Chilo-Argentine Andes, under the shadow of snow-enwrapped Mount Aconcagua which towers twenty-five thousand feet above the level of the sea. It was here that San Martin

spent three years in secretly raising and equipping, with the aid of the gallant Bernardo O'Higgins, of Irish parentage, and the Chilian exiles and refugees, that renowned Army of the Andes which finally, in January and February, 1817, achieved a military feat far greater than that of Hannibal, Cæsar or Napoleon, by crossing the bleak, snow and ice-bound Andean Cordillera at a height of more than fifteen thousand feet, and, continuing westward and northward, triumphantly bore the banner of liberty from Chile to the regions of the equator in Peru. From this epoch, begins the second magnificent period of San Martin's life, which elevated him to the height of a military genius. His passage across the Andes is one of those bold and gigantic undertakings enough in itself to immortalize the hero who executed it.

San Martin led across the deep mountain streams and frozen snow-drifts of the Andes that Army which, like a thunderbolt, fell on the Spanish power in Chile, destroying it at the battle of Chacabuco (February 12, 1817). Following this triumph, came the liberty of that progressive South American republic, afterwards firmly cemented, in spite of



GENERAL SAN MARTIN AT THE AGE OF SEVENTY-TWO, SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH. HE DIED IN BOULOGNE, FRANCE, IN 1850.

the disastrous defeat at Cancha Rayada, by the glorious decisive battle of Maipu, Chile, April 5, 1818.

Having, in these parts, now destroyed the Spanish forces, San Martin, ably seconded by O'Higgins, strove to free Peru also, the center, in those districts, for the strategic operations of Spain. Through the joint coöperation of the new independent Chilian government, a volunteer fleet, under the celebrated Lord Cochrane, manned by Chilian sailors under British officers, transported the conquerors of Chacabuco and Maipu to the land of the Incas.

San Martin brought this brilliant expedition to a fortunate termination, entered Lima in triumph, in 1821, and from there proclaimed the independence of Peru.

TRIUNFO EN SAN LORENZO – 1813.
AFIRMA LA INDEPENDENCIA ARGENTINA – 1816
PASO LOS ANDES – 1817
LLEVO SU BANDERA EMANCIPADORA
A CHILE AL PERU Y AL ECUADOR
1817 – 1822

MONUMENT TO GENERAL SAN MARTIN IN THE CATHEDRAL OF BUENOS AIRES, WHERE HIS REMAINS REPOSE. THEY WERE BROUGHT OVER FROM FRANCE AND DEPOSITED WITH IMPOSING CEREMONIES MAY 22, 1880.

Meanwhile, the great General Simon Bolivar had annihilated the might of Spain

GENERAL SAN MARTIN IN 1828. AGE FIFTY.

Reproduced from an original made in Brussels, Belgium.

in Venezuela, Colombia, and the north of South America, figuring with splendor in the battle of Pinchincha, May 22, 1822, a decisive victory for the Colombian army in Ecuador, as well as for the renowned dragoons of the Chilo-Argentine army, sent by San Martin to win fresh laurels, fighting side by side with their brethren of Colombia.

San Martin, realizing the importance of having, in Peru, a combination of military operations between the forces under his command and the troops of the Venezuelan hero, marched in person to seek Bolivar, and in Guayaquil, Ecuador, occurred, from the 22d to the 25th of July, 1822, the celebrated conference of those two geniuses of the South American revolution and war of independence. The result of this consultation was that General San Martin gave up to Bolivar the glory of consummating and cementing the liberty of Peru, withdrawing from the theater of war, and leaving, under the orders of the Colombian commander-in-chief, a portion of the Chilo-Argentine army and many of its most experienced and valiant officers. Later on, in the loftiest Andes, these generals and soldiers covered themselves with glory at the battles of Junin and Ayacucho, the latter of which, fought December 9, 1824, forever assured the independence of South America.

From this time on, San Martin, within whose grasp had been the wealth of the Incas, lived in poverty and sought the repose of private life. He had firmly consolidated the grandeur and independence of Spanish-speaking America, and did not wish the luster of his name to be stained by participation in the civil strife and the unworthy ambitions which broke out in the organizing of the newly-emancipated republics.

The hero of the Andes left the soil of South America and went to live in France. His life there was modest and calm. He died in Boulogne, August 17, 1850. Many years indeed were to elapse before those republics which owed their independent existence to his transcendent genius and disinterested patriotism rendered to his memory the tokens of gratitude it so richly deserved; his forgotten remains not being transported from France until 1880, when, through the initiative of the great General Sarmiento, the educator and Horace Mann of Latin America, they were brought over to Buenos Aires, and, with imposing ceremonies, were deposited in a magnificent sarcophagus in the beautiful cathedral of the capital and metropolis of the Argentine Republic.

FREDERIC M. NOA.

Malden, Mass.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.*

II. DOMINANT TRUSTS AND CORPORATIONS—(*Continued*).

By Hon. J. Warner Mills.

The Pageant of the Throne-Powers—The Coal-Trust—(Continued).

THE PAGEANT of the throne-powers is still before us. It is only the Denver Utility-Trust that just brushed by. As our seats are easy, let us remain to the end and patiently witness the haughty parade of the Coal-Trust, and after it the Smelter-Trust and the Railroads. With the exception of the Victor Coal Company and the Northern Coal and Coke Company, all the corporations that will now pass before us are not local to Colorado,—their operations extend into many states. But it is their conduct in this state alone that will especially engage our attention. Incidentally, however, here and there we will get a glimpse of their national ramifications and influences. In a more restrictive way some of the constituent members of the Denver Utility-Trust are also national. The Gas company belongs to the McMillan trust, the Telephone company is controlled by the Bell monopoly of Boston, and the Tramway is frequently on the eve of being sold to some eastern syndicate. While this foreign control of local public functions is suggestive and may be a further pregnant reason why municipal-ownership should be rapidly advanced, still it does not lead us so directly into the domain of national considerations as when we touch upon the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the American Smelting and Refining Company, and the railroads.

THE COAL-TRUST.

First and foremost in this trust is The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, but recently on every tongue in connection with the defiant rebates given to it by Paul Morton, Vice-President of the Santa Fé Railroad Company. While it is overshadowing in importance, and is in one sense the coal-trust itself, there are local reasons that will presently appear why the Victor Coal Company and the Northern Coal and Coke Company must be associated with it in considering the coal situation in this state.

In my first paper I pointed out the immense wealth of coal in Colorado. Routt county alone, on the Moffat road, has an estimated coal-area as large as the six states of New England with New Jersey added and can support a population of five million people. If a million tons per day were mined, it would take 164 years to exhaust these coal-beds; and ten million tons per year would not exhaust them short of 5,973 years!*

This is the reserved field of coal, however, and none of it is yet upon the market. Still, it is being so rapidly and scandalously appropriated by the coal-trust and minor companies and individuals who are but pawns upon its exploiting chessboard, that already the newspapers have been crying out against the fraud and graft.

The principal present working coal-fields that supply Denver and the towns and cities at the eastern base of the Rockies, are the Northern fields near Boulder, the Southern fields near Pueblo, Walsenberg and Trinidad; the Cañon City field, the Garfield county field, and the anthracite mines of Crested Butte in Gunnison county.

The people in all our towns and cities are at the mercy of the coal-trust. The lignite coal of the Northern fields, re-

*The first of this series of articles appeared in the July, 1905, number of The Arena.

*E. A. Hewitt, M.E., in *Rocky Mountain News*, December 31, 1904.

quiring but a short haul to Denver, is retailed at the latter place at an average of about $4.50 per ton; the bituminous coal of the Southern fields costs still more, and the anthracite coal sells for $6.50 to $7.00 per ton. A few years ago the management of one of the daily papers in Denver leased a coal-mine in the Northern field, and by way of increasing its circulation advertised and sold its coal at $3.50 per ton. The trust, however, made quick end of this journalistic venture, and the denouement was told in 1901 before the legislative "Coal-Strike Investigating Committee." Here are a few lines from the testimony of the aforesaid editor:

"Senator Ward—'Can a mine be worked and coal sold at $4.00 a ton, at a profit?'

"Answer—'I want to make this just as emphatic as English can make it,—coal can be mined and sold at $4.00 *at an immense profit* and it ought to be mined and sold for $3.50.'

"Senator Moore—'Would you be willing to go into the business again?'

"Answer—'I will pay a heavy bonus for such an opportunity. For a mine producing 500 tons a day, I would be willing to pay $10,000 bonus and sell at $3.50 a ton and make big money.'

"Senator Ward—'To what do you attribute the complaint of the companies that they are losing money in the Northern field?'

"Answer—'I consider it a perfect absurdity and perfectly untrue.'"*

This investigating committee developed the further fact that the Northern Coal and Coke Company fixes the price in the Northern field, and that before the strike then in question, coal was mined and loaded on the cars for $1.75 per ton for clean coal, $1.25 for "run of the mine" and 50 to 75 cents for slack.

During some of the recent coal-strikes, when the trust was adding to its profits out of the hard-earned wages of its toilers, this Northern lignite-coal was sold in Denver as high as $8.00 to $10.00 per ton. On one such occasion, too, a coal famine was threatened in the dead of winter, and besides the terror of such a distressing situation, many struggling and destitute families were sorely impoverished by paying extortionate prices for coal to keep them from freezing.

But the physical suffering and discomfort thus inflicted is not all.

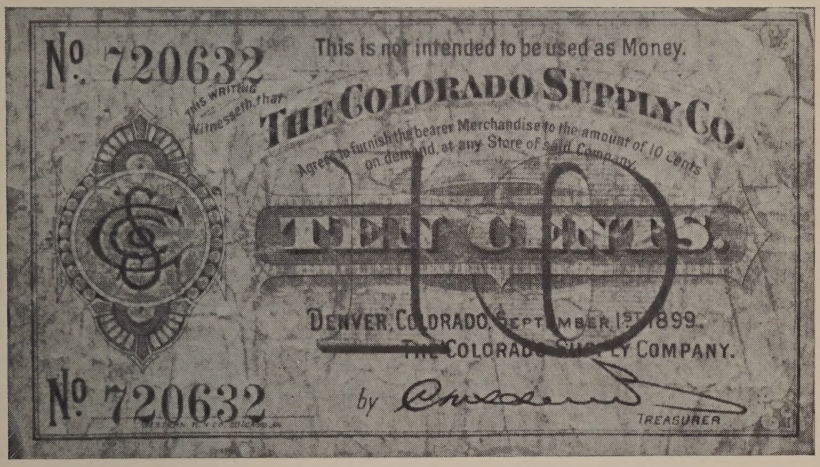
The greater infliction imposed by the coal-trust upon the people is by its military outrages, industrial tyranny, and electoral frauds in the several towns and counties of the Southern coal-fields of the state. Then, too, there is in all the coal-fields such a monstrous shuffling of the revenues and such an evasion of the tax-roll by the coal-trust as is calculated, in the words of President Harrison, quoted in a former paper of this series, to cause "a fierce, unmeasuring anger."

LEASING COAL-LANDS OF THE STATE.

Moreover, the state has leased to the coal-trust and subsidiary operators 29,954.45 acres of coal-lands for the nominal sum of ten cents per ton royalty "run of the mine," minimum to be 1,000 tons per annum. These leases once in hand, the state has been treated by the trust as a mere trading agency to put it into possession of the people's coal. The reports and payments required by the several leases have been either entirely ignored or made only occasionally and indifferently at the company's pleasure. In one instance, the Victor Fuel Company leased two full sections,—1,280 acres,—embracing the Maitland and Delaqua mines in Huerfano county, and after a long period of defiant indifference it was finally brought to a settlement and it was found that it owed the state in royalties $8,216. Instead of paying immediately, however, it proposed the execution of a new lease to run ten years from June 30, 1902, which was accordingly done. But the money was never paid in fact, and it now turns

*F. G. Bonfils, as reported by *Rocky Mountain News*, February 1, 1901.

out that the new lease, instead of providing for its unqualified payment, provides, on the contrary, that the company shall have a credit for $8,216 to apply in its favor against royalties accruing under the terms of the new lease. This was a transaction of Governor Orman's administration, but he and all the members of his land-board protest that any such giving away of the state's money by wiping out the company's debt and giving it a credit was ever discussed or intended, and they are mystified as to how it became a part of the lease. Moreover, the lay down his troubles from this lease and to abdicate the executive functions of this great state in favor of the coal-trust. Accordingly, these two valuable sections, with their two valuable coal-mines, were advertised to be sold on June 6, 1905. But again the scheme of the trust was in evidence, and an unknown waif floated in under the apparent guidance of ex-Governor James H. Peabody, well supported, too, by an editor and a lawyer, and this unidentified stranger with the strange name of J. M. Blee, gave the register, for coal-land that would be a


No. 720632
This is not intended to be used as Money.
THE COLORADO SUPPLY CO.
Agrees to furnish the bearer Merchandise to the amount of 10 cents on demand, at any Store of said Company.
TEN CENTS.
DENVER, COLORADO, SEPTEMBER 1ST 1899.
THE COLORADO SUPPLY COMPANY.
No. 720632
by
TREASURER

FACSIMILE OF THE COLORADO SUPPLY COMPANY'S "SCRIP."

lease provides for a ten-cent royalty only on such coal as will not pass through a $1\frac{3}{4}$-inch screen. To avoid even this infinitesimal royalty the company, instead of picking down the coal as is usual, shoots it out "on the solid," thus so granulating about 65 per cent. of the output that it will pass through the above-mentioned screen. This fine coal is used to make a valuable coke product; it is also a choice coal for steam; accordingly 65 per cent. of the people's coal is being taken under the bungling and suspicious terms of this lease without the payment to the state therefor of even a single cent!

Thus harried and trifled with, Governor McDonald recently seemed willing to snap at $500 an acre, the munificent bid of $40, *and there was no other bid.* These coal-mines belong to the school-children of the state,—they are a part of the public-school lands. They are also two of the largest and best coal-producers in Colorado and are probably worth $1,000 per acre. Yet the coal-trust was so faithful to the Peabody administration and the gubernatorial contest it entailed that it was audacious enough to suppose it could add to its other audacities the successful filching from the school-children of more than a million dollars of their sacred patrimony, for the trifling sum of $40 per acre. But there was too much publicity. All the people were looking on, even if

J. M. Blee were the only bidder. Let us hope, too, that Governor McDonald at last saw over the towering heads of the coal-trust the sparkling eyes of the little tots he would not betray. So the sale-scheme failed. Blee's bid was hung up and is still hung up and the lease goes on, but no royalties are being paid and the state is still defied.

Look now at all these grievances: extorting money from every citizen and blood-money from the poor, paying or agreeing to pay the state ten cents a ton and selling the same ton to the people at from $4.00 to $6.00, making quarry-slaves of the miners until strikes are inevitable, and then calling for troops from the very government with which they dawdle and upon which they practice their cheats and subterfuges, desecrating all the standards of civic virtue and righteousness and turning ballot-boxes into Noah's arks, from which they give us their puppet governors and judges and petty officers at will. All this and more they do, besides shifting the tax-load from their own to weaker backs. And yet the people are mute! All this they do, moreover, as the commercial handlers of a commodity that is almost as necessary to life and comfort as air and water. The state itself is so staggered by their grip that it seems as helpless as a child and it does nothing. It does nothing for a people whose children are owners of more than 29,000 acres of working coal, and who own altogether more than a hundred thousand* acres of the finest coal-lands in the west, and embracing, too, immense areas of the best bituminous, coking and anthracite coals. It does nothing because it is paralyzed by the trust. It does not even make a sensible lease of the children's coal. It does not try to protect the people by providing that they can always buy the coal owned by their children, and mined by the trust, at a reasonable maximum figure that will prevent extortion. It does not even put the trust upon good behavior and make the lease terminable, like the license for a saloon, upon the corporation's corrupt interference with elections and politics. Nor does it try to protect the peace of the state or to protect the children's mines from the stain of human blood by stipulations as to hours and wages, or by requiring arbitration of the differences arising between the lessee and its toiling miners.

Thus remiss, even as to leasing the people's coal, of course it is idle to expect the state to enrage the trust by imitating Prussia's recent example of nationalizing the Hibernia mines "in order to give the government power over the coal-syndicate." But in Colorado the people already own more than enough coal-mines to give such governmental power, yet the power lies dormant. It may sometime be awakened, perhaps. The Democratic party in New York has already declared for public-ownership of coal, and such a coal famine as forced the issue there may sometime force a similar issue here. If parents do not soon see the way out and save their children's coal, perhaps the teachers of the children will make the move. Did not the teachers of Chicago organize their law committee and bring the hiding millions of the corporations into revenue service for the schools? Why may not the vigor and vim of the educational forces of Colorado organize their lease committee, and make the children's coal pay better wages to the miners and the teachers, and control the prices of the trust to the advantage of the pockets of the people? But if they, too, are intimidated or indifferent, why should organized labor hesitate to secure and work a coal-lease? It was only last week, at Salida, that the State Federation of Labor declared in favor of public-ownership of coal-mines. Why not appoint at once a lease committee to operate independently or in conjunction with the lease committee of the teachers? Of course, it means a fight with the coal-trust and

*Mr. Woodruff, Register of the Land Board, allows me to quote him as saying that 100,000 acres is a very conservative estimate of the aggregate coal-holdings of the state; that it probably has 40,000 in Routt county alone.

F. Edwin Elwell, Sculptor.

EGYPT AWAKENING

(See Editorial.)

LIBRARY,
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railroads and other throne-powers of the state. But the issue is not doubtful with the people back of the movement,—and back of it they are sure to be if the work is done efficiently and with the proper zest and spirit.

LAND-GRABBING IN COLORADO.

Other forces that, from commanding opportunity, position and influence, might intervene in the coal problem to the advantage of the public are as indifferent as the state—and possibly as guilty. Indeed, instead of intervening they prefer, to the great advantage of the trust, the "dog in the manger" attitude, and, accordingly, by vest-pocket titles, hold absolutely out of use thousands and thousands of acres of the choicest coal-lands of the state. Take Las Animas county alone as an example, where agricultural and grazing lands in the coal-belt are practically freed from taxes by an arbitrary classification leaving them out of the coal list. There the distinguished Charles Francis Adams, of Boston, holds 160 acres of agricultural land assessed at $800, 1,321.54 acres of grazing-land assessed at $1,745, and 1,840 acres of coal-land assessed at $33,000, and upon all of which he paid, in 1904, the mere nominal tax of $573.91. G. St. L. Abbot, whoever he may be, assessed "in care of Charles Francis Adams," holds 160 acres of agricultural land assessed at $800, 1,760 acres of grazing-land assessed at $2,280, and 400 acres of coal-land assessed at $6,800, and his tax for 1904 was the trifling sum of $168.98. Thomas G. Blackstock, another unknown, assessed "in care of Charles Francis Adams," holds 680 acres of grazing-land assessed at $780, and 1,000 acres of coal-land assessed at $23,400. His tax for 1904 was $409.94.

Here are over seven thousand acres of Colorado coal-land held out of use and tied up by a vest-pocket title in the hands of an absentee statesman of Boston. He does nothing but hold his title and pay a nominal tax, while evidently waiting to get his price from the coal-trust, or possibly to form a new trust of his own. President Bigelow, the defaulting Milwaukee banker, now serving a sentence in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, holds idle and out of use, in Huerfano county, 1,802 acres of coal-land assessed at but $6,300. Yet, according to Associated Press dispatches, this Colorado land is rated in Milwaukee as reasonably worth $100,000. The estate of the late distinguished Benjamin F. Butler owns 74,440 acres in Pueblo county, being a part of the old Vigil and St. Vrain grant. It is assessed at $104,637. In the same county, J. C. Teller, brother of Senator Teller, owns 15,913 acres assessed at $26,900. W. G. Purdy, for the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, also many others too numerous to mention, add to the Adams-Bigelow-Butler-Teller list thousands upon thousands of acres of coal-lands in Colorado idly and speculatively held out of use and which fraudulently dodge their fair appraisement on the tax-rolls. Indeed, so infinitesimal are the coal-mines worked by the coal-trust itself, compared with the vast coal-areas it owns and controls, that it, too, is open to the charge of the "dog in the manger" plan of operations. In 1904 the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company worked 24 coal-mines with a total output of 2,728,438 tons of two thousand pounds each; the Victor Fuel Company worked 10 coal-mines with a total output of 948,542 tons; and the Northern Coal and Coke Company worked 13 coal-mines with a total output of 623,116 tons. These last and lowest tonnage figures are almost as large as the total tonnage output of all the other coal-mines in the state. In the table given on page 610 we have room only for the holdings of the two largest companies of the coal-trust and only in the counties of the Southern coal-field. They also have have immense holdings in other counties, and the Northern Coal and Coke Company and other exploiters are securing large holdings in the South-

COLORADO FUEL & IRON CO.	Acres Agricul'l Land.	Assessed Value, 1904.	Acres Grazing Land.	Assessed Value, 1904.	Acres Coal Lands.	Assessed Value, 1904.	REMARKS.
*Huerfano Co....	160	$1,660	14,204	$129,602	2,230	$111,500	$315,000 (improvements).
*Las Animas Co..	2,204.16	.....	4,784.33	.....	17,459.93	1,315,365	Total ass'm't for all and plants. Tax, 1904, $30,249.75.
†Las Animas Co..	1,850	9,250	236,667	247,090	14,480	80,200	Total ass'm't for all and plants. Tax, 1904, $6,229.69.
Pueblo County...	2,261‡	113,383	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Pueblo County...	51,940‡	207,337	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Pueblo County...	6,292	161,745	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Total, ...	64,707.16	$493,375	255,655.33	$376,692	34,169.93	$1,507,065	
VICTOR FUEL CO.							
Huerfano County.	.....	.....	760	3,320	4,900	41,800	$22,360 (improvements).
Las Animas Co...	265	.....	6,097.58	.....	4,715.77	212,315	Total ass'm't for all. Tax, 1904, $3,920.-72.
Total, ...	265	.....	6,857.58	$3,320	9,615.77	$254,115	

* Assessed in name of E. V. Carey (Colo. Fuel & Iron Co.).
† Assessed in name of Rocky Mountain Coal & Iron Co. (Colo. Fuel & Iron Co.)
‡ Part of Nolan Grant, assessed in name of The Pueblo Realty Trust Co. (Colo. Fuel & Iron Co.)
Part of the Nolan grant is in the city of Pueblo and in addition to above the town lots assessed to last-named Company are valued at $370, 810. D. C. Beaman, trustee (Colo. Fuel & Iron Co.) has town lots valued at $167,848. This company also has in addition to above in Pueblo county: grazing land assessed at $111.723; quarries and plant assessed at $1,367,541; ditch rights assessed at $25,000; personal property assessed at $503,639; and city property assessed at $40,557. Total, $2,050,120. These valuable city lands of the company are within a quarter of a mile of the Union Depot and within half a mile of the business center of Pueblo but are under such prices and restrictions that they are vacant and unused for blocks upon blocks, and home-seekers are thus driven far into the country beyond to secure their homes.

ern field and elsewhere. As to the latter constituent of the coal-trust, it is worth while to note here that in the above-mentioned report of the legislative "Coal-Strike Investigating Committee" (January 17, 1901), it is stated that this company then owned coal properties in the Northern and Southern fields worth $3,-500,000, and that its holdings in the Northern field alone were reasonably worth from $1,700,000 to $1,800,000, yet it turned the same in for assessment at the paltry sum of $139,875.*

It was Vice-President Nicholson, of this tax-shirking company, who told the legislative committee above, in speaking of its mines, that "they will never be open through any arrangement with the Miners' Union if they remain idle a hundred years."

Thus are the coal-lands of Colorado monopolized by financial combinations and speculators, who but little more than scratch the surface of their immense appropriations, and most of whom do not even attempt to scratch, and all of whom successfully elude the assessor and hold up the people. The methods employed in many instances to accumulate these princely coal estates, I am reminded by my notes, would make a large and startling chapter in themselves, but a chapter that cannot enter into this series and cannot be complete without embracing, also, many of the gold and silver-mines and many of the other vast estates of our fair Colorado.

* Rep. Bureau Labor Statis., 1901–02, p. 145.

THE COLORADO FUEL AND IRON COMPANY.

As a Colorado *coal* company merely, I have probably said enough above of this corporation. But it is more than a coal company. It is a great manufacturer of iron, steel and coke. Its landed holdings in nearly three counties of Colorado, as shown above, to say nothing of its town-lots and other property expressed by assessed value without acreage, aggre-

gate 354,532.42 acres. In addition to this it owns thousands of acres in other counties of Colorado, and it also has large land-holdings in Utah, Wyoming and New Mexico. Our newspapers claim that this company in coal-lands alone, to say nothing of its iron and other lands, owns an acreage more than a hundred square miles larger than all the great anthracite fields of Pennsylvania.

Its steel works at Minnequa, a suburb of Pueblo, are valued, by those who claim to know, at $50,000,000, yet all its property in Pueblo county does not show up on the tax-rolls, as we have seen, to the extent of even $3,000,000. It employs about 17,000 men and is said to have an annual pay-roll of $9,600,000. Its various activities and operations may be seen in its ownership of the following properties:

3,020 coke-ovens, supplying coke for other plants as well as its own; 2 lime-quarries, 1 manganese-mine, 28 steel and iron-mills at Minnequa, 27 coal-mines and plants, 4 iron-mines, 6 coal-washeries, 2,000 miles of telegraph lines, 170 miles of railroads, and numerous tenant-houses; and, also, many school-buildings and hospitals. The variety and volume of its steel and iron product is shown in the note.*

Mr. Moody, in his recent work, says this company has a Gould-Rockefeller domination, and he gives us the following interesting data:†

"Incorporated under Colorado laws in 1892 as a consolidation of the Colorado Fuel Company and the Colorado Coal and Iron Company. It owns the entire stock of the Colorado and Wyoming Railway, controlling 170 miles of road. Its plants are large and important, and have an annual capacity of finished steel products amounting to about 550,000 tons. The company was formerly controlled by John G. Osgood, with an important interest represented by John W. Gates and others. In 1903, the Gould-Rockefeller interests acquired control. The capital consists of $2,000,000 of eight per cent. preferred, and $38,000,000 of common stock. Of the latter there is outstanding about $24,000,000. No dividends on the common. The bonded debt, including all underlying issues, amounts to $22,000,000."

How familiar to Colorado ears are the names of Osgood and Gates! We all recall the titanic struggle of 1902-03, when from the chrysalis of a local corporation suddenly came the full-grown trust. We remember how the contest was waged in the local courts and how the calendar was juggled to get the case before a particular judge, or away from some other judge, and how, at last, the cause was removed to the federal court on the ground of local prejudice, and kept there by affidavits filled with clippings from the daily press, showing how anxious the people were that the management and control should not pass from Colorado to Wall street. We remember, too, how the company's stock was juggled, and how the federal court took charge of the stockholders' meeting and put it under the supervision of the late distinguished jurist, Seymour D. Thompson, of St. Louis, who, as a court-appointed official of a private corporation, was allowed a fee of $35,000 for merely seeing

*Productions of C. F. & I. Works at Pueblo:

	Tons per day capacity.
6 Blast furnaces at Minnequa	2,000
Converting works	2,000
Blooming mill	1,500
Merchant-iron mill	200
Hoop and cotton-tie mill	100
Spike factory	100
Bolt factory	16
Castings foundry	80
Pipe foundry	60
6 Open-hearth furnaces	650
Reversing mill	1,160
Rod mill	800
Wire mill	100
Nail mill	400
Sheet mill	100
Black plate	100
Tin plate	200
Total	9,566 tons.

Actual average iron and steel production per month, 73,000 tons.

† *The Truth About the Trusts*, p. 192.

that there was a fair stockholders' election, untainted by the company's familiar methods in the state and local elections of Pueblo, Huerfano and Las Animas counties. Again, we remember how, when an honest election of the stockholders was thus guaranteed, all bluster and opposition at once disappeared, and there was nothing in fact for Judge Thompson to do but to draw his fat fee from the company's treasury. The public soon realized how its sympathy had been misplaced, when it saw John C. Osgood coyly reclining in the embraces of the enemy, and his late counsel exhibiting certificates of such extraordinary ability and indispensable familiarity with the company's affairs and methods, that they all were taken aboard the ship of Gould-Rockefeller, and Colorado's coal and iron-trust went sailing into Wall street.

Its chief function now is to roll up dividends for its foreign owners. With a magnitude of enterprise and operations we all admire, it demands a servility we all resent. It shall not treat us like a province. It shall not turn Colorado into a corporation sink like Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. And it shall not degrade our institutions and ideals to build ambitious prestige in the Wall-street operations of New York.

Let us look now at some other pages.

THE SCRIP SYSTEM.

It is here in point for Senator Barela, of Las Animas county, to rise and explain. He fathered in the senate, in 1897, H. B. No. 147. It was a measure aimed at the so-called "Truck" stores of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Its constitutionality was questioned, and under article 6, section 3, a legislative inquiry was directed to the supreme court and the matter was set down for argument. The senator then came to the writer and was burning with indignation for the miners, and induced him to appear before the court in support of his bill. He then pictured to the writer the wrongs and oppressions of the "pluck-me" stores of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and in turn the writer pictured them to the court. These same wrongs and oppressions still go on despite the statute on the subject, but Senator Barela has lost his enthusiasm and seems now to enjoy all the political favors of the company, and to pose as its special champion and apologist. Why this change? Was he merely the "play" friend of the miners in 1897, and did he "work" both them and me to force the company to recognize his value as a politician that in later years it would pay a price to claim him as its friend? While the senator prepares his answer let us pass on.

For the present, it is enough to say that when the argument was heard by the court I was there for the miners, and was met by the able counsel of the company. That ingenious gentleman not only inveighed against the validity of the proposed legislation, but entertained us with his speculations on its uselessness and the ease with which it could be circumvented. The following quotation from the opinion of the court will suffice to show how the merits of the question were finally disposed of:

"The legislature may, in the exercise of their police-power, enact laws of this character when necessary to prevent oppression and fraud, and for the protection of classes of individuals against unconscionable dealings. . . . We may properly take cognizance of the fact that the most serious disturbances which have occurred in this country for the last twenty-five years have grown out of controversies between employer and employé. No one doubts the authority or questions the duty of the state to interfere with such force as may be necessary to repress such disturbances and maintain the public peace and tranquility, *and as well may the state provide in advance against certain kinds of fraud and oppression, which lead to these outbreaks.*"*

* *In re* Script Bill, 23 Colo., 504 (1897); 48 Pac., 512.

Some of these words are too good to be forgotten when we reach the famous eight-hour decision. We use them now, however, as they were given, to sustain legislation of the "Anti-Truck" character. But the "Anti-Truck" law was not finally enacted here until March 31, 1899. The first section and part of the second will show its purpose, and the same is as follows:

"Sec. 1. It shall be unlawful for any person, company or corporation, or the agent or the business manager of any such person, company or corporation, doing business in this state, to use or employ, as a system, directly or indirectly, the 'truck system' in the payment in whole or in part of the wages of any employé or employés of any such person, company or corporation.

"Sec. 2. The words 'truck system' as used in the preceding section are defined to be:

". . . (4) To charge the employé interest, discount or other thing whatsoever for money advanced on his wages, earned or to be earned, where the pay-days of the employer are at unreasonable intervals of time.

"(5) Any and all arrangements, means or methods, by which any person, company or corporation, shall issue any truck-order, scrip, or other writing whatsoever, by means whereof the maker thereof may charge the amount thereof to the employer of laboring men so receiving such truck-order, scrip or other writing, with the understanding that such employer shall charge the same to his employé and deduct the same from his wages."*

An "unreasonable interval of time" would certainly be a time longer than that fixed by statute for payment, which is every two weeks.† But with this company it seems that the "semi-monthly pay-day" act, like the other, is a dead letter and payments are made but once a month.

In looking at the company's present operations to evade the "Anti-Truck" law, we cannot disagree with the company's counsel when he says it is easy finding a method of "circumvention," but such a finding, we would add, is always a losing of honor and self-respect. The method in this case seems to be that of an *alter ego*. The Colorado Supply Company, which is auxiliary to the Fuel and Iron Company, operates some twenty-four stores in the various coal-camps of the latter; also an immense mercantile establishment at Pueblo. The latter is the partial head of the system and Denver is the head of the whole system. The Supply Company issues at the present time about $50,000 per month of "scrip," of which, it is supposed, $30,000 are used monthly in Pueblo and the remainder is distributed to its other stores. On page 607 we present a facsimile of some of this "scrip," dated at Denver as it will be seen, where the Fuel and Iron Company has its headquarters, and subsequent, too, to the enactment of the present law. At Minnequa there is a small building near the offices of the Fuel and Iron Company where its books are kept, showing the time worked and amount due each of its employés. These books are accessible to the Supply Company and enable it to know, at the close of each day, the exact amount due every man working for the Fuel and Iron Company. This system is of such magnitude that two clerks are necessary to handle the books of this little tell-tale building. Now if a man is hard-up, he gets a card from these clerks showing the amount due him and presents it at the store of the Supply Company, where he exchanges it for "scrip." He can apply this currency in payment of anything purchased at the store. In Pueblo the staples are generally sold to him at the usual market price, but other goods are higher; and in the coal-camps the price of anything in the "pluck-me" store is exactly what the "plucker" sees fit to make it. If it is cash and not goods that the toiler wants, then, in Pueblo, he

* 3 *Mills' Ann. Stat.* (2d ed.), Secs. 2801*e*1–2801*f*1.
† 3 *Mills' Ann. Stat.* (2d ed.), Secs. 2801*o*1–2801*v*1.

takes his "scrip" to a broker who pays him from 75 cents to 80 cents on the dollar. The prevailing price now (August, 1905) is 80 cents. This kind of brokerage is a striking feature of the Pueblo business.

FLEECING THE TOILERS.

Not long ago, when Dunbaugh & Joy ran the Supply Company, one broker says he bought in a single day from the Fuel and Iron men when there was a show in town and all the "colored gentry" wanted to go, $3,600 worth of "scrip" at 75 cents and immediately turned it into the Supply Company at 78 cents. He says he had an "understanding" with the company and in less than thirty days cleared $1,750 on his three-cent margin, which left a clear margin to the Supply Company of twenty-two cents on the dollar. But when the management of the company was changed his graft was gone, and he then had to take his chance with the others. About this time, too, brokers in large numbers descended upon the works like vultures upon carrion. The halcyon days for the brokers was prior to the temporary closing of the works in November, 1903, when about 6,000 men were employed. Brokers then stood on the curbstone and pavement near the gate as the men came out and were eager to buy their "scrip," and often fought with boot and fist as which should drive a deal with such and such a burly worker. On account of these unseemly breaches of the peace, and because, too, the "legitimate" broker in his easy office-chair some distance away was thus shorn of his part of the graft upon the wages of the toilers, it was not difficult to stir the city council into action, and an ordinance was passed prohibiting the further purchase of "scrip" upon the streets of Pueblo. The broker's commission now has settled down to five cents and he is keen to get this "scrip," because he finds a ready customer in the boarding-house keeper, who uses this currency in buying staples from the store of the Supply Company. These aspiring landlords, often without cash to buy direct from the men, will contract with a broker sometimes a month in advance to furnish him "scrip" to the extent of $200, more or less, as the case may be. But they do not get it or pay for it until the day their boarders pay them, and it is then in hand to help them at the store during the month that follows.

This is the system at Pueblo, and with local variations it prevails throughout the coal-camps of the "circumventing" company. In camps where there is no store of the Supply Company, the Fuel and Iron Company arranges with some merchant to handle the "scrip system" on similar terms. In his sworn testimony before the Congressional Industrial Commission, the secretary and general attorney of the Fuel and Iron Company makes the following pregnant admissions:

"Q. 'Does your company issue scrip or checks or other evidence of indebtedness?'

"A. 'No. We have an anti-scrip law in this state and in order to comply with the law [circumvent the law he should have said] we allow the miner to draw an order upon the company for whatever he wants.'

"Q. 'Is it made out in favor of the store company?'

"A. 'Yes.' [The engraving on page 607 shows it is issued by the store company itself.]

"Q. 'By reason of that order being made out in favor of the store company then he is obliged to spend the money in a certain store?'

"A. 'That is the only place where he can use the order.'

"Q. 'What arrangements, if any, are entered into between the company [C. F. & I.] and the merchandise [Supply] company to run this store in connection with the works?'

"A. 'Well, we agree with them that we will stop the pay to the extent of any

orders that they may secure from the miners.'

"Q. 'What do they pay for having that favor done them?'

"A. '*Five per cent.*'"*

What further word is necessary to make complete the exposure of this corporation anarchy? Observe, too, that all this petty plotting is to carry grist to the greed of Wall street by a systematic plunder through cinch corporations, truck-stores and brokers of the wages of the buncoed miners. With the above-mentioned scrip issue monthly of $50,000, we have $600,000 of "scrip" in the year and upon this large sum, to say nothing of its interest in the Supply Company and its profits, the Fuel and Iron Company works a direct graft itself of *five per cent.*, and thus, in defiance of the statute, filches annually, at least $30,000 from the blood-stained earnings of its toilers.

Besides fines and penalties, the anti-truck law imposes for its violation a forfeiture of the company's charter and provides that the attorney-general "shall immediately commence proceedings" to effect such forfeiture. Yet, with an open confession confirmed by the oath of a high officer of the company, and since 1899 conveniently preserved in the official reports of the national government, the attorney-general's office is as placid as the counting-room of the defiant corporation, and (except of strikers) there are no arrests and no prosecutions. We are not surprised when counsel assures us† that such a system of organized graft has provoked the ire of the merchants of the coal-camps, and especially of Trinidad. But we are surprised when he says:‡ "This system has the approval of the United States Treasury Department as not in violation of the federal laws." When we recall how the "Labor Exchange" of G. B. DeBernardi's invention was at least hampered, and perhaps finally crushed, through the threatened imposition of the federal ten per cent. tax upon circulation, we wonder what power at Washington has allowed this western octopus to use on its "scrip" the impress of dollars and cents denied to the "scrip" of the crusaders of labor?

We shall not deny that this ten per cent. tax is a banker's imposition, and the demand for its repeal was, perhaps, one of the most fundamental propositions the Democratic party ever made; but it is not repealed and while it remains in force why was it permitted to add its weight to the hopeful exchange "scrip" of labor, while such weight was lifted from the "scrip" of the coal and iron barons of Colorado?

We are aware, of course, of the company's claim that the miners want this "scrip"; that the system is maintained for their special accommodation and that no pressure is ever applied to work off the "scrip." But we have seen the system, and we have seen part of its profits, at least $30,000 per annum, and by this time we ought to know the euphemistic setting corporations always give their graft,—and we should believe what the miners tell us "on the square." We should believe that in this company's coal-mines, where the men are usually paid by the ton, petty tyrannies are practiced, and among them hard ground is assigned by the boss to the miner who lags behind in calling for "scrip." Moreover, we must not forget, as we shall see in a moment, that this scheming corporation has deliberately endeavored to expel all intelligence and individuality from its labor force, and that the residuum it employs is slow to comprehend the peonage of such a system, and still slower to resort to the remedies of self-protection. Among the metal-miners of the state, the "scrip" system of exploiting wages would not be tolerated for a minute; and Governor

* Report U. S. Industrial Commission, Vol. 12, p. 262. See instance where this "stopping pay" feature was urged by the company itself as creating such a monopoly as to render void a certain coal lease requiring it to pay royalties. But its effort was a failure. Colorado Fuel & Iron Company *vs.* Prior, 25 Colo., 540 (1898).

† Report Industrial Com., Vol. 12, p. 277.

‡ *Id.*

Grant, of the Smelter-Trust, assures us* it has never been adopted by the metal-mines or mills, and he does not know of its employment by any corporation in the state except by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company; and he further says: "It would not interfere with the mining industry if stores were abolished entirely, and the abolition of the company-stores could not be regarded as affecting the coal-mining industry in this state." But the Fuel and Iron Company, treating with contempt the anti-scrip and the semi-monthly payment laws, has over two dozen stores, as we have seen, to pluck from its employés, every year, thousands and thousands of dollars.

SOCIOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

The redeeming feature of this company, however, at least in its own esteem, is its so-called sociological department organized in 1901. It keeps regularly employed a large corps of accomplished teachers and kindergartners, who, at Pueblo and in the various coal-camps of the company, perform their arduous tasks with great credit to themselves and to their employers. They are furnished with commodious buildings for their work and the equipment is appropriate and complete. Dr. Corwin is in charge of this department, and his annual report for 1903–04 contains forty printed pages of interesting matter. Special attention, too, is given to the homes of the children to make them more hygienic and comfortable and to help the parents to better methods of living. The order creating this department states it "shall have charge of all matters pertaining to education and sanitary conditions and any other matter which should assist in bettering the conditions under which our men live." This feature of the company's work has been frequently described in various newspapers and magazines, and by the Department of Labor at Washington.† We are there informed that the labor force of this corporation is composed of thirty-two nationalities and twenty-seven distinct languages are spoken; also, that "many of the company's employés are drawn from the lower classes of foreign immigrants, Italians, Austrians, Germans and Mexicans predominating, whose primitive ideas of living and ignorance of hygienic laws render the department's work along the line of improved housing facilities and instruction in domestic economy of the utmost importance."

In other words, the company is using a class of labor so ignorant and primitive that a department of this kind becomes an absolute necessity to prevent the introduction into the state of small-pox, cholera and other communicable diseases springing from non-sanitation and filth. Reserving until later, however, our comment upon motives, it is due to say here that this self-imposed task undertaken by the Fuel and Iron Company is discharged with an energy so enthusiastic that it is even spectacular. We who love the kindergarten are glad to see its inspiring influence among these humble homes, with its songs and games and nature studies, and to see tiny hands weaving mats and rugs of rags and zephyr, and braiding straw-hats and baskets, and even making pieces of miniature furniture. We also like to see the older hands skilfully turned to weaving, basketry, carving, sewing and cooking. We like the Boys and Girls' Club, the Physical Culture Club, the Mothers' Club, the Model Home, the "Casa Vivienda" at Pueblo, the reading-room and the circulating library, the unpretentious school-house, or even the ornate school-house at Redstone "erected by a prominent official of the company." At Redstone, too, is the village garden, where the miner with plowing and irrigation free can raise his little patch of vegetables, and at small cost can share in common for his horse or cow a stable supported by the company. In some of its coal-camps the Club House, with its elaborate appoint-

* Report Industrial Com., Vol. 12, p. 193.
† Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, Sept., 1904.

ments and rules against treating, is an experimental institution to supplant the saloon, and it is certainly more respectable than the latter, but whether more insidious and eventually equally as destructive time alone can tell.

The Pueblo Normal and Industrial School seems to perform a useful function and stands in fair favor. Last year it held its sessions at St. Louis and teachers of the company were given a free trip to the World's Fair, with the duty imposed, however, of a two weeks' study of the educational and sociological exhibit and the preparation of a thesis upon some phase of the same in not less than two thousand words. This Normal and Industrial School is also connected with an Industrial Home for crippled employés and for the widows and orphans of those who have lost their lives in the service of the company, and where various employments are afforded with certain specified remuneration. The hospital at Minnequa is an elaborate institution covering thirteen acres and is said to have cost a quarter of a million dollars. It will accommodate 240 patients, and during the year ending June 30, 1903, it treated 82,821 cases, which certainly means that the company in its operations undermines health and mangles limbs by the thousands, or else that every prescription for an insignificant cold or pain is scheduled in this great aggregate of "cases." In association with the Minnequa hospital are minor emergency-hospitals at many of the coal-camps, and all are supplied with competent surgeons and doctors. And last, but not least, to be mentioned in this connection is the elaborate housing-system furnished employés by the company at $2.00 per room per month.

THE MEANING OF IT ALL.

At a superficial glance we may say to this enterprising corporation "well done," as William E. Curtis has already said in his letter to the Philadelphia *Press* of November 26, 1904, and later, during the present year, in his letters to the Chicago *Record-Herald*. But a superficial glance will not suffice. A system as elaborate as this is the creation of no haphazard thought,—it is the result of long deliberation and purpose. This purpose is not easily disclosed if we look at the "Sociological Department" as a thing apart, but it is readily apparent when we look at the history of the company as given above and its methods and operations as a whole.

It keeps in monopoly more than 354,000 acres of the best coal and iron lands of the state, and it or its successors has a fortune in sight for hundreds of years. Its sole aim is at revenue and dividends, and to insure their increase it will even defy the law and through the "scrip" system filch from the wages of the miners. It will not even share its gains with native labor, because such labor is too intelligent and self-respecting to allow its wages to be filched. But to work its "truck-system" and to reduce the strike-ability of its employés to a minimum, it imports "the lower classes of foreign immigrants whose primitive ideas of living and ignorance of hygienic laws . . . renders the department's work of the *utmost importance*." Yes, as we have seen, the "Sociological Department" from this view-point is of the "utmost importance" to prevent such "primitive ideas of living and ignorance of hygienic laws" from becoming a public menace to the people of the entire state.

In harmony with this general characterization of the coal miners, it was testified before the "Coal-Strike Investigating Committee," referred to above, that the men in the Southern coal-field are Mexicans, Italians and negroes, while in the Northern field one half are English-speaking and the other half foreigners who speak some English. It is now plain beyond dispute why the Fuel and Iron Company prefers cheap and ignorant labor. It is only upon such labor that it can impose its graft of "scrip" and its "sociological" graft through

hospital dues. Let us see how the company poses in sumptious benevolence while the men pay the bills. Every employé working over three days a month must pay $1.00 to the hospital fund, unless his check is less than $7.00, when he pays 50 cents. But out of every check over $7.00 comes $1.00 for the hospital. Even boys whose wages are $1.00 or less per day must pay 50 cents per month for the hospital. The company never furnishes the public any statistics as to this so-called hospital fund. Mr. Otto F. Thum, an acute observer and one whose opinion is highly respected in matters pertaining to labor, in replying to the above-mentioned article by Mr. Curtis, says:*

"As the company has been in existence over twenty years, and has in that time employed certainly an average of 10,000 men, the contributions of the men must really stand as follows: $10,000 a month for 240 months,—$2,400,000."

He further tells us that the men at the steel works are constantly changing, but there are no figures available to show the average period they remain. He thinks such average, however, would probably be quite similar to the average on railroad grades. We quote from him further:

"Statistics show that the average time a man stays on a railroad grade is eight days. A good man once told me that labor at the steel works was only a little better than 'bumming'; that the only difference was that in 'bumming' you were not always sure of a place to sleep at night, whereas at the works you were sure of a place to sleep at night, but at the end of the month you had no money, —you had only had during the month enough to eat, and you could always get that at 'bumming.'"

Unwilling contributions are thus forced from men and boys, comparatively few of whom, at least in the steel works, remain long enough to enjoy the appliances resulting from their own bounty.

We need not marvel, then, at the magnitude of the hospital and its elaborate appointments, nor at any other feature of the "sociological department,"—they are all built and maintained out of the hard-earned wages of the men,—and boys! It is Andrew Carnegie over again; the men and boys coin their muscle into dollars and the company appropriates the dollars, and with them the imposing fame of establishing libraries, schools, churches, hospitals, club-houses, fine stables and gardens and numerous cottages to all who will pay $2.00 a room!

But the people are not deceived. They see the source of the building and maintenance-fund, and they know to what sinister end the same is expended. They also know why cheap, foreign and ignorant labor is employed, but they do not quite understand how autocracy can thrive upon it and even oppress it, as well in Colorado as in Russia.

A PARTING THOUGHT.

At this point another group of the throne-powers has passed, and the curtain must now fall upon the Coal-Trust to allow us to view the Smelter-Trust and Railroads before the pageant goes entirely by. As we turn, however, to the new group to greet us, there still is ringing in our ears those distressing words of feudalistic import: "We will close down all our mines,—yes, close them down a hundred years!" and they might have added: "This we do, to make men work for us upon our terms or walk the streets for bread!"

How often, too, have these miners walked the streets disheartened, dissatisfied and crushed. How often, too, have their own willing hands been turned away from shining coal not made with human hands, but wrought untiringly throughout the eons of the past in the laboratory of the Creator,—yes wrought, not for syndicates and idlers, but for unhindered human wants and toil. Yet, how little

* *The Public*, Chicago, December 10, 1904.

have they or others thought how those who drove them hence

> Acquired a right from God
> To rule this coal and land and sod

better than their own. The great Carlyle has said:

"Properly speaking the land belongs to these two: To the Almighty God; and to all His children of men that have ever worked well on it, or that shall ever work well on it. No generation of men can or could, with never such solemnity and effort, sell land on any other principle. It is not the property of any generation, we say, but that of all the past generations that have worked on it, and of all the future ones that shall work on it."*

Mine owners who still indulge the cant of "shutting down their mines" to win in contests with their men, should ponder well the recent pregnant words of the greatest legal luminary of England:

"A very large coal-owner some years ago interfered with a high hand in one of the coal-strikes. He sent for the workmen. He declined to argue, but he said, stamping with his foot upon the ground: 'All the coal within so many square miles is mine, and if you do not instantly come to terms, not a hundred-weight of it shall be brought to the surface, and it shall all remain unworked.' This utterance of his was much criticised at the time. To me it seemed then, and seems now, an instance of that density of perception and inability to see distinctions between things inherently distinct, of which I have said so much. I should myself deny that the mineral treasures under the soil of a country belonged to a handful of surface proprietors in the sense which this gentleman appeared to think they did. That fifty or a hundred gentlemen, or a thousand, would have a right, by agreeing to shut the coal mines, to stop the manufactures of Great Britain and to paralyze her commerce seems to me, I must frankly say, unspeakably absurd. The right of property, as Mr. Austin has shown, has never existed even in its most absolute form, without some restriction."†

(To be continued.)

J. Warner Mills.

Denver, Colo.

ON THE BATTLE-LINE.

By Wilmatte Porter Cockerell.

A GREAT touring-car came noisily down Laurel street, leaving behind it a lingering, all-pervading smell of gasoline and heated oil. Just as the gasoline seemed out of place in the sweet spring air, so the machine was strangely out of place in that street of small homes. Now and then one might catch a glimpse of a house-mother, her company clothes covered by a capacious apron, hurrying about with a tray of dishes or a sleepy baby, and stopped perchance by her slippered lord who patted her shoulder, kissed her hand or pulled both her and baby down on his knee.

The girl in the auto-car sighed as she caught sight of these things. They seemed to her the echoes of a far-away dream. Was it yesterday that love and its portion was within her grasp? She shivered in her furs, though the spring air was warm about her and only the distant mountains showed white and chill with their summits gleaming in the bright afterglow of the sunset.

* *Past and Present*, Ch. 8, p. 241.

† Address by Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, before the Glasgow Juridicial Society.

"This is the house here on the corner," she said to her driver, and the car stopped in front of a brown-shingle house. The lights were on in the small conservatory and she could see Dr. Everette, with a huge cup of tea in one hand and a biscuit in the other, pacing up and down between the rows of blossoming plants. She stood in the door for a minute before he saw her. "Why, Dorothy," he said cordially, "I am glad to see you. Will you have a cup of tea with me? I see this I have is stone cold," and he went to the door to ask for fresh tea.

"I 'm almost distracted over the conditions at the metal-mines," he explained, "and can hardly think of anything else. And now, folly of follies, they have taken young Espey prisoner and have him in chains at their headquarters on Gold Hill. Twice to-day I have heard rumors that he was to be shot, and the leader of the strikers himself told me that he could n't be responsible for his life if the miners' property or families were further outraged. They 'll do their cause an awful damage if they let any harm come to Espey, but I for one could hardly blame them, for if men were ever goaded on to crime——"

The girl stood white and trembling before him, and as he turned his his rather nearsighted eyes and wholly absent-minded attention to her again, he was struck with her look of woe.

"Why, Dorothy; you must n't feel like that; but I can easily imagine that you should. Espey is a most promising young man; really the best man I ever had in my classes. You must remember what a student he is, for he was in the sociology class with you two years ago. He 's a good friend to you, is n't he?"

"O Dr. Everette,"—and two jeweled hands covered her quivering face, "it is n't that—it 's a good deal more. Roland Espey is—we have loved each other since we were children."

"How like an old fool I went on," and Dr. Everette made a savage motion through his hair. "But I did n't know. How could I know, Dorothy?" he asked helplessly.

Dorothy smiled a wan enough smile; it was so characteristic of her beloved doctor, who followed the world's movements to the minutest details, but saw nothing of what went on beneath his very eyes.

"I did n't know it myself until to-day —not like this," the girl confessed. "We 've drifted away from each other since I 've had Uncle's money. I 've been so happy just to do as I like and to go where I would, to climb the Alps one month and the Himalayas the next."

"I think I understand," Dr. Everette said, "it is as though the kiwi were suddenly given wings."

"I never realized that it was all sweetened by the thought that I was coming home to him. And now when, perhaps, I——"

"Now, Dorothy, you must n't think of what I said. We 'll have the troops down to-morrow, and then everything will be perfectly safe. We 're doing everything possible to show the governor that he really can 't be on both sides at once."

"Dr. Everette," and there were still tears in her voice, "the militia may not come for a week, and even if they come to-morrow it may be too late. You have great influence with the strikers; they trust you and will admit you into their camp, where even the governor would not dare go. O say you will go," she pleaded.

"Of course, I am willing enough to go if anything is to be gained by it. But what is the use, unless I have something to offer?"

"I could give you an almost unlimited supply of money," she said.

"Money," he asked questioningly; "money for what?"

"To buy up the leaders and secure Roland's release," she answered defiantly, for she knew very well that she was bearding the lion in his den. "I have been told that it is easy to buy these men,

if one is willing to pay their price."

Dr. Everette looked at the girl savagely; he forgot that she was a favored friend, the daughter of a man that he had loved as a brother, and felt only that she was part of a class bent upon misrepresenting and misunderstanding those who, according to his notion of things, were giving their lives to the greatest cause on earth.

"You have been told a lie, then," he said. His words came slowly and his lips were white. "I had breakfast this morning with one of the leaders, to talk over the possibilities of a compromise; incidentally I discovered that the breakfast was provided by the sale of a watch —a watch that belonged to that man's wife, given to her years before by her dead father. Yet that family will gain nothing if the strikers win out; the man is an engineer and was offered double pay if he would stay by the works during the strike. I do n't believe the offer was even a temptation to him, though he 'd just spent all of his savings to send a friend to the Pasteur institute.

"It should have occurred to you that there are people who can not be bought; you are not so ignorant of life and history that you should not know that. Did you ever hear that the Tories even thought to buy Washington? Even the Southern slave-owners with all their corruption never offered to buy Lincoln."

He stood now with his face ablaze. "You ought to have sent your man of business on this errand; if you have anything else to say perhaps you will instruct him."

Dorothy knew that he meant that she should go, but there was certainly something that could be done, and Dr. Everette was the only man to whom she could appeal. She must think of something both for her own and her lover's sake —the desolate blank of a future without him was more than she could bear.

"Forgive me," she said, "the people I see daily say no good of these miners. When the deputies were sent to the mines the women of our church gathered to make bandages and lint and I heard again and again: 'I hope every deputy will kill a hundred miners.' I was never so bad as that."

"How your mind has narrowed during the past year. I used to think very well of you! Can 't you see that one might wish for the death of an enemy in open battle without shame? That the owners should think that their luxuries are a part of civilization that they are bound to defend with their lives if need comes, is not shameful; it is narrow and selfish and mean, perhaps, not to be willing to divide the good things of life, but we will let that pass. But how came Espey among the deputies? Has your money corrupted him, too? I always thought that when the times forced every man to take sides he would stand with the workers."

"He does, he does," the girl answered, "but, of course, they can 't believe him at the camp. He sent a note this morning to his mother begging her to explain the matter so that it would n't injure the miners' cause. O, there must be something that can be done! I do feel so desperate, for I was the cause of it all. You see, we quarrelled. He said the money had spoiled me, just as you said, and that I cared more for it than I did for him. If I did n't I 'd marry him at once and we 'd try to make things better and easier for the men who worked the properties. I thought I wanted to be free a little longer, as if it was n't the best sort of freedom to gladly accept the responsibilities of life."

Her eagerness in blaming herself and the sweet, womanly heart that she had uncovered to him, softened the Doctor's mood.

"Perhaps you are not so much to blame," he said, kindly. "I ought to have had you here to meet the leaders of this great movement, and I could have taken you to some of the miners' meetings, so that you could have seen what a fine, sturdy lot they are. With your

large mining properties you could be of infinite service to them."

"Could n't I begin now?" the girl cried eagerly. "I will grant every demand of the union and I may be able to get other owners to join me. Would such word influence the strikers? Would they let Roland come home if they knew I was going to stand their friend and wanted him?"

"Yes, I think it would influence them, especially if you could get one or two men to join you. I will arrange to start for Gold Hill as soon as you send me word about the other owners. I shall take your message, even if they will do nothing."

It did not take long to get the owners together, for in those troublous times any and every plan to settle things was listened to eagerly, for the owners were losing more than a half-million a day. Ten or a dozen men controlled that vast field of metal-mines and these men were now gathered in Dorothy's study.

"I can 't see," a very florid-faced man turned to address the girl who had brought them together, "that what you say in any way affects the situation. We must wait for federal troops or encourage the deputies to go ahead and wipe the strikers out."

"I do n't believe that would help," another man answered. "We 've got to have miners. It 's the organizations we want to put down; the individual is easy enough to handle. You can starve him out as easily as you can drown a gopher out of its hole."

"We need the law on our side," said one. "With a governor that was 'fixed' instead of the present darned hybrid between a pop and a socialist, we 'd put the leaders in the bull-pen and drive the miners to work with bayonets."

"But the prisoner," Dorothy asked; "you would sacrifice his life?"

A man in the corner cleared his throat and spoke in a husky voice: "My dear miss," he said, "there will be many lives sacrificed before these men are taught their places. We must control our own property; a man must look out for his margin and not have his workingmen dictating as to hours and wages. Why," he continued eloquently, "we have been losing ground inch by inch for ten years past and if we do not take hold with an iron hand now we shall all be reduced to a dead level of mediocrity, and culture, beauty, everything worth having will disappear."

There was more talk of the same sort and it was evident that they were not ready to make any concessions.

Dorothy was not unprepared for this, and at last she said: "My properties are to be placed on a firm basis of union labor, and I shall send that word to the miners."

The men looked up, startled out of their habitual complacency. The man with the florid complexion spoke roughly: "A pleasant prospect, truly. The miners kidnap Miss Pitman's friend and she immediately promises to ransom him at any price. Gentlemen, our families will no longer be safe when such a premium is placed on abduction."

Dorothy stood facing the men, her trembling hands alone showing the ordeal it was to her thus to defy those whom until to-night she had looked up to as leaders.

"You can 't do anything," Backmore said; "you have n't any mill and we 'll refuse to crush for you if you desert us in a pinch like this."

"I had thought of that," she said, "and my engineer has been with me just before this meeting, and he thinks it a very good plan, indeed, for me to build a mill."

"Bedad!" and a small Irishman who controlled one of the largest properties in the district, jumped to his feet, "it 's me, McKay, as likes the brave spirit in a woman, and I 'll join you, even to the mill, and here 's me hand on it."

"And I 'll tell you what, mum," he said later, when the other men had rather sullenly withdrawn, "now we 're the declared fri'nds of Bobby and his crowd, we 'll sind the little word to the gove'ner, that the owners will take it kindly

if he 'll sind his militiamen down, and then directly the troubles will be over. Why it warms me heart to think I 'm the true fri'nd to the boys. I wonder I niver thought to be the same before."

Dorothy was soon in the Doctor's study and in a few words told him what she had been able to accomplish.

"It 's really better than I expected," Dr. Everette said; "I was even half afraid that they would show you that you were all wrong."

"They did n't even try," Dorothy answered. "They talked of margins and of class supremacy and at the last they threatened, but there was n't a word as to the right or wrong of the matter. I see clearly, now, that they are not the men into whose hands we should give the keeping of the spiritual ideals of our civilization."

"Good," Dr. Everette said, heartily; "we 'll make you a walking delegate yet." Then he went on very seriously: "I have talked with Buchanan over the telephone, and he will be glad to have me come to camp and talk to the miners. They do every thing according to a majority vote, and he thinks I might convince them that they would better let Espey go. He is just as anxious as I am, and realizes that Espey's death would turn public opinion against the miners, and at the same time I gather that he is not at all certain of his men. Another outrage in the village by the deputies, or a barrel of whiskey smuggled into camp, and the gold fields will run with blood, and Espey will be the first victim."

The girl shuddered. "O you must go and at once; something may happen at any minute. You risk your life," she said with a quick sob; "I would that I might share your danger."

Dr. Everette thought for a moment. "I believe it would be a good thing," he said; "the miners are rough, but manly and very devoted to their own women. Their battle-cry has always been 'for Betty and the babies.'"

"And I may go?" Dorothy asked, breathlessly.

"I 'll see what Buchanan thinks about it." In a few minutes he was back. "Buchanan says it 's the very thing; McKay is to go with us, too; Buchanan thought it would be safer. Will you be afraid? There will be guns, you know."

"Afraid," and the girl laughed. Her heart was very much lighter now. "Perhaps we had better practice putting our hands up; that will be the first request."

"Yes, I dare say," the Doctor answered; "but I do n't believe we 'll need any practice; I 've really noticed that it is done best at the very first trial."

McKay soon appeared at the door and the three started off in the darkness. Walking briskly through the town they soon found themselves in the territory occupied by the deputies.

"Halt! Hands up!" It was a sharp, business-like command.

"Why so disperate, me boy?" McKay grumbled, but he held his hands awkwardly in the air, even after the soldier had been shown the mayor's pass.

A little farther along there was another sharp "Hands up!" and another deputy-guard barred their progress.

"Your gun, me boy, moight go off; I do n't like it pointing so exactly in moi direction."

The miners' guards were at the foot of the hill, a hundred yards or less from the deputies' pickets, and in this region was perhaps the greatest danger. McKay kept putting his hands in the air at the slightest sound, and Dr. Everette kept close to Dorothy, trusting to shield her from any danger, but they reached the miners' outposts safely and were passed along. Word had been sent down from headquarters, the guard said, "that they were to come right up. Keep to the path," he warned them, "the hill is full of man-traps and dynamite holes."

"The Lord prasarve us," McKay thundered, "and would you murder the sweet young lady by sindin' us along in

the darkness like this?" The stars lighted the air about them, but the ground with its shifting shadows seemed as though covered with a dark garment. After a few yards Dr. Everette stopped and felt about with his hands.

"We 're safe enough still," he said, "but I do n't like this going it blind; I can 't see the trail and we 're likely to lose it at any minute."

Dorothy touched his hand and it at once closed over hers, warm and reassuring. "I hope I have n't frightened you," he said; "we 're bound to get there safe enough."

"I 'm not afraid," she said, stoutly, "though I do n't like the idea of dynamite holes. I do n't mind a gun, for there is a man behind it, and a man can be counted on, barring accidents, but these holes and traps seem universally prejudiced."

"And is it going back, we are?" McKay asked. "It 's moighty unfriendly these people are not to sind us a guide."

"I can feel the trail with my feet," Dorothy announced after frequent experiments, and Dr. Everette gave her the lead with a sigh of relief. They moved very slowly, for Dorothy was obliged to think of the sensation produced by each step, and to her eager heart the way seemed endless. At the top of the hill the miners' quarters came into view: a great tent faintly aglow from the candles inside. There were two more sentinels to pass and then they were greeted at the door by the leader. There was a small army of men, mostly standing about in groups, though some lay wrapped in their blankets on the floor, with their arms ready to their hands.

"I have explained the matter," the leader said, "but I want you to put the case to them as strongly as possible and then we 'll take a vote."

The miners crowded about their leader —great, splendid men, the most of them were, with frank open countenances, mostly Americans, though there were a few foreigners, and some evil-looking men showing in their very looks a thirst for foul deeds.

Dr. Everette spoke first. It was poor management that had driven them to unite, but if the masters refused to be fair it was their right to stand for their own. Political liberty had been won in that way, bit by bit. They must stand shoulder to shoulder and choose their wisest men for their leaders. And at last he spoke of the holding of Espey as a prisoner. It was a violation of the law, he said, and an act that public opinion condemned.

"What do we care for public opinion," a man in the crowd asked, "is n't it made by auto-racers and other damned dudes?"

Dr. Everette looked straight at the man as he answered: "You know better than that. There are thousands of workers who are not miners; those you must have with you if you would win out. There are thousands of men who do not work with their hands who have your cause at heart. The fact that you have allowed me to come into your camp tonight shows that you think me your friend, and why? My birth, my training, my interests would lead me to take sides against you, but I have seen you patient under persecution and noble under misrepresentation. I have seen you law-abiding under the most gross abuse of the law; that is why I stand with you and I will be with you always if you keep your record clean."

The men cheered when he had finished, and those near him spoke out heartily: "You 've done us good, Doctor. That 's the right stuff. We 'll stand by you, too."

McKay was then asked to speak. He outlined the plan proposed by Dorothy for the opening of their properties under union rules and the building of the new mill. Then, true to his Irish wit, he hit upon the two questions most vital in the workers' struggle. "I 'm a Democrat moiself," he said, "and all this talk about a man being responsible to the law for his properties and therefore wit' the right

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THE MODERN CRUCIFIXION.

(See Editorial "Lest We Forget.")

Drawn by Garnet Warren expressly for THE ARENA.

to be a little tin czar, is just rot. The workers have a right to a voice in the control of properties that would n't be worth a red if it was n't for their willingness to work them. And it 's no picnic job, as I know who have seen, and its moiself as will treat with your diligate on all dilicate questions."

The men cheered loudly at this.

"And me boys," he continued, "there 'll be no black-lists in our mines. A man's work should be his measure and it 'll be his measure wit' us. I 've just one word to say more; I 'm a peace man moiself and I do n't like all this gun-play; I 've put up my hands so many times to-night that my arms are weak in their joints, and I hope you 'll cut it out."

An evil-looking man with a mass of red hair stood behind McKay, and while he was speaking he would feel every few minutes the cold mouth of a pistol pressed against his neck. Dorothy saw it and trembled, for she knew McKay's quick temper, but he made no sign, and when he finished talking the Cœur d' Alene miner slipped away into the crowd.

"Just say a word," the leader whispered to Dorothy; "they 're practically won now, and it needs but a word from you to make the thing sure."

A box was set out for her to stand upon, and as she looked down into their earnest eyes and read in their saddened faces their struggles with nature and that worse thing, the unfeeling selfishness and greed of the masters, she pledged herself anew to their cause. Her face was very white in the candle-light, but her voice rang clear and strong as she made her plea. She spoke only of their hope that they might take the prisoner back with them. "How would your wives and sisters feel to have you imprisoned at the top of a hill full of man-traps and dynamite-holes, and every sort of story going about as to hanging and shooting?" she asked.

"Is the young man your brother?" a man in the crowd asked.

The girl's face was pink for a moment, but she answered bravely enough: "He is dearer even than that; he is to be my husband," and she looked into their faces and smiled, "if you will let him go."

"It iss like the fine young queen she iss," a German called out. "Give her her man, boys; t'under and blitzen, but I 'll break the first man's face dat says a vord against it." There was a great laugh at this, for "Dutchy" was only five feet tall.

"You 'll be nadin' a chair to stand on," McKay suggested.

The great tent became very quiet. Dorothy was sure that every one must hear her heart beating. Dr. Everette pressed his hands together until the nails cut into the flesh; it was more than a life that was at stake, he thought; it was, to his mind, the touchstone of the movement. If they refused to listen to reason; if they would not feel the sacredness of love; if they refused to follow their leader, then it was better——

In the awful silence the leader was putting the question of the prisoner's release, and the Doctor woke from his reverie to find his hand almost wrung off by Espey.

"It was all Dorothy, boy," he said, and he felt the mist gathering in his eyes when he thought of the risk he had allowed her to run.

McKay and Dr. Everette stopped behind to speak to the leader, and Dorothy and Roland walked alone into the night; they held fast each others' hands, and deep in their hearts was a blessed sense of joy in each other, but their thoughts were busy with their coming part in the world's battle.

Wilmatte Porter Cockerell.

Boulder, Colo.

THE DAUGHTER.

By Frank H. Sweet.

THERE was the usual morning bustle around the small station at Finley; nondescript teams of horses and mules coming and going, or backed up against the platform with loads of oranges and truck; idle negroes slouching contentedly about, bantering talk with any one who would notice them, and jeering such of their number as had accepted a job and were hurrying through it with an exaggerated show of zeal and activity; grunting razor-backs and mangy curs disputing favored positions under the platform, or moving listlessly across the hot, open sand between the station and the isolated, outlying stores. On the platform itself were long lines of neatly-packed crates and orange boxes, and among them the owners with stencils and paint-pots, making sure that their markings were all right, and waiting for the railroad official in the jaunty cap to make their entries and give them receipts.

Presently there was a perceptible hastening of their movements, and the loungers in front of the stores came leisurely across the open space and ranged themselves comfortably about the platform. Several men left their work among the crates and went to the heads of their horses or mules and began to stroke the animals soothingly. A sharp, quivering whistle was heard in the distance, then a line of pale blue smoke began to rise above the sea of palmettoes to the east. The loungers became less apathetic as they watched the line rush tremulously across the dull green, and finally curve in directly toward them. There was a roar and quiver, and the great engine rushed by and came to a slow stop as the passenger cars glided opposite the platform.

Among those to alight was a young girl of seventeen or eighteen, plainly but expensively dressed, and with a bright, eager air of expectation. A quick glance about the platform brought a shade of disappointment to her face. After a moment's hesitation she approached a man in shirt-sleeves and broad, low, flapping hat who was leaning against some orange-boxes he had just finished marking.

"Can you direct me to Mr. John Austin's place?" she asked.

"Mr.—John—Austin?" he repeated, reflectively. "Why, no, I do n't—oh, yes, of course, Boosy John." He stopped abruptly as he noticed the inquiring look on her face. "I—I—yes, I reckon I know. Are you some o' his kin?"

"I am his daughter," she replied, wondering a little at the startled whistle that came to his lips, and which she noticed he choked back apologetically. "I have been at a boarding-school ever since I was a little girl. This is my first visit to Florida."

"An' does your paw, Mr. John—Austin, know you 're comin'?" He spoke in evident perplexity, and with a look of consternation on his good-natured face.

"No; but I have n't heard from him in almost a year. Father does n't like to write, but he never allowed my letters to go unanswered so long before. I feared something might be the matter with him or the boys, and he would n't tell. I just had to come. I am so glad that you know him." She hesitated and then asked in a lower voice, as though she feared her question would be answered in the negative: "Is he—well?"

"Yes; fur as sickness goes. Your paw 's one o' the ruggedes' an' healthies' men I know. I 'low he an' the boys never had a sickness in all their born days.

They 're perfecty well, all on 'em. I know, for their place j'ines mine." He spoke rapidly as though glad to be able to say that much, but his eyes roved uneasily about the platform and never by any chance met hers.

"Why, really?" Her face grew radiant. "Their nearest neighbor! And you know the boys, and all about them. Dear little fellows! It seems strange that I should never have seen them. You see, when we left Iowa father sent me to the boarding-school and then came South. That was twelve years ago, and I have been at the school ever since. Little Tommy is almost nine, and Fred—let me see—Fred is seven. Is the place far?" eagerly.

"'Bout half a mile."

"And are you going out soon?"

"After the train leaves."

"Well, of course I can go with you. I 'll run and see about my baggage, and be back directly. Won't they be surprised!" and leaving him staring blankly at a knothole in the platform she hurried away to look after her trunk and valise.

Half a minute passed, then the man raised his head with a dismal, expressive whistle. It was echoed by another, equally expressive, from the other side of the orange-boxes.

"Well, you 're in it now, for a fact," said the owner of the second whistle, sarcastically. "What you goin' to do 'bout it?"

"Lord only knows," groaned the man in the shirt-sleeves. "Reckon mebbe I 'll have to tell her."

"Reckon mebbe you will," drily. "You better have told her plumb straight in the first place."

"How could I?" indignantly, "an' she almost the same age as my Cindy. Land sakes alive, man; d' ye s'pose I was such a brute as to tell her that Mr.—John—Austin wa'n't nobody but Boosy John, not fitten to be father to nobody, an' that he 'd been sent to prison 'most a year ago for stealin' an' that the boys was in the poor-house, an' that the place wa' n't wuth bringin' out an auctioneer to sell it? For the Lord's sake, Thompson; tell me what am I to do?" appealingly.

"Jest give it to her straight. That 's what I 'd do. You 're too all-fired chicken-hearted, William. Folks have to bear such things."

At this moment the train began to glide away from the station, and the girl watched it until it disappeared in a mass of palmettoes and cabbage-palms; then she walked eagerly toward her new acquaintance.

"Your landscapes are so quaint and beautiful," she said, with flushed cheeks and sparkling eyes. "I know I shall like to live here. Well, I am all ready. Can you take my trunk and valise in your wagon?"

"Yes," gruffly. He was glad to get away from her, and he made the work of transferring the baggage as long as possible. Somehow, he could not bring himself to tell her the whole brutal truth. If it had not been his money that had been stolen, and if he had not been the one who had complained of the worthless drunkard, it would have been less difficult. He had been sorry for his justifiable act ever since he made the complaint, and now—well, he would take the girl home to his wife. She had more tact than he, and would know just what to do.

This mental throwing off of the responsibility from his own shoulders brought back his natural cheerfulness and buoyancy, and he smilingly motioned for the girl to climb into the wagon.

"Ever ride after a mule afore?" he asked as he left the animal's head and climbed up on the seat beside her.

"No," she answered. Then her face grew wistful. "Do you suppose father and the boys are at home to-day?"

His countenance fell.

"I 'low they won't be there jest right now," he said, evasively. "You see, they did n't know you was comin'; so

they happen to be off for a spell. But you must n't let it put you out any," with more animation, "I 'll take you home, an' my wife 'll fix you up mighty comf't-able till they git back."

"Thank you. But why can 't I go right to the house and wait for them? It would be such a surprise."

"No, no!" he objected, with sudden energy, "by no manner o' means. Bachelor livin' ain't apt to keep a house fixed up, an' jest now 't ain't no place for you. I know that. You must do jest like I say an' come to my house for a spell. You ain't used to Floridy ways, an' my wife can give you heaps o' p'ints."

"Well, if you think best." She was silent for some time, watching the unfamiliar plants along the roadside, and the curious, bright-colored chameleons that flashed from the warm sand in front of the mule and disappeared with marvelous rapidity among the palmettoes.

"Cur'us, ain't they," said Williams, as he followed her glance, "jest like a bit o' rainbow strung on lightnin'. But they 're 'mazin' fine things for pets. Your brother Freddy used to have one that would scoot out from some queer hidin' place whenever he 'd whistle. Great hand, Freddy, for pets."

At the mention of Freddy she lost interest in the plants and chameleons and turned to him with a tender, tremulous smile on her lips.

"It will be so pleasant to have one's own folks to live with," she said, softly. 'They were all nice to me at the school, but none of them belonged to me. I used to get very lonseome when the girls went home vacations. It will be almost like—like heaven to live in the same house with father and the boys."

Williams reached out and struck his mule viciously, but she did not notice. She was looking straight ahead—apparently at the house and father and brothers her imagination was picturing.

"I suppose everybody round here likes father, he is such a good man," she went on, in a tone that was an assertion rather than a question. "I almost envy the boys having lived with him so long."

"He kept you to school pretty steady," ventured her companion. "I knew he had a gal up North, but had an idee she was stayin' 'mong her kin. Boose—er—Mr. John Austin wa'n't never much hand to talk 'bout himself."

"Father has done everything for me—everything," said the girl, with a tender light in her big, gray eyes. "He was not rich, for he once wrote that I might have to wait a few days for my tuition, as money was hard to get. But it came the very next day; and he always sent me plenty for books and dresses and everything I wanted. He wrote for me never to stint myself on anything; and that after I was graduated I was on no account to come home, but to keep on with my music and drawing and other studies, and when I had learned all I could at the school he was going to send me to Europe to learn more. Dear, dear father! I hope I may be able to make it up to him sometime."

Williams gave a quick, sidelong glance at the earnest face and then gazed steadfastly at the road ahead. He had known Boosy John for eight years, and could not remember a single redeeming feature about the man. He was erratic, shiftless and utterly irresponsible. His life was one long spree that reeled between absolute drunkenness and semi-intoxication. But he was a good lawyer and a fine scholar, and even in his partial stupor was able to pick up a good deal of money about the courts and in other ways. People supposed that all this money went to the dram-shops, and the supposition made them regard the man with extreme disgust, for his home was a mere hovel, and his boys wholly neglected and uncared for. At the time of the complaint Williams had regarded his act as a benefaction to the neighborhood; but now, with this girl beside him, and with the unexpected disclosure of a white spot in a character that was supposed to be utterly

black, his feelings underwent a sudden change. The pitiful drunkard who had been too weak to look after himself and his boys, but whose better nature had planned and provided so lavishly for the girl and her future, even while striving to keep from her the knowledge of her father's degradation, became almost a hero in his eyes. He could understand the sacrifices and hardships that Boosy John must have gone through in order to provide for such an education. Even he, with his orange-grove and truck-farm, had never felt able to do half so much for Cindy. Perhaps the stolen fifty dollars had gone to pay some pressing school-bill that the harassed drunkard could meet in no other way.

When they reached the vine-covered cottage in front of his orange-grove he carried in the trunk and valise, and presently called his wife aside and made a whispered explanation. Then he went to the barn to unharness the mule. But he made a much longer job of it than was necessary, and when it was finished he leaned upon his fence and gazed with unobservant eyes at his fields of sweet potatoes and pineapples and bananas. His wife came to him there.

"Did you tell her?" he asked.

"Yes," in a low voice. He noticed that her lips trembled.

"Take it hard?"

"She 's high strung, Jim, an' that kind o' folks mostly take things hard, but they do n't make a show. She would n't believe me at first, an' when she did she turned white an' stared at nothin' till I—I—jest bu'st out cryin' myself. Seemed like I never felt so bad an' sorry for anybody in all my life. She did n't cry a bit, Jim; only jest asked me would I please go out a while an' leave her alone."

The two stood there nearly half an hour, when the girl left the house and passed down the road on the opposite side of the fence.

"She 's goin' over to look at her house now," said Mrs. Williams, in a low voice. "I told her 't wa'n't fit to live in, but she said they 'd lived in it an' she could. An' when I told her as how we 'lowed on keepin' her a while she jest thanked me an' shook her head."

When the girl came back they were on the piazza. She went directly to Williams.

"When does my father come home?" she asked.

"His time 's out—er, that is, he 'll come home in 'bout three months, I reckon."

"And how much does he owe you?"

"O, nothin', nothin' at all," hastily.

"How much does he owe you?" the girl repeated, in a tone that he felt could not be disregarded.

"Wall, fifty dollars. But you need n't bother 'bout payin' it."

"I cannot, just at present; but everything must be straightened out before father comes home. There must not be a single thing to worry him. And now can I get you to go after my brothers? I shall fix up the house, and we will live there until father comes."

"It 's quite a long drive," said Williams, reflectively. "I can go to-morrow."

"That will do." She stood gazing out at the vista of pines and palmettoes afforded by an opening in the clambering vines, her face white and stricken, but calm with a strong, determined purpose.

"What kind of employment is there here for girls?" she asked.

Williams looked dubious.

"I do n't reckon there 's any," he answered. "Stores gen'rally git men clerks, an' there 's ten applicants to one job. Folks round here do n't hire much help."

"No," agreed his wife; "housekeepers mostly do all their own work, cookin' an' sewin' an' everything. The only work that 's plenty, an' hard to get help for, is washin'; but only darkies do that. Mebbe you c'n git a job o' teachin' school this fall."

"I must have work now. Father must

not find anything against him when he comes home. Do you think I can get washing?"

Mrs. Williams looked at her blankly.

"It 's darkies' work," she objected.

"It 's work that I will do gladly, if I can get it," a sudden passionate sob bringing the color back to her cheeks. "I will scrub floors—anything that will help father a little. He has been working and making sacrifices for years that I might remain at school, and I—I—never suspected. I ought to have been here, watching him, and caring for him and the boys."

It was nearly two months later before Williams again encountered Thompson on the station platform.

"Wall, how d' ye make out with Boosy John's fine darter?" Thompson asked.

Williams looked up from the box he was marking.

"That 's jest what she is," he said; "Boosy John's fine darter. I 've been round with her consider'ble lately; down to the prison twice to see her paw; an' took her to town several times in my waggin. At first her paw was all broke up—never wanted her to know how low down he was, I s'pose. But she brought him round, an' now he can't keep his eyes off her when she 's nigh. Soon 's he 's out they 're goin' over an' take up a homestead in Hernandy county—twenty miles or more from town, I b'lieve on account o' his failin'; an' I reckon she or the boys 'll do all the tradin'. Boosy John ain't much of a man, an' never can be; but I tell you," impressively, "jest all the man there is in him that gal 's goin' to bring out. Mark my words on that."

FRANK H. SWEET.

Waynesboro, Va.

JOHN RUSKIN ON GOVERNMENT-OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS.

BY "ADVENTUS."

JOHN RUSKIN was not a Socialist. Indeed, he entertained strong prejudices against the scientific or Marxian school of socialism. Yet he was an outspoken advocate of governmental ownership of railroads. As far back as 1868, in a communication to the London *Daily Telegraph*, the great philosopher, scholar and critic uttered those bold and thonghtful words in favor of popular ownership of natural monopolies:

"Neither the roads nor the railroads of any nation should belong to any private persons. All means of public transit should be provided at public expense, by public determination, where such means are needed, and the public should be its shareholder. Neither road, nor railroad, nor canal should ever pay dividends to anybody. They should pay their working expenses, and no more. All dividends are simply a tax on the traveler and the goods, levied by the persons to whom the road or canal belongs, for the right of passing over his property, and this right should at once be purchased by the nation and the original cost of the roadway—be it of gravel, iron, or adamant—at once defrayed by the nation, and then the whole work of the carriage of persons or goods done for ascertained prices, by salaried officers, as the carriage of letters is done now."

These wise and eminently commonsense views have already been adopted by many of the enlightened nations, among which are Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Australia and New Zealand.

"ADVENTUS."

Boston, Mass.

EDITORIALS.

COUNT TOLSTOI ON THE LAND QUESTION.

ON THE first of August last, the London *Times* published an extended paper from the pen of Count Tolstoi, which in many respects we believe to be the most important political and economic manifesto that has come from the pen of the great Russian prophet and iconoclast. This is not saying that we agree with all the premises or conclusions of Count Tolstoi; for here as in most of his other utterances, he seems to us to betray the weakness of many of our noblest reformers who rivet their mental vision on some particular source of evil, injustice or misery, until the single issue fills the mental retina, and henceforth all other reforms appear to them trivial or incidental. Yet in spite of this fact, Count Tolstoi's contribution entitled "The Great Iniquity" is, we think, the most important single economic utterance of the present year. It is in truth the voice of one of the greatest prophet souls of any age crying in the wilderness of political and economic greed, selfishness, ignorance, superstition and error and calling men back to certain fundamental truths which we believe must be recognized and acted upon before there can be any substantial approach to that measure of justice that will make equality of opportunities and of rights something more than an empty shibboleth.

After pointing out the fact that the "intellectuals" of Russia are striving to gain freedom of the press, freedom of speech, the right to hold meetings, and a constitutional government, the Count minifies the importance of such reforms in a manner that would be incomprehensible coming from the source that it does, were it not for the fact that he has so riveted his mind upon the iniquity of land monopoly that he has lost his sense of moral proportions to such a degree that measures so fundamentally important and vital to progress as freedom of conscience, freedom of the press, freedom of speech and popular constitutional government seem to him trivial or of no special importance. This, it seems to us, no less than his apparent contempt for the whole machinery of popular government, is the crowning weakness of his manifesto, which in other respects should challenge the thoughtful consideration of all persons having the welfare of the whole people at heart; and we think that he is right when he thus places his finger on the chief single cause of the widespread physical misery of the masses:

"The chief evil from which the whole of the Russian people are unceasingly and cruelly suffering—the fundamental evil from which the Russian people as well as the people of Europe and America are suffering—is the fact that the majority of the people are deprived of the indisputable natural right of every man to use a portion of the land on which he was born. It is sufficient to understand all the criminality, the sinfulness of the situation in this respect, in order to understand that until this atrocity, continually being committed by the owners of the land, shall cease, no political reforms will give freedom and welfare to the people, but that, on the contrary, only the emancipation of the majority of the people from that land slavery in which they are now held can render political reforms, not a plaything and a tool for personal aims in the hands of politicians, but the real expression of the will of the people."

The Count gives a number of pen-pictures illustrating the want, misery and helplessness of the peasants deprived of the land, and he insists that one may "cross all Russia, all its peasant world," and everywhere he will observe "dreadful calamities and sufferings which proceed from the obvious cause that the agricultural masses are deprived of land. Half the Russian peasantry live so that for them the question is not how to improve their position, but only how not to die of hunger, they and their families, and this only because they have no land. Traverse all Russia and ask all the working-people why their life is hard, what they want; and all of them with one voice will say one and the same thing, that which they unceasingly desire and expect, and

for which they unceasingly hope, of which they unceasingly think."

In order to give special emphasis to his proposition, our author quotes extensively from the writings of Henry George. The following paragraphs we quote, as they are so exceptionally pertinent to the discussion with which he is concerned:

"What is man? In the first place, he is an animal, a land animal who cannot live without land. All that man produces comes from the land; all productive labor, in the final analysis, consists in working up land, or materials drawn from land, into such forms as fit them for the satisfaction of human wants and desires. Why, man's very body is drawn from the land. Children of the soil, we come from the land, and to the land we must return. Take away from man all that belongs to the land, and what have you but a disembodied spirit? Therefore he who holds the land on which and from which another man must live is that man's master; and the man is his slave. The man who holds the land on which I must live can command me to life or to death just as absolutely as though I were his chattel. Talk about abolishing slavery—we have not abolished slavery; we have only abolished one rude form of it, chattel slavery. There is a deeper and more insidious form, a more cursed form yet before us to abolish, in this industrial slavery that makes a man a virtual slave, while taunting him and mocking him in the name of freedom.

"Did you ever think of the utter absurdity and strangeness of the fact that all over the civilized world the working classes are the poor classes? Think for a moment how it would strike a rational being who had never been on the earth before, if such an intelligence could come down, and you were to explain to him how we live on earth, how houses and food and clothing and all the many things we need were all produced by work, would he not think that the working people would be the people who lived in the finest houses and had most of everything that work produces? Yet, whether you took him to London or Paris or New York, or even to Burlington, he would find that those called the working people were the people who lived in the poorest houses.

"All this is strange—just think of it. We naturally despise poverty, and it is reasonable that we should. . . . Nature gives to labor, and to labor alone; there must be human work before any article of wealth can be produced; and in the natural state of things the man who toiled honestly and well would be the rich man, and he who did not work would be poor."

Our author, like all great prophet souls who to the superficial frequently appear pessimists, is essentially an optimist, and he points out the fact, too frequently overlooked, that life is ever moving onward. Things which were once accepted, practiced and considered proper later became abhorrent to the awakened conscience of the world.

"There used to be cannibalism and human sacrifices; there used to be religious prostitution and the murder of weak children and of girls; there used to be bloody revenge and the slaughter of whole populations, judicial tortures, quarterings, burnings at the stake, the lash; and there have been, within our memory, spitzruthens and slavery, which have also disappeared. But if we have outlived these dreadful customs and institutions, this does not prove that there do not exist institutions and customs amongst us which have become as abhorrent to enlightened reason and conscience as those which have in their time been abolished and have become for us only a dreadful remembrance. The way of human perfecting is endless, and at every moment of historical life there are superstitions, deceits, pernicious and evil institutions already outlived by men and belonging to the past; there are others which appear to us in the far mists of the future; and there are some which we are now living through and whose over-living forms the object of our life. Such in our time is capital punishment and all punishment in general. Such is prostitution, such is flesh-eating, such is the work of militarism, war, and such is the nearest and most obvious evil, private property in land.

"But as people never suddenly freed themselves from all the injustices which had become customary, nor even did so immediately after the more sensitive individuals had recognized their iniquity, but advanced only by leaps, halts, resumings, and again new leaps towards freedom, similar to the struggles of child-birth. so has it been of late with the abolition of slavery, and so is it now with private property in land."

In Russia the vast majority of the people are found on the land, but the division is so inequitable that the millions of peasants are

ever on the verge of starvation, while the royal family, the landed nobility and the favored bureaucrats live in wealth and luxury. Thus we find that the 110,000,000 peasants of Russia own but 35,141,886 acres, while the imperial family alone owns 32,000,000 acres, and the remaining 181,606,519 acres are owned by the landed aristocracy and the members of the bureaucracy. Moreover, the 35,000,000 acres held by the peasants is the poorest tillable land of the empire. In referring to the misery of the millions, arising from their being denied free use of the land, Count Tolstoi says:

"In Russia, where a hundred million of the masses unceasingly suffer from the seizure of the land by private owners, and unceasingly cry out about it, the position of those people who are vainly searching everywhere but where it really is for the means of improving the condition of the people, reminds one exactly of that which takes place on the stage when all the spectators see perfectly well the man who has hidden himself, and the actors themselves ought to see him, but pretend they do not, intentionally distracting each others' attention and seeing everything except that which it is necessary for them to see, but which they do not wish to see."

The evil, of course, is by no means confined to Russia; it obtains all over the civilized world, and in order to illustrate the futility of any scheme of reform or of social or political reorganization that leaves monopoly in land undisturbed, and thus a fruitful field of wealth for the few, our author proceeds as follows:

"People have driven a herd of cows, on the milk products of which they are fed, into an enclosure. The cows have eaten up and trampled the forage in the enclosure, they are hungry, they have chewed each other's tails, they low and moan, imploring to be released from the enclusore and set free in the pastures. But the very men who feed themselves on the milk of these cows have set around the enclosure plantations of mint, of plants for dyeing purposes, and of tobacco; they have cultivated flowers, laid out a racecourse, a park, and a lawn-tennis ground, and they do not let out the cows lest they spoil these arrangements. But the cows bellow, get thin, and the men begin to be afraid that the cows may cease to yield milk, and they invent various means of improving the condition of these cows. They erect sheds over them, they introduce wet brushes for rubbing the cows, they gild their horns, alter the hour of milking, concern themselves with the housing and treating of invalid and old cows, they invent new and improved methods of milking, they expect that some kind of wonderfully nutritious grass they have sown in the enclosure will grow up, they argue about these and many other varied matters, but they do not, cannot—without disturbing all they have arranged around the enclosure—do the only simple thing necessary for themselves as well as for the cows—to wit, the taking down of the fence and granting the cows their natural freedom of using in plenty the pastures surrounding them.

"Acting thus, men act unreasonably, but there is an explanation of their action; they are sorry for the fate of all they have arranged around the enclosure. But what shall we call those people who have set nothing around the fence, but who, out of imitation of those who do not set free their cows, owing to what they had arranged around the enclosure, also keep their cows inside the fence, and assert that they do so for the welfare of the cows themselves?

"Precisely thus act those Russians, both Governmental and anti-Governmental, who arrange for the Russian people, unceasingly suffering from the want of land, every kind of European institution, forgetting and denying the chief thing: that which alone the Russian people requires—the liberation of the land from private property, the establishment of equal rights on the land for all men.

. . . . . .

"For the welfare of the people, we endeavor to abolish the censorship of books, arbitrary banishments, and to organize everywhere schools, common and agricultural, to increase the number of hospitals, to cancel passports and monopolies, to institute strict inspection in the factories, to reward maimed workers, to mark boundaries between properties, to contribute through banks to the purchase of land by peasants, and much else.

"One need only enter into the unceasing sufferings of millions of the people; the dying out from want of the aged, women and children, and of the workers from excessive work and insufficient food—one need only enter into the servitude, the humiliations, all the useless expenditures of strength, into the deprivations, into all the horror of the needless calamities of the Russian rural population

which all proceed from insufficiency of land—in order that it should become quite clear that all such measures as the abolition of censorship, of arbitrary banishment, etc., which are being striven after by the pseudo-defenders of the people, even were they to be realized, would form only the most insignificant drop in the ocean of that want from which the people are suffering.

"But not only do those concerned with the welfare of the people, while inventing alterations, trifling, unimportant, both in quality and quantity, leave a hundred millions of the people in unceasing slavery owing to the seizure of the land—more than this, many of these people, of the most progressive amongst them, desire that the suffering of this people should, by its continual increase, drive them to the necessity—after leaving on their way millions of victims, perished from want and depravity—of exchanging their customary and happy, favorite and reasonable agricultural life for that improved factory life which they have invented for them."

From the above and other similar paragraphs in the paper it seems to us that the Count, though sound on the question of private monopoly in land, has allowed his vision to be so riveted on this great fundamental demand of justice, this requisite of a free state, that he overlooks or minifies other vital requirements of democracy—of social, political and economic advance. Civilization, thanks to the great revolutionary epoch, has reached a degree of enlightenment that precludes the idea that the leaders in government who are pledged to progress and popular sovereignty will ever abandon as non-essential the fundamental demands of democracy. The failures that have marred and checked the perfect unfoldment of free government have been due to too little democracy. Through inherited reactionary and monarchal ideas and restrictions, privileged and class interests have been enable to subtly advance in control of the machinery of government, until by corrupt practices and various undemocratic and demoralizing methods of procedure they have checked the orderly progress of government along the lines of fundamental democracy.

To regard constitutional government as something unimportant; to ignore the essential provisions for the maintenance of pure democracy where popular government is established—measures such as the initiative, referendum and right of recall, for example; to place freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press on the list of non-essentials; to sneer at rational methods of coöperation; to fail to recognize the fact that private-ownership of public utilities is not only the greatest wellspring of corruption in government but also one of the chief sources of the overshadowing wealth of the few, and through this failure to be unable to recognize how imperatively necessary it is for the people to own and operate the natural monopolies; and to regard the intellect-fettering and persecution-fostering curses flowing from the union of church and state as insignificant, even relatively speaking, is, we think, proof positive that the great Russian apostle of moral righteousness has accepted as a sovereign remedy something of first importance, it is true, and something for which all reformers should work, but something which, without the remedies to which we have alluded and other important demands of a programme of progress, would, like all partial remedies, fall fatally short of meeting the requirements of emancipated and enlightened manhood. Indeed, the abolition of land monopoly or the introduction of taxes on land values as advocated by Mr. George would, we think, be entirely impossible of realization unless preceded by several of the important demands which the Count esteems as trivial and non-essential.

Our author believes not only that the land question is the paramount or overshadowing issue in the political, social and economic world, but also that it is the overshadowing religious question. He believes that with the degree of enlightenment now present in all so-called Christian lands, there can be but one answer to the question, Why do not the leaders make the right of the people to the use of the land the paramount issue? and that that answer is to be found in the want of true religion in the hearts of the people. "Without religion," he tells us, "one cannot really love men, and without loving men one cannot know what they require."

With Mazzini he holds that the great reforms always have been and always will be the result of great religious movements.

"And such is the religious movement which is now pending for the Russian people, for all the Russian people, for the working classes deprived of land as well as, and especially for,

the big, medium, and small landowners, and for all those hundreds of thousands of men who, although they do not directly possess land, yet occupy an advantageous position, thanks to the compulsory labor of the people who are deprived of land.

"The religious movement now due among the Russian people consists in undoing the great sin which for a long time has been hurting and is dividing men, not only in Russia, but in all the world.

. . . . . .

"In order to serve this great cause, besides thought there must also be something more—a religious feeling—that feeling owing to which in the last century the owners of serfs recognized themselves culpable, and, notwithstanding personal loss and even ruin, sought the means of freeing themselves from the sin which weighed upon them.

"It is this feeling in regard to landed property which must awaken in the well-to-do classes in order that the great work of the liberation of the land should be accomplished; this feeling should awaken in such a degree that people should be ready to sacrifice everything if only they can free themselves from the sin in which they have lived and are living.

"Possessing hundreds, thousands, scores of thousands of acres, trading in land, profiting one way or the other by landed property, and living luxuriously thanks to the oppression of the people, possible through this cruel and obvious injustice—to argue in various committees and assemblies about the improvement of the conditions of the peasant's life without surrendering one's own exclusively advantageous position growing from this injustice, is not only an unkind but a detestable and evil thing, equally condemnable by common sense, honesty and Christianity.

. . . . . .

"The emancipation of the serfs in Russia was effected not by Alexander II., but by those men who understood the sin of serfdom and, independently of their own advantages, endeavored to free themselves from it, and it was chiefly effected by such men as Novikoff, Radischeff, the Decembrists, those men who were ready to suffer and did themselves suffer (without making anyone else suffer) in the name of loyalty to that which they recognized as the truth.

"The same must take place in relation to the land.

"I believe that there do now exist such men, and that they will fulfill that great work not only Russian, but universal, which is before the Russian people.

"The land question has at the present time reached such a state of ripeness as fifty years ago was reached by the question of serfdom. Exactly the same is being repeated.

. . . . . .

"Even as now the owners of land talk about the injustice of putting a stop to their criminal ownership, so then people talked about the unlawfulness of depriving owners of their serfs. As then the Church justified the serf right, so now that which occupies the place of the Church —Science—justifies landed property. Just as then slave-owners, realizing their sin more or less, endeavored in various ways without undoing it to mitigate it, and substituted the payment of a ransom by the serfs for direct compulsory work for their masters and moderated their exactions from the peasants, so also now the more sensitive land-owners, feeling their guilt, endeavor to redeem it by renting their land to the peasants on more lenient conditions, by selling it through the peasant banks, by arranging schools for the people, ridiculous houses of recreation, magic-lantern lectures and theaters.

"Exactly the same also is the indifferent attitude of the government to the question. And as then the question was solved, not by those who invented artful devices for the alleviation and improvement of the condition of peasant-life, but by those who, recognizing the urgent necessity of the right solution, did not postpone it indefinitely, did not forsee special difficulties in it, but immediately, straight off, endeavored to arrest the evil, and did not admit the idea that there could be conditions in which evil once recognized must continue, but took that course which under the existing conditions appeared the best —the same now also with the land question.

"The question will be solved, not by those who will endeavor to mitigate the evil or to invent alleviations for the people or to postpone the task of the future, but by those who will understand that, however one may mitigate a wrong, it remains a wrong, and that it is senseless to invent alleviations for a man we are torturing, and that one cannot postpone when people are suffering, but should immediately take the best way of solving the difficulty and immediately apply it in practice. And the more should it be so that the method

of solving the land problem has been elaborated by Henry George to such a degree of perfection that, *under the existing state organization and compulsory taxation* it is impossible to invent any other better, more just, practical and peaceful solution.

. . . . . .

"I think (and I would like to contribute to this, in however small a measure) that the removal of this great universal sin—a removal which will form an epoch in the history of mankind—is to be effected precisely by the Russian Slavonian people, who are, by their spiritual and economic character, predestined for this great universal task—that the Russian people should not become proletarians in imitation of the peoples of Europe and America, but, on the contrary, that they should solve the land question at home by the abolition of landed property, and show other nations the way to a rational, free and happy life, outside industrial, factory, or capitalistic coercion and slavery—that in this lies their great historical calling.

"I would like to think that we Russian parasites, reared by and having received leisure for mental work through the people's labor, will understand our sin, and, independently of our personal advantage, in the name of the truth that condemns us, will endeavor to undo it."

Without agreeing with Count Tolstoi in his extreme position as to the self-sufficiency of freedom in the use of the land, to be secured through the practical operation of that system so luminously expounded by Henry George, we believe that this utterance from the greatest Christian in Russia, this manifesto from one of the noblest prophets and apostles of moral progress of this or any other age, is vitally important at the present time, giving emphasis as it does to one of the master-demands of enlightened civilization, of justice and of reason—a demand the realization of which must be striven for by all those who are laboring for a full-orbed democracy based on justice and human rights.

"LEST WE FORGET."

"Where there is no vision the people perish."
—*Proverbs*, 29:18.

" . . . . Where shall men hide
From tyranny and wrong, where life have worth,
If here the cause succumb? If greed of gold
Or lust of power or falsehood triumph here,
The race is lost!"
—*The Torch-Bearers*, by Arlo Bates.

"Man, at this day, tends to fall into the stomach: man must be replaced in the heart, man must be replaced in the brain. . . . The social question requires to-day, more than ever, to be examined on the side of human dignity."
—*William Shakespere*, by Victor Hugo.

"To work for the people,—this is the great and urgent need.

"It is important, at the present time, to bear in mind that the human soul has still greater need of the ideal than of the real.

"It is by the real that we exist; it is by the ideal that we live. Would you realize the difference? Animals exist, man lives." —*Ibid.*

I. Three Great Crises In The History of The Republic.

LET NO man be seduced by the siren voice of a false opportunism in a crucial hour like the present. The republic is at the parting of the ways. We are in the midst of a crisis such as comes to nations and civilizations when the glory of renewed life or the gloom of impending death are the stakes at issue. On but two occasions heretofore have the American people faced great destiny-determining crises as grave as that which confronts us to-day. When the issue of freedom and justice or subserviency to the arbitrary despotism of the throne was clearly drawn, Jefferson, Franklin, Washington, Adams and their great compatriots placed life and all it held dearest on the hazard. They chose death for human rights and progress rather than life with surrender of the cause of justice and the ideal of freedom and self-government. With this choice went the heart and the soul of a great young people, and from that choice issued the Declaration of Independence, the noblest magna charta of freedom that has blossomed on the political highway of civilization.

Again, when the Union was in deadly peril, when the life of the great republic which had emerged from the earlier crisis was threatened, when the basic ideals and principles of democracy—the world-dream of justice and brother-

hood, again trembled in the balance, the soul of the nation awoke; and under the leadership of Lincoln, who more than any other statesman of that crisis embodied the spirit of democracy, the moral life of the nation was again so revivified that the republic passed from the furnace with its spiritual integrity preserved. But during the distraction of the nation the old, old enemy of freedom and popular rights gained foothold in the nation. A sordid spirit of materialistic egoism, which, embodying the genius of despotism, chameleon-like, under many forms and in multitudinous guises, has perpetually appeared on the highway of government whenever the public mind has been distracted or the people have fallen under the spell of indifference and moral lethargy, became entrenched in the political and business strongholds of the nation. Two dominant passions ever mark those who strive for mastership through class-rule or the advantages that flow from special privileges,—lust for power and lust for gold. In a republic the success of class or privileged interests bent on the acquisition of unearned wealth or the attainment of arbitrary power is dependent on two things,—the corruption of government and the enslavement of the people. These influences, fatal alike to the genius of democracy and the well-being of the multitude, are doubly dangerous because their advent and advance are ever stealthy in character and attended by the progressive though gradual lowering of the moral ideals of society in all its ramifications and the undermining of the character of the people which is as essential to the preservation of free institutions as oxygen is necessary to the physical life of man.

For almost half a century, or coincident with the rise of corporate power and privileged interests that were born during the Civil war or came into vigorous life after its close, the despotism of the dollar or the aggression of corporate wealth and privileged interests seeking the acquisition of gold that other men had earned, through special privileges, gambling and various forms of indirection, steadily gained influence and domination in the political life of the nation while exerting a death-dealing influence on the millions of the people. In recent years the power of the new commercial feudalism has become great enough to so seduce, corrupt and debauch the people's representatives and servants in the municipalities, the various commonwealths and the nation that they have systematically given away to unscrupulous bands the public franchises, worth hundreds of millions of dollars —franchises which, thus secured by corrupt practices, have given to the special privileged few the power to levy taxes or tariffs as extortionate as they are fabulous upon the people in city, state and nation; and more than this, it has become so firmly entrenched as to render practically impossible any fundamentally just, radical or effective legislation for the safeguarding of the interests and rights of the people from the insatiable greed of corporate wealth.

The enormous and ever-increasing river of gold that has thus been made to flow into the coffers of an ever-narrowing privileged class has given to a few scores of men the wealth and power necessary to drive into retirement the incorruptible statesmen who seriously menaced their criminal aggression, to elevate their attorneys and tools to pivotal and vital places in government, and to gain complete control of the great party-machines by ownership of corrupt bosses and liberal campaign donations; and in this manner they have become the absolute arbiters in municipal, state and national government.

Moreover, through the might and power of this new and corrupt feudalism of wealth based on special privileges, it has been possible for the master-corruptors and faithless trustees and stewards of other men's wealth to discredit the incorruptible prophets of democracy, the noblest-minded statesmen and reformers, who have not only refused to bow the knee to the Baal of "high finance," but who have boldly assailed interested corruption. The apostles of freedom have been systematically denounced as irresponsible alarmists, as slanderers of the "best element," as enemies of property, and as dangerous anarchists; while the betrayers of the republic, the corruptors of government and the enslavers of the people have boldly claimed to be the "safe and sane" element, the upholders of vested interests, the pillars of the business world; and lastly and most loudly have they insisted that they are the upholders of national integrity and honesty.

II. Degradation of Dollar-Worship.

Now, however, the mask has been partially removed,—only partially, it is true, but enough has been displayed to prove not only far more than the friends of democracy and pure gov-

ernment claimed, but that a world of political, business and social degradation has been everywhere flourishing under the cover of ultra-respectability. So sickening have been these revelations that they have amazed and horrified all sections of society where moral atrophy has not set in. It is well for America that enough has been uncovered of national corruption to lead to the arrest and conviction of two United States senators and several trusted officials in federal departments, as well as representatives of the great trusts. It is well that the power of political and privileged interests has not been great enough to prevent the constant coming to light of evidences of wholesale corruption that has flourished ever since the public-service corporations and privileged interests have gained control of the government through the mastership of political bosses and partisan machines. It is well that the riot of corruption resulting from the long-continued alliance of the pillars of society and the dominant political bosses in various American municipalities, such as St. Louis and Philadelphia, has been sufficiently unmasked to reveal the almost incredible extent to which bribery and moral degradation can be carried when the so-called "best element" of society feels itself secure in systematically practicing crimes which would promptly lead poor men and those who have no powerful influences to defend them, to the bar and behind the bars. It is well that the lid has at last been lifted from the great insurance companies of New York and the amazing fact brought to light that the sacred trust-funds of the millions of America have been made the inexhaustible reservoir from which the Wall-street gamblers and the promoters of water-logged trusts have enriched themselves; that funds supposed to be the most sacred that could be entrusted to the keeping of honorable men have been dissipated in the securing of laws inimical to the interests of the policy-holders of the insurance companies, and that they have been dissipated in ways wholly unjustifiable by any rules of sound business or the principles of common honesty. And finally, it is well that these revelations have been so conclusive in character that they are at last stinging the great educational and ethical leaders to cry out in alarm at the moral degradation that is rife in the high places in political and business life. Thus, for example, at the opening of Columbia University in New York city, in the latter part of September of this year, President Nicholas Murray Butler summed up the moral aspects of conditions such as now obtain in American political and business life in these solemn words which should be pondered by every liberty-loving American:

"Just now the American people are receiving some painful lessons in practical ethics. They are having brought home to them, with severe emphasis, the distinction between character and reputation. A man's true character, it abundantly appears, may be quite in conflict with his reputation, which is the public estimate of him. Of late we have been watching reputations melt away like snow before the sun; and the sun in this case is mere publicity.

"Men who for years have been trusted implicitly by their fellows, and so placed in positions of honor and grave responsibility, are seen to be mere reckless speculators with the money of others, and petty pilferers of the savings of the poor and needy.

"Put bluntly, the situation which confronts Americans to-day is due to lack of moral principle. New statutes may be needed, but statutes will not put moral principle where it does not exist. The greed for gain and the greed for power have blinded men to the time-old distinction between right and wrong.

"Both among business men and at the bar are to be found advisers, counted shrewd and successful, who have substituted the penal code for the moral law as the standard of conduct.

"Right and wrong have given way to the subtler distinction between legal, not-illegal and illegal; or, better, perhaps, between honest, law-honest and dishonest.

"This new triumph of mind over morals is bad enough in itself; but when, in addition, its exponents secure material gain and professional prosperity it becomes a menace to our integrity as a people."

The recent revelations have disclosed to the millions facts that the most serious students of political and business life have long been cognizant of, but which have been circumstantially denied and branded as scandals when heretofore the charges have been made. Notwithstanding these denials, during recent years several of the most eminent and distinguished clergymen have from time to time boldly denounced the present downward tendency of high life in the American metropo-

lis. In David Graham Phillips' vital new work, *The Reign of Gilt*, he thus refers to the outspoken utterances of New York's eminent Protestant prelate in characterizing the plutocracy of the metropolis:

"He charged them," says Mr. Phillips, "with having 'the buying of legislatures as their highest distinction' and with 'appropriating the achievements of the scholar, the inventor, the pioneer in commerce or the arts, without rewarding them for the products of their genius,' he framed an indictment not on belief but on knowledge which becomes tremendous in view of the conservative character of his mind and his training, the dignity and responsibility of his position and the unequaled opportunity that is his to know whereof he speaks."

Mr. Phillips further quotes the following dismal conclusion based on the Bishop's intimate knowledge of the rise and onward march of triumphant plutocracy:

"The whole people are corrupted and corrupting! Moloch is god and his shrine is in almost every household in the republic!"

Now, while we incline to think that the last characterization is far too sweeping, yet it nevertheless emphasizes an evil condition that marks a certain section of American society that assumes leadership in business, political and social life—a section where dollar-worship is resulting in a materialism that is destructive to moral or spiritual growth.

III. The Solemn, Inescapable Duty of The Hour.

While it is well that this exposure of evil conditions is becoming so general that statesmanship, journalism, the pulpit and the school are finding voices to denounce instead of to condone, it must be remembered that the uncovering of corruption and moral degradation is not all that is demanded. Indeed, the general exposure may work evil instead of good if the moral leadership of our day and land is not great and wise enough to quickly organize an aggressive educational movement that shall work a positive and radical moral revolution and inaugurate a democratic renaissance. When Nast in *Harper's Weekly* and Jennings in the New York *Times* had revealed the almost incredible political corruption of the Tweed Ring, the leaders confidently cried that it would all soon "blow over"; and had it not been for the incorruptibility and the splendid grit and determination of *Harper's Weekly* and the New York *Times*, the exposures would have ended in nothing. With splendid loyalty to high moral ideals, however, these assailants of entrenched corruption persisted until the moral lethargy of the community had been overcome. In a word, they made the overthrow of the Ring inevitable by persistent educational agitation and appeals to the conscience side of life.

There are everywhere evidences that the high financiers, the trust extortioners, the railway law-defiers, and the recreant insurance officials are trusting that the present moral indignation will soon blow over, so that they may continue their corrupt practices and lawlessness. We can easily imagine the McCalls, the McCurdys, the Ryans, the Alexanders, the Perkinses, the Morgans, the Harrimans, the Cortelyous, the Odells, the Murphys, the McCarrens, and all the host of high financiers and political highbinders who have recently come under the white light of publicity, may be praying that the public indignation, due to the sickening revelations, will soon blow over. But it is the duty—the sacred, inescapable duty—of every patriot in America to see that there shall be no silence in regard to the evil conditions *until the corrupt order, fatal to free institutions, civic morality and permanent civilization, is utterly overthrown.*

IV. The Warning of History and The Message of Reason.

Every American has a solemn duty to perform, but to the leaders and the moulders of public opinion civilization has never entrusted a more sacred charge than that which devolves upon them to-day, for upon them depends the rescue and reinstatement of democracy. If they fail the republic now, reaction and the slow death of free institutions will surely come as did the decline and fall of Rome when vast fortunes became concentrated in the hands of the few, when centralization and militarism became dominant influences in government, and when the fine idealism of the earlier days gave place to materialistic egoism, gross, sordid and voluptuous in spirit and character.

As Thomas Nast awakened the sleeping conscience of the Empire City, so in the present hour of exposure of nation-wide corruption due to corporate wealth and privileged interests, no single class of men have done more than the American cartoonists. They

are forcing the millions to see things as they are. They are doing a work of incalculable value to democracy and the cause of justice and civic righteousness.

THE ARENA, believing that the cartoonist is one of the most potent prophets of freedom when the greatest need is to arouse the people out of a lethargy such as has marked the recent decades, and feeling that among our cartoonists to-day there was probably no artist who could portray symbolically more vividly the danger of dollar-worship—the supreme peril that confronts the republic and the fountain-head of present-day moral degradation—than Garnet Warren, whose famous cartoons in the Boston *Herald* are so widely copied, commissioned Mr. Warren to prepare a series of four pictures—cartoons that would compel men to think. The result we present this month. They are worthy of Mr. Warren's genius, worthy of the great republic, and suggestive of Thomas Nast at his best.

Perhaps the most impressive picture of the the set is the one entitled "Lest We Forget." No more effective lesson has been presented for the present hour than is found in this powerful allegorical cartoon showing Rome destroyed by false ideals, just as Columbia is threatened to-day.

When the ancient Romans wished to degrade and express brutal contempt for their prisoners or victims, they crucified them, and in the powerful cartoon representing Uncle Sam crucified by corporate greed on the cross of dollar-worship, we have a startling symbolic picture strongly suggestive of the brutal contempt shown for the republic, her laws and her constitution by the callous corporation magnates, "high financiers" and other prominent leaders of the militant plutocracy. The public-service corporations, the great coal, beef, grain and other trusts, the upholders of militarism and the defenders of child-labor in factory, mill and mine, no less than the hirelings of corporate greed who systematically block all remedial measures proposed to effectively protect the interests of the wealth-creators from the greed of the spoilers, are not only committing treason against the genius of free institutions and the cause of justice and social progress, but they are displaying their brutal contempt for the great democracy that was so long the moral leader of the world.

And beyond this exhibition on the part of the sordid enemies of democracy, beyond the shame which through them has been brought upon the great republic, which is so vividly symbolized in this essentially tragic cartoon, we note the emaciation of the typical figure, impressively suggesting the spoliation of the millions of wealth-creators who if they received their just reward for their industry would be happy, prosperous and joyous, but who are now condemned to a life of apprehension and ceaseless toil, with the shadow of a grimly portentous future ever falling before them,—all in order that the master-manipulators of "high finance" and corporate wealth may gorge to satiety. This tragic picture is a fit companion to "Lest We Forget."

In the service of humanity and progress all legitimate weapons are in order for the prophet, the artist or the poet. Humor has her warning symbolism, often carrying a great lesson instantly to the human mind. Irony and satire have also their places. Among the over-rich dollar-worshipers fads are in vogue. Monkey-parties and dinners to pet poodles are but extreme phases illustrating the degradation of modern sordid, materialistic society life among the plutocracy. One of the latest fads of this class is the collecting of automobiles of various makes, designs and patterns. This fad has suggested to Mr. Warren the third cartoon of our series—a biting satirical cartoon on American political life as suggestive in its way as are the ominous drawings that precede it. Uncle Sam is represented in the criminally careless mood of the average American voter who has allowed the money-controlled machines to fill the law-making citadels of the republic. He nonchalantly asks the public-service magnate if he also is an automobile collector.

Will any radical governmental railway legislation be enacted that will give the people the *substance* of relief and not merely the *shadow?* No, not while the railway corporations own the Washington automobile. Will the people of New York city obtain relief from the shameful plunder by the public-service companies and other grafters? Not while the public-service magnates own the Albany automobile. How long, O sons of Revolutionary ancestors, will you submit to the extortion and corruption of the modern Assyrians—*the spoilers of your wealth and the corruptors of government?*

Never has the materialism of the market, never has the degradation of dollar-worship, been more boldly exposed to the public gaze

"LEST WE FORGET."

(See Editorial "Lest We Forget.")

Drawn by Garnet Warren expressly for THE ARENA.

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BRIGHTON BRANCH.

THE SUM WORSHIPERS

How long is this to continue?

(See Editorial "Lest We Forget.")

Drawn by Garnet Warren expressly for THE ARENA.

than in recent years in America. Church, school and society have vied with each other in striving for the smile of corrupt and sordid wealth and in reaching out greedy hands for tainted gold. The bishop of the diocese of New York gave a startling picture of one phase of this degradation when he thus characterized the prostitution of American maidenhood:

"Hear a group of young girls whose fresh youth one would think ought, in the matter of their most tender and sacred affection, to be as free from sordid instinct as from the taint of a godless cynicism. You will find that they have their price, and are not to be had without it any more than a Circassian slave in the market of Bagdad."

The Congregational ministers who recently clothed themselves in dishonor by refusing to accept the very moderate resolution of Dr. Gladden, gave another painful exhibition of this degradation of dollar-worship. The acceptance by Yale College of the chloroforming golden crumbs thrown out by Mr. Rockefeller to the institution whose president had so vigorously urged social ostracism for those who had obtained their wealth by dishonorable or unfair means, effectively changed the voice of censure into the song of greed-intoxicated praise. But why multiply illustrations? Those mentioned are strictly typical, and they are ominous in that they show how rapidly moral idealism is giving place to the most degrading form of sordid materialism.

In his distinctly great cartoon on "The Sum Worshipers" Garnet Warren gives another picture well calculated to make conscientious and rational men and women arouse from their lethargy and join in the holiest crusade ever waged for the redemption of the noblest political ideals that have blessed the world.

THE AWAKENING OF EGYPT.

OUR ART feature this month is a fine half-tone reproduction of F. Edwin Elwell's famous symbolic work, "The Awakening of Egypt." In this picture we see the story of the evolution of art. The feet and lower limbs give us the high, conventional, static art of Ancient Egypt, even when this great ancient civilization was in its flower. In its breathing statues, so far as they reflect the physical man, no master-artists have ever surpassed, if, indeed, they have equaled, the masters of Hellas when her civilization was in its zenith, but Greece in her greatest moments never adequately appreciated the psychic or soul-life of man—man in the splendor of spiritual florescence such as the prophets of later-day civilization have apprehended him. The glory of the spiritual eluded for the most part the greatest men of genius which Grecian civilization produced. Now in the open-eyed face of this symbolic figure Mr. Elwell has expressed at once victory achieved, together with the reminiscent suggestion of the sadness—the age-long yearning and groping for something higher and truer—that one with spiritual vision may see impressed even on the noblest faces of our age and time. Here, also, we note the hand holding aloft the lotus, symbolic of spiritual life and sustenance, and crowning in its symbolic significance the work which reveals the story of the ascent of art, which is also the story of the ascent of the human soul.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE INSURANCE SITUATION.

AN EXPERT'S OPINION ON THE INSURANCE SITUATION, WITH TIMELY SUGGESTIONS TO LAWMAKERS.

APPRECIATING the fact that the insurance question largely occupies the attention of the American people to-day and that there are many points connected with it that are vitally important both to the policy-holders on the one hand and on the other to high-minded legislators who desire to see the interests of the people protected, we requested a friend to prepare a statement touching some of the most salient points now at issue. This gentleman, who is a high-minded, conscientious scholar, is peculiarly well fitted to speak intelligently on the question, as for several years he has made a somewhat close study of the whole field of insurance. Indeed, long before the present exposures of rottenness in the "Big Three" insurance companies of New York, he predicted to us that such revelations as have come to light would be made if a thorough exposure of the inside workings of these companies could be brought about. Since the investigation of the companies, our friend has followed the subject with the closest attention. He is, therefore, in a position to discuss the question as an expert. In reply to our request, he hands us the following, which we take pleasure in laying before our readers:

"(1) I have recently read somewhere that the New York *Sun* has charged Odell with receiving personally $75,000 of the corruption fund from life-insurance moneys. It may be found that the corruption ramifies even to this extent, but I cannot name the copy of the *Sun* in which this allegation was made.

"(2) It should be pointed out that so enormous a corruption fund as $800,000 from one company in a very few years, and the absence of proper vouchers to account for the expenditure of this money in any manner, leaves the President of the New York Life, John A. McCall, legitimately open to the suspicion that money that could be used without the return of any vouchers, may in part, and in large part, too, have gone to pay for that villa named 'Shadow Lawn.' That expensive folly may yet cast its dark shadow over the New York Life and its president. The people are ceasing to be astounded and are becoming so indignant that I never saw anything like it.

"(3) It should be noted that taxation has reached the most exorbitant excesses in Connecticut and Wisconsin where are located two companies, the Connecticut Mutual and the Northwestern Mutual Life, that have plagued the New York companies most by good results. Has there been an attempt to reduce these annoying results to policy-holders, by the use of corruption funds to promote legislation unduly taxing those companies in their home states? Does it not look exceedingly probable?

"(4) There is a lamentable lack of clearness in our best daily newspapers. A note in advance of the publication of Saturday's issue of the New York *Evening Post* announces that it will contain a discussion of the deferred dividend business as opposed to 'straight life.' That is an ignorant statement. It is very unfortunate that our best-intentioned editors have not a better grasp of the subject. Walter Wellman, in the *Inter-Ocean* and in the *Review of Reviews*, falls into similar blunders that lame his best intentions to contribute toward an honest understanding of the present situation. In an editorial about six inches long in the New York *Evening Post* last week, it was brought out that the New York Life is intensely hostile to suggestions of the payment of annual dividends. Mr. McCall tried to carry the idea that no important company was writing annual dividend policies and that not one-fiftieth of the business was written on such plans. He has gone so far lately as to confess frankly that the New York Life could not go on in business without deferring dividends for long terms. Now this is the root of the whole matter. The contrast is not between 'straight life' and the deferred dividend business. All sorts of policies, including straight life, limited-payment life, endowments, and limited-payment endowments, may have their dividends deferred for periods of five, ten, fifteen or twenty years or even

longer. Other policies which are also straight life, or limited-payment life, or endowments or limited payment endowments, might all have their dividends payable annually. Thus the true contrast and the real issue is between the payment of annual dividends and the deferral of surplus for long terms of years.

"The arrangement is ideal, when dividends are deferred, for the concealment of the condition of a company and for the denial of the most valuable publicity to policy-holders. Add the further fact that certain clauses in fine print in policy-contracts, best illustrated to-day by the fine print on the third page of all policies issued by the New York Life, provide that these companies shall hold their growing surplus irresponsibly and with no accounting until the end of such periods when an accounting gives no useful information. The clause to which I refer reads about as follows:

"'In any distribution of surplus or apportionment of profits, the principles and methods which may be adopted by the company for such apportionment and its determination of the amount equitably belonging to any policy which may be issued under this application shall be conclusive upon the insured under said policy and upon all parties having or claiming interest thereunder.'

"It assures what such a company needs, namely, an irresponsible control of all the margins derived from over-charges in premiums and interest on the same. Margins for safety are declared to be necessary and responsibility for their handling and for a proper accounting is denied. Thus is created a very dangerous situation. The policy-holder believes the representations of some agent and does not see the whole game. He willingly pays an excessive rate so that he may possibly provide a broad margin of safety and have returned to him something above the face of his policy from his over-payments. He is advised and misguided into taking a deferred dividend period, mostly of twenty years. He is not told by the company or by any one else that policies do not stay in force in deferred dividend companies handling a surplus in this manner for as long as eight years, on the average. Thus most policy-holders on the average come no nearer than within twelve years of the possibility of a declared dividend and never see one. The few who do complete their periods in spite of money wasted and graft paid from this surplus in every direction, may receive an apparently fair settlement, but the adjustment leaves millions of dollars to be diverted to uses such as have been disclosed and under accountings which are denied. The question is not, as in the old times of Tweed and Fisk: 'Where did he get it?'; the question is: 'What did they do with it?' Did they build country and city palaces and enrich all their relatives?

"Now the New York Life, in throwing out a fake or pretense of meeting the wishes of the public, will issue a seven-year equalization policy with partial dividends annually for each seven years and the promise of more at the end of each seven years, if it can be so alloted. No other company has this kind of policy and by offering this mode of giving annual dividends the New York Life hopes to escape publicity, comparison and a fair accounting all along the line. It is too contemptible for discussion.

"The legislators at Albany, in their next session will fail of their duty if they do not compel two things:

"(1) Substantial uniformity in policy-contracts, so that there may be a fairly substantial agreement in contracts issued by different companies. Thus a substantially fair basis for comparison will be compelled. The plain essentials of life insurance can be best given under the most common forms of policies and all misleading names and styles of policies used for flim-flam should be eliminated. Such policies have gone by the names of five per cent. gold bonds, debentures, consols and the like *ad nauseam*.

"(2) The legislators at Albany and elsewhere have a second duty which is to compel the payment of dividends annually, returning the over-payment each year to the pockets from which they came. These two provisions might compel the New York Life and the Mutual Life and the Equitable to nearly cease business, but it would be good for the public not to place their insurance in those companies to any large extent for the next two decades, and it would be equally good for the companies if such were the consequences of their past and present folly and wickedness.

"The public have a duty which they are little likely to exercise. These three companies have inflicted on themselves wounds from which the management of the angel Gabriel could not restore them in twenty years. The danger is that the public will for-

give and forget within twenty months and resume giving to these companies the tremendous volumes of business that they have secured in the past. Any man who would not in ordinary business act like a financial idiot should not be misled into any belief that any reforms can cure these companies of the harm done them within the last two decades, or make these companies such as warrant the use of hard-earned dollars in the payment to them of new premiums for policies to be issued in large volumes after all this newspaper discussion has ceased.

"And I might say in conclusion that it is as much the duty of those who censure wrongdoing in life insurance companies to commend those companies who have faithfully adhered to their duty of making $100 of the premium payment do the full work of $100 for the policyholder, as it is the duty of their journals to condemn reprehensible practices. There are companies by the dozen, and perhaps even a baker's dozen, that have not bowed the knee to Baal and that have been absolutely faithful to the interests of policy-holders. They have kept clear of campaign contributions, or legislative corruption funds, of syndicate transactions with profits diverted to personal gain, and they have waited with the feeling, 'O Lord, how long?' to see these present disclosures and the cure of these shameful evils.

"A splendid group of companies has been faithful to their trust. Let that not be forgotten or disbelieved by an angry or incredulous public. Many companies have known of these evils all along; they have not been strong enough to defeat them; they have lived in the hope of these disclosures for decades; and they ought not to be compelled now to hang their heads in shame while they have not participated in any manner in any of this evildoing. It is a time for sweeping reforms, but it is not a time for reckless condemnation. There is such a thing as sound life insurance and its principles are invaluable to humanity. The principles are almost ideally exemplified by the honorable management of many life insurance companies."

MUNICIPAL ADVANCE.

Growth of Sentiment in Favor of Municipal-Ownership.

THE RECENT Toledo convention, at which were present the mayors of various prominent American municipalities and leading Americans who are actively interested in good government of our cities, developed the fact that a large majority of the delegates were strongly in favor of municipal-ownership or control of public utilities. This indicates a rapid growth in public-ownership sentiment. Indeed, so remarkable and so uniform have been the results of municipal-ownership and operation in England and other Old World countries, and so completely have the persistently uttered falsehoods and misrepresentations sent out by the hired tools of public-service corporations been disproved, that the more thoughtful people everywhere who are not financially interested in public-service corporations are rapidly coming over to the ranks of those who favor the public obtaining the enormous benefits of their own public franchises.

The men who are garnering untold millions of dollars annually through the ownership and operation of the public utilities are becoming so genuinely alarmed that they have recently met in Philadelphia and determined to wage a relentless warfare on the interests of the people, in order that they may successfully retard the rising tide in favor of public-ownership. They know full well that unless they can do this, it will be impossible for them to long continue plundering the cities out of millions of dollars that should go to improve the service, lessen taxes and to lessen the cost of the public utilities to the people.

At the Philadelphia meeting recently held, President Ely of the American Street-Railway Association declared that public-ownership may soon be an issue in practical politics. "This is due," he explained, "to a mass of censorious statements in the public press. We must refute these statements or suffer by them."

Here we have the whole issue in a nutshell. Either the people must continue to be deceived and their servants corrupted, or the cities will

reap the golden harvest now being enjoyed by the corruptors of municipal and state government and those beneficiaries of special privileges will "suffer." We may therefore look for a general assault on public-ownership by cunning lawyers and by the numerous editors of daily papers that are beholden to public-service companies for advertising patronage or whose proprietors hold stock in these companies. The public-service corporations will spend millions of dollars in order to continue their reign of graft and loot. We believe, however, that the people are becoming so thoroughly alive to a realization of the double evil flowing from private-ownership of public utilities that the reign of this new despotism is well-nigh over. The people are generally coming to see that the chief fountain-head of political corruption is found in the private companies operating public utilities, and they also see that every year that the people permit their light, water and railways to be in the hands of private parties, the community is defrauded of millions of dollars that properly belong to the people.

In commenting on the utterances of President Ely, the Columbus *Press-Post*, one of the strongest and ablest dailies of Ohio, publishes the following pertinent editorial remarks:

"The street-railway syndicates do not like 'to suffer' and they are growing more and more fearful that the education of the people will cause just the kind of suffering that will hurt them most. There has been a mighty advance in the reasoning power of the people within a few years, and the subject on which their entire thought is concentrated at this moment is municipal-ownership of public utilities. How to get rid of corruption in municipal government, has been answered in hundreds of instances by the people rising in their intelligence and their power, and themselves taking under their own supervision and their own control their light, their waterworks systems, their garbage systems and the other utilities in which they are individually and collectively interested. The next logical step in this progressive and purifying movement is municipal control of street-railways; and the American Street-Railway Association is convinced that the people intend to take that step. Hence the cry of warning which the president of this association utters. He begs the question by calling municipal-ownership 'Socialism,' and characterizes its advocates as 'demagogues.' The people will not be diverted from their purpose or their rights by the mere calling of names; but they will one and all be able to discover the key which unlocks the secrets of the opposition, of the American Street-Railway Association, to municipal-ownership, which President Ely furnishes in the words: 'We must refute the statements or suffer by them.'"

These words from the *Press-Post* are typical of the utterances which are being made in various daily papers where the public-service companies have been unable to influence the proprietors of the journals. From the Atlantic to the Pacific the unfettered daily papers are coming out for public-ownership. The Hearst papers alone are educating millions of people every week. The magazines also are performing a splendid service in this respect by showing that private-ownership is the fountain-head of public corruption. In Boston since the establishment of Hearst's Boston *American* the citadel of the corrupt public-service companies has for the first time been effectively assailed. Last year this paper fought a splendid battle and won a decisive victory for the people against the gas octopus. Recently the editor has secured the services of Professor Frank Parsons, than whom there is no more careful or authoritative writer in America on public-ownership, to prepare a series of little lessons on municipal-ownership. These short editorials are driving the facts home in a most telling manner.

Fifteen Reasons Why The People Should Own Their Own Public Utilities.

The lessons of Professor Parsons deserve the widest circulation, because they are clear, concise and convincing. If space permitted we would summarize them, but at the present time it is only possible for us to republish Professor Parsons' fifteen reasons why the people should own and operate their utilities. These conclusions are the fruit of years of careful study and investigation of the subject by the author in Europe and America:

"Besides the savings to the people from low rates," observes this great authority, "public-ownership tends to secure absolute economy in production.

"1. A public plant does not have to pay dividends on watered stock.

"2. It does not have to pay dividends even on the actual investment.

"3. It does not have to retain lobbyists, or provide for the entertainment of councilmen or legislators or subscribe to campaign funds, or bear the expenses of pushing the nomination and election of men to protect its interests or give it new privileges, or pay blackmail to ward off the raids of cunning legislators and officials, etc.

"4. It does not have to advertise or solicit business.

"5. It is able to save a great deal by combination with other departments of public-service. Speaking of the low cost of electric-light in Dunkirk, the mayor of the city says: 'Our city owns its water-plant, and the great saving comes from the city's owning and operating both plants together.'

"6. Full public-ownership (that is, public-ownership free of debt) has no interest to pay.

"7. Even where public-ownership is incomplete, the people not owning the plant free of debt, they still have an advantage in respect to interest, because they can borrow at lower rates than the private companies have to pay.

"8. As cities usually act as their own insurers, public-ownership is free of tribute to the profits and agency-commissions of private insurance companies.

"9. There is often a large saving in salaries. A public plant pays its chief well, but does not pay the extravagant salaries awarded by millionaire monopolists to themselves or their substitutes in office.

"10. Public plants frequently gain through the higher efficiency of better treated and more contented labor.

"11. The losses occasioned by costly strikes and lockouts do not burden the ledgers of public works.

"12. Damages and costs of litigation are likely to be less with public than with private works. Accidents are fewer in a system that aims at good service and safety, and treats its employés well.

"13. The civic interest of the people leads to other economies through the increase of patronage and the lessening of waste. The larger the output, the lower the cost of production per unit of service, other things equal, and the tendency to waste electricity, water, etc., is much less when the people know that the service is a public one, the profits of which belong to them, than when they know that the service is rendered by a private corporation charging monopoly rates and making big profits for a few stockholders. These economies are intensified as education and experience with public-ownership develop the understanding and the civic patriotism of the people.

"14. The cost of numerous regulative commissions and interminable legislative investigations into the secrets of private monopolies would be saved by the extension of public-ownership.

"15. Legislation would cost us less were it not for the private monopolies. For a large part of the time and attention of our legislatures is given to them."

Following the fifteen reasons, Professor Parsons thus notices objections and protests that are constantly being raised by the agents of the public-service corporations:

"Private-ownership may claim an advantage through the payment of lower wages, but on broad grounds of public policy this is a very dubious advantage. It is like saving money by wearing paper clothes, or eating only one meal a day.

"Even on economic grounds the evidence is that in many lines of business the efficiency of well-paid labor is so great that the cost per unit is less than with poorly-paid labor.

"Moreover it would be fair in many cases to compare municipal-ownership with private-ownership on the basis of the private wage, subtracting from the operating expenses of the municipal plant the excess of the public wage above the company wage for the same work, on the ground that the increase of pay under public-ownership is not really a payment for gas or electric-light or transportation, but an investment in manhood and civilization.

"But whether this is done or not, the experience of Glasgow, Liverpool and other English and German cities with municipal and private tramways in the same localities, and the experience of hundreds of cities and towns in this country and in Europe with municipal water-works, gas and electric plants, etc., abundantly confirms the conclusion pointed to by the above considerations as to the superior economy of public-ownership wherever it is tried under reasonable conditions that permit it to work out its natural and legitimate results."

Result of Municipal Gas in Richmond, Virginia.

The recent report of superintendent W. P. Knowles of the municipal gas-plant of Richmond, Virginia, affords another illustration of the wisdom and practicality of the people owning and operating their own utilities. The report for the year shows a surplus of $84,440. The municipal plant was established in 1867. During the generation that elapsed from 1867 to 1897 the operation shows an actual surplus of $1,532,930 to the credit of the people. If it had been in the hands of a private corporation such as have exploited the people of New York, Boston and other American municipalities, the people would have paid extortionate prices for their gas, with the result that besides having been robbed for an inferior commodity, the city would have received no returns, while a few men would have acquired millions of dollars, a small portion of which would in all probability have been used to subsidize a corrupt political machine and to influence the press to discourse on the blessings of private-ownership and the perils of a city enriching itself by the legitimate fruits of its enormously valuable public franchises.

The Proposition to Install The Gothenburg System in Los Angeles.

Early in October, twenty-five prominent and wealthy citizens of Los Angeles, California, voted to incorporate a company which should propose the taking over of the liquor traffic of that city, under a system somewhat similar to that which has long been known as the Gothenburg system. The company makes the following offers to the city:

(1) To pay into the treasury of Los Angeles $180,000 a year, which is the present revenue paid by the saloon-keepers to the city.

(2) To close 125 of the 200 saloons now in full blast in Los Angeles, leaving but 75 in operation.

(3) To buy the furniture and fixtures in saloons at appraised valuation.

(4) To pay appraised valuation for good-will in instalments, paying for this in annual payments extending over a series of years.

(5) To turn into the city treasury for lowering taxes, all profits above six per cent. on actual amount of investment.

At a meeting held by the incorporators on the sixth of October, the following resotutions were adopted as embodying a summary of the evils that the organization would abate or remove:

"Relying on an intelligent and public-spirited citizenship to remedy admitted evils when a proper remedy is offered we call attention to certain evils of the retail liquor business in Los Angeles and suggest a remedy:

"*First*—There are too many saloons. No one will pretend to justify the existence of sixteen saloons within a radius of one block of a given point as being for the public good. If the two hundred saloons were reduced to seventy-five and these properly distributed no citizen would suffer any inconvenience and the public order and sobriety would be greatly promoted.

"The private saloon-keeper with his personal interest in the profits of the business is constantly tempted to sell to minors and to drunken men. The same motive causes a large majority of the saloon-keepers to adulterate their liquors, increasing their profits, but poisoning their patrons.

"From the nature of his business the saloon-keeper feels compelled to take an active part in local politics, and this activity is not conducive to good government.

"To remedy these and other evils connected with the business we propose the adoption of a modified form of the Gothenburg system. We will incorporate a company with ample capital."

The advantages claimed for the proposed system over that now in operation are as follows:

"*First*—The reduction in the number of saloons from two hundred to seventy-five.

"*Second*—The closing of all saloons of the disreputable class and the strict compliance with laws prohibiting the sale of liquor to minors and drunken men.

"*Third*—The sale of absolutely pure liquors.

"*Fourth*—The sale of non-intoxicating drinks and the preference given such drinks over intoxicating liquors.

"*Fifth*—The discouraging as far as possible of the treating habit.

"*Sixth*—The entire elimination of the private saloon-keeper and his organizations from local politics.

"*Seventh*—The large increase obtained in

the revenues of the city resulting from all the profits being paid into the city treasury, causing a very substantial reduction in the rate of taxation, or permitting the improvement of roads and parks and building of school-houses to an extent not possible with present revenues.

"In conclusion the committee says: 'The accomplishment of these purposes is worthy the best efforts of every good citizen. The wage-earner, the business and the professional man are alike interested in all that tends to improve our city. We appeal to every citizen who believes these reforms would advance the moral and material interests of Los Angeles to unite with us for their accomplishment.'"

It was claimed and shown by M. Alger in his able paper published in the ARENA for February of this year, that the Scandinavian system of handling the liquor traffic had resulted in a great diminution in the evils of intemperance and in a marked growth in the temperance sentiment in the country. We personally incline to believe that the system that prevails in Norway is preferable to that of Sweden. In the former land no profits go to the municipality, but are given to charitable institutions, so there is no incentive to increase the sale of liquor in order to lower taxes.

In any American city that adopts the Scandinavian system the voters should see to it that the hours of sale are restricted, as in Norway and Sweden; that rigid laws are made against selling liquor to minors and intoxicated persons; and, indeed, that all the wise measures of Scandinavia that have served to lessen the drink curse since the system has been introduced, should be incorporated into any charter granted.

ADVANCE IN COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENTS.

THE LAST YEAR'S SPLENDID RECORD OF COÖPERATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

WE HAVE recently received the report of the 37th Annual Coöperative Congress of Great Britain, which records another chapter of success in the splendid history of steady and healthily expansive growth of this most important economic movement. The report shows the present membership of the coöperative associations of Great Britain to be 2,208,942. The sales for the past year amounted to the enormous sum of £91,884,198, or about $419,420,990. The profits were £10,342,698, or about $51,913,490.

This year's congress was held at Paisley, in Scotland. It was attended by a number of delegates from Switzerland, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium and other countries. The inaugural address was delivered by the distinguished Dr. Hans Müller, the master-spirit among the Swiss coöperators. In his address, after commenting on the steady growth and magnificent showing made by the English coöperators, he said:

"It was a little more than twelve years ago when I first became acquainted with the results of British coöperation. The figures were then much smaller, but I can never forget the amazing impression I received when I read . . . that you had in the year 1889 one million members, thirty-six millions of annual trade, three millions of yearly profits, and twelve millions of accumulated capital.

"These figures acted on my mind like a ray of divine light. I felt as if its brightness had revealed to me the way which would lead out of the confusion of sterile social doctrines and theories to the long-sought-for ideal of a new harmonic order of our human society."

To Dr. Müller this movement offered a practical means of emancipating the millions "from the power of those who possess the instruments of industry." The great and successful business which the coöperators have builded up and the princely sum of over fifty million dollars now being divided in profits among the coöperators of Great Britain show that "workingmen, in spite of their lack of capital and trained business ability, are capable of building up large trading concerns and industries on their own account; that there is something stronger in the economic world than the almighty capital, and that this something is the coöperatively organized consumer."

Further in his address Dr. Müller said:

"What is . . . important to recognize is

that the whole of the capitalistic trades and industry of to-day is also dependent on the purchasing power of the masses. When a merchant or manufacturer cannot find any customers, or when he loses them by some accident, he is obliged to shut up his shop or close his mill. On the other hand, the more he can sell and manufacture, the more profit he makes, the richer he becomes. Every day we can make the observation that the main end of all business men is to secure themselves a sufficiently large number of customers. . . . Now a thoroughly logical conclusion to be drawn from this is that the present capitalistic or competitive system in trade and industry stands and falls with the profit paid by the consumer. If once the position of the consumer were such that he could say to merchants and enterprisers: 'No, thank you, I no longer require either your goods or your services; I now get all my things better and cheaper than if I dealt with you'—if the customer could thus speak to the profit-hunting commercial world, it would be all over with the reign of capital over labor. Capitalists and landlords would have to die out, unless they preferred to commence working as their fellow-creatures are obliged to do in order to get an honest living."

Good Work of The German Coöperative Union.

Among the delegates and visiting coöperators at the English Coöperative Congress was Herr Schmidtchen, representing the Coöperative Union of Germany. His association, he explained, was organized on the Rochdale plan and has adhered closely to the methods of the English coöperators. At present the German union has 650,000 members. During the past year they did a business of £10,150,000, or about $50,750,000. The clear profits paid back to the members amounted to £850,000, or about $4,250,000.

POLITICAL ADVANCE AT HOME AND ABROAD.

The Legal Voters' League.

ONE OF the most encouraging signs of the present time is the formation in different parts of the country of voters' leagues. In Colorado, since the publication in this magazine of the series of masterly papers by Hon. J. Warner Mills was commenced, there have been many signs of a municipal awakening very similar to that which in Philadelphia followed the exposures of corrupt conditions by Rudolph Blankenburg in The Arena during the present year. There has recently been formed in Colorado a Voters' League which in October issued the first number of a little paper entitled *The Voters' Bulletin*, with the motto, "A square deal for every voter." The new league, of which the *Bulletin* is the organ, has for its objects: (1) Honest and efficient men in public office; (2) A law to protect bank-depositors, with adequate and impartial supervision; (3) An efficient primary law assuring the rights of every voter; (4) Wise legislation for Colorado's welfare, through party organizations when possible, independent of them when necessary.

An organization somewhat similar in character has recently been formed in Camden, New Jersey, under the name of the Legal Voters' League. Its object is to protect legal voters in their rights, to weed out the bogus vote, and to assist in securing pure city and county government. All political parties in Camden are said to be represented in this league of earnest men bent on assisting in redeeming the city from corruptionists and grafters. It is stated that there were at least 6,000 bogus names on the registry list at the time of the last election in Camden alone. This is one of the legitimate fruits of machine-rule backed by the wealth of public-service corporations.

Such voters' leagues as those formed in Colorado and in Camden, New Jersey, should be organized in every American commonwealth, not merely for the purpose of purging elections of corruption and protecting the sanctity of the ballot-box, but also for the purpose of kindling again the old democratic spirit that marked the early days in the history of our country and which in the New England town-meeting days promoted a sound civic spirit

and kept the people ever alive to the import of all public questions. Let leagues for good citizenship be formed in every city. Let the rising tide of opposition against corruption, ring, machine and public-service corporation rule crystallize at once into an opposition that will prove effective and redemptive in character.

The Awakening of Russia.

Mr. William T. Stead, who has recently visited Russia, writing in the London *Review of Reviews* from Moscow, speaks of the wonderful awakening visible on every hand in the land of the Czar. "The ice cap of arbitrary rule," h observes, "that has lain heavy on the two continents is melting—melting faster than anyone believed to be possible, and already the released potencies of a mighty nation are beginning to reveal themselves with all the energy and delight of gladsome spring." Mr. Stead believes that for several years, at least, Russia will devote herself to internal improvement rather than to expansion. On this point his views were corroborated by one of the Russian ministers with whom he was in conversation. "The Manchurian war," said this minister, "was the last word of the extensive policy of the Russian Empire. We are now commencing our intensive period. It is with Empires as it is with farms. Hitherto the one idea of our peasants was to add to his acres. More land, always more land; that has been his one idea of increasing prosperity. It has not hitherto occurred to him that if he can make two blades of grass grow where one grows to-day he increases his wealth as much as if he doubled the acreage of his holding. One great task is to introduce the intensive system of agriculture among our Russian peasants. Instead of merely spreading themselves over the surface which they barely scratch, they must go deeper into the soil and develop the resources of their own holding. And the lesson is as important for the Empire as for the peasants."

Mr. Stead further refers to the boldness and the sweeping character of the demands of the Zemstvo Congress, which met in the latter part of September, as indicating the rapid rise of the spirit of freedom among the people. There were some three hundred representatives at this Congress, and the programme, which they outlined, demanded "equality before the law for all citizens; the freedom of conscience, faith, speech, press, meeting and association; popular control over finance and administration; representation based not on class, but on nationality; a national assembly elected by universal suffrage; the reform of education; a state system of workmen's insurance; revision of land tenure; distribution of land among the working peasantry" and other radical provisions. The fact that such a great representative congress dared to promulgate such a radical programme, and the further fact that the representatives at this congress were not labor agitators or radicals, but rather men who represented elements very similar in character to those which constituted our Continental congresses, would seem to promise great things for the future of Russia. The word of freedom has been spoken. The ideal of liberty has been scattered abroad. The night of despotism is passing in Russia.

Since writing the above Russia has been convulsed by great strikes and revolts which indicate most clearly that at last the giant is awakening. The despot at the head of the government and the bureaucracy under him may cherish the delusion that the days of autocracy are not well-nigh numbered, but the signs of the times indicate that with the brutal slaughter of innocent and unarmed men and women on that fateful January morning, now almost a year since, the present order wrote its own doom.

Lord Rosebery on The Curse of Partisanship.

In his introductory word that prefaces Mr. Alfred Stead's work on *Great Japan*, Lord Rosebery thus admirably characterizes the blight of partisan slavery which curses all lands where party government obtains:

"It is the curse of our country that so many, especially in high places, should worship party as a god. . . . Its operation blights efficiency. It keeps out of employment a great mass of precious ability. It puts into place, not the fittest, but the most eligible, from the party point-of-view—that is, very often the worst. Efficiency implies the rule of the fittest; party means the rule of something else, not the unfittest, but of the few fit, the accidentally not unfit, and the glaringly unfit."

In all countries where popular government exists, even in a limited degree, we find the

blight and curse of partisanship, excepting in a pure democracy like Switzerland, where the people are the real rulers and where they can finally pass on all legislation. In no country is the curse of partisanship so felt as in America, where the party-machines have been largely built up and are sustained by privileged interests, the trusts and corporations, and where they are used as the Grecian Horse to obtain mastery of the people's government. Popular Sovereignty will destroy this curse and restore the government to the people.

SCIENCE'S BATTLE WITH DISEASE.

International Tuberculosis Congress.

THE INTERNATIONAL Tuberculosis Congress which convened at Paris on October second, was one of the largest and most important gatherings of scientists from all parts of the world that has ever assembled to consider a single subject. There were 3,500 delegates present, representing thirty-three nations. At the opening of the congress President Loubet and several members of the French Cabinet, as well as a number of foreign ambassadors were present. The discussions and reports by the world's greatest authorities were of course the most important feature of the congress. The subject received further illumination from the exhibition of numbers of the most recent and successful devices for treating tuberculosis and models of hospitals and typical sanitary dwellings. Leading causes assigned for the ravages of tuberculosis were over-work, over-crowding, insufficient nutrition and alcoholism.

How Such Congresses Make For World Federation.

There are to-day many forces that are silently making for world unity and federation, among which there is perhaps no single influence more effective or positive than the great international scientific, social, economic and religious congresses that are being held every few months in various nations. Here meet the very flower of the intellectual world—the noblest apostles of science and the prophets of world progress. They come together, bound by the powerful ties of community of interest—ties so strong that before them all petty national conceits, hates and prejudices are lost sight of. They come as citizens of the world to meet brothers and comrades in the same battle for human progress; and each returns to his native land broadened and humanized, no longer a little provincial bigot, but a citizen of the universe who in most cases will henceforth throw his influence on the side of progress and world unity. No one can measure the influence for good of such congresses as this recently held in Paris, where thirty-three nations sent the flower of scholarship to commune together in regard to the minifying or abolition of one of the greatest sources of disease, misery and death in the world. Science is one of the greatest democratizers of the present as well as the handmaid of progress and civilization; and not the least of her splendid achievements is the drawing together in fraternal relationship and intercourse of the flower of all civilized lands.

THE PASSING OF A GREAT ACTOR.

Henry Irving and His Service to Dramatic Art.

THE RECENT death of Sir Henry Irving removed from the theater of active life a man who wrought more efficiently than any other individual during the present generation to make the stage of the Anglo-Saxon world a great engine for educational progress—a master-agency for culture and artistic intellectual education. He was an actor of marked ability, though far from being a man of trans-

cendent histrionic genius. Indeed, he lacked the great imaginative power that marks the highest order of genius. He was, in our judgment, incomparably inferior to Edwin Booth and certain other of the master-spirits who have walked the boards during the past thirty years. In certain plays he was distinctly great; in others his mannerisms were so conspicuous as to prevent the audience from losing sight of the play-actor in the *rôle* assumed. While, however, he lacked the rich imagination that is the crowning glory of the great poet, artist, musician or actor, he brought to his work the superb determination to excel and to be worthy of a world's praise which compels success, when, as was the case in this instance, it is united with untiring industry.

Henry Irving was indefatigable in his study and research. He was a tireless worker, with ever a high ideal and aim to urge him to the heights in his art work. Moreover, he possessed in a high degree the artistic temperament. His life is one of those conspicuous successes of our time that should prove an inspiration to ambitious youth, for he was in a high and noble sense a self-made man who rose by virtue of close and studious application, perseverence, industry and unremitting adhesion to a high and worthy ideal.

His real name was John Henry Brodribb. He was born in 1838 at Kemton, Somerset. His family determined that he should become a tradesman and secured him a position as a merchant's clerk while he was still quite young. Henry, however, had other dreams. When a small boy he set his heart on becoming an actor. His first appearance was at the age of twelve. The result was a dismal failure, but nothing daunted, he persevered. Failure only made him more resolute. He did not permit himself to be cast down. He had set out to succeed, and succeed he would. It was the possession of this spirit that carried him along through many dark days when weaker natures would have succumbed. More than this, he early set up a very high ideal which friends imagined preposterous and unattainable. Not only would he succeed, he promised himself, but he would rise to the head of the profession. He would enact the greatest *rôles* and enact them worthily. Such was the character and such the purpose of young Henry.

It was not until the seventies of the last century, however, that he scored a decided success in London. In "The Bells," "Richelieu," "Hamlet," "Macbeth," "Othello," "Richard III.," "Lear" and other plays he won a high degree of success. In 1878 he became manager of the Lyceum Theater, and from that time on he steadily rose by virtue of the high character of his work and the exceptional excellence of the entire performances produced under his management.

It was the dream of Henry Irving's life to make the stage a noble educational agency. He strove to dignify his profession and to compel men to respect the theater, by presenting noble dramatic creations in a worthy manner. Not only was his repertoire composed chiefly of the masterpieces of dramatic literature and plays that had a distinct educational value in cultivating an appreciation for the best in literature and otherwise broadening and deepening the culture of his auditors, but he to a greater degree than any other actor-manager of whom we have any knowledge, presented his plays with strict regard to the demands of historical verity. His scenery was painted by capable and sometimes eminent artists, and always so as to faithfully represent the scenes which formed the background of his plays. So also the stage setting and costumes were reproduced with the strictest reference to the demands of history, thus making his performances educational in a high degree.

In a time when cupidity and avarice were the master-passions of the coarse, materialistic managers who sought to make money by the production of *risque* plays and gorgeous spectacles wholly wanting in literary or real artistic value, and when the public taste inclined to the frivolous and evanescent, Henry Irving, be it said to his eternal credit, held true to the highest standard of dramatic art and with eyes riveted on a noble ideal never swerved to the right or to the left in his effort to educate the people to the appreciation of the best in dramatic art—an appreciation which would necessarily make the theater a positive agency for broad culture. He deserved and will receive a high place among the actors, the promoters of a worthy dramatic art and the indirect but potent educators of our time.

IN THE RELIGIOUS WORLD.

Barring Unitarians From The So-Called Christian Fellowship.

THE MOST astounding recent evidence of the persistence of the soul-dwarfing, spirit-stifling influence of dogmatic theology, when it is animated by the phariseeism that destroyed Jesus, slew Socrates and lit the fires of the Inquisition, was seen in the refusal on the part of the committee of arrangements to recognize Edward Everett Hale, Rev. Samuel Eliot and Hon. John D. Long as delegates to the convention of the Federation of Churches, on the grounds that they had been appointed by the Unitarian Church, and its belief in Jesus was such that it could not be recognized as a Christian church.

The Catholic Church denounced as heretics and unbelievers all persons who refused to accept the authority of the church, while the Protestant church stood for the right of private judgment. And yet in the morning of the twentieth century the committee representing the Federation of Churches refused to recognize as Christian the church of Channing, of Longfellow, of Emerson and of Lowell, of Hawthorne and of Motley, of Sarah Flower Adams, the author of "Nearer My God To Thee," and of Edward Everett Hale, and, indeed, of scores upon scores of the noblest and purest-minded leaders of thought and exemplars of the noblest character which the nineteenth century produced. The Unitarians, it is true, are free from the curse of creedal and dogmatic despotism, but they have a rule of faith, simple, fine and comprehensive, which is as follows:

"The Fatherhood of God.
"The Brotherhood of Man.
"The Leadership of Jesus.
"Salvation by Character.
"The Progress of Mankind onward and upward forever."

Such is the lofty and inspiring belief and ideal of conduct which animates this church that is barred from fellowship by the denominations that are proud to honor John D. Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan, Henry H. Rogers, and scores upon scores of other modern gamblers and buccaneers on the high seas of trade whose influence has demoralized and debauched the business ideals of the nation, corrupted public life and despoiled the many of millions of dollars that they should have rightfully possessed, while degrading the high standard of character that made the America of former days a mighty moral factor in the world's civilization.

In the light of recent revelations it is easy to see that if the great Nazarene who denounced the Pharisees who devoured widows' homes and for a pretense made long prayers, and who declared the favor of the Infinite to be for those who *did the will of God rather than for those who professed belief*, were upon earth to-day he would be unceremoniously barred from the churches which form a part of the so-called Christian Federation—churches which though tongue-tied in the presence of corrupt wealth, yet refuse to recognize as a fellow-Christian the illustrious chaplain of the United States Senate.

OUR LATEST AND GREATEST SOCIAL VISION: AN INTERPRETATION.*

A Book-Study.

I. The Chief Social Visions of Our Time.

DURING the last twenty years there have appeared more social visions and romances picturing forth an ideal civilization than have been published in any similiar period in history. Of these probably not more than three or four will hold a permanent place in literature. Many of them are to-day well-nigh forgotten. Mr. Bellamy's *Looking Backward* came as a pioneer vision in our time, and it found the public hungry for such a work. Hundreds of thousands of copies were sold. Mr. Blatchford's *Merrie England*, written down to the comprehension of the slow-thinking toilers of the Old World and giving a charming, easily understandable picture of a juster and truer civilization than has yet obtained, also enjoyed great popularity. Over a million copies, it is said, have been sold in Great Britain and America. William Morris' *News from Nowhere*, invested with that subtile witchery which is present in all his writings, appealed to a discriminating public who love that which is pure, simple, just and genuine; and many who plainly saw, where Mr. Morris harked backward to an outgrown past rather than pointed forward to the Promised Land, nevertheless felt and in a measure yielded to the charm of the great-hearted, genuine artist-soul who so selflessly wrought for the furtherance of a nobler and truer social order. In Mr. Howells' *A Traveler from Altruria* we have a finished literary work rendered especially attractive by the rapier-like thrusts of satire that one meets on almost every page and the delicious humor which permeates the work. Yet, like, Mr. Morris' vision this work appeals to scholars rather than to the masses, and it was, we think, far inferior as a social vision to several of the other books of this period, notably to Edward Bellamy's crowning production, *Equality*, a work upon which that fine, true social reformer put five of the best years of his life and which proved to be his last and noblest brain-child. In *Equality* Mr. Bellamy met and answered the various objections which critics had advanced against the social ideals of his former book; but the volume, which is incomparably superior to *Looking Backward* in almost every way, was not received with anything like the public favor accorded the earlier work. This was doubtless largely due to the rapid strides which materialistic commercialism, militarism and reaction had made through the subtile and often corrupt use of wealth in political and business life, and which exerted a baleful influence on the great public opinion-forming agencies of the republic as well as on public life, where incorruptible statesmen with lofty ideals were time and again driven into private life, while the sordid tools of corporate wealth were exalted to stations of honor and emolument. But the works of Mr. Bellamy, admirable as they were in many respects, lacked the poetic element, the rich imaginative quality that is the hall-mark of genius and that makes a tale, a message or a sermon live in the memory of the reader. This to a certain extent is also true of the other great social visions which we have mentioned. Now it is the poetic quality which in a marked degree is a distinguishing feature of our latest and we think in many respects our greatest social vision, *The Building of the City Beautiful*; and for this reason we believe it is destined to live in literature and to impress its message in a compelling way upon the best young minds of our time.

II. The Story as a Romance of Love and Service.

Considered as a romance of love and service, this story is as unique in literature as it is fascinating in its influence over the cultured imagination. The heroine is a Russian Jewess named Miriam. The hero is a man from the Western World. These two persons are the only characters of moment in the romance, but they are colossal because they are typical. One represents the full-orbed character developed from within, the perfected individual in whom the spiritual

* *The Building of the City Beautiful.* By Joaquin Miller. With Photogravure Frontispiece of the Author and his Mother. Printed on toned antique, deckel-edge, all-rag paper. Hand-sewed, with gold top. Bound in cloth with ornamental stamp in gold. Price $1.50 net. By mail $1.58. Trenton, N. J.: Albert Brandt, Publisher.

nature has blossomed grandly—blossomed side by side with physical and intellectual florescence. The other represents the spiritual dwarf whose heart is right, but his development has been chiefly from without, so that his spiritual vision has been dimmed. He has striven to do right but has groped in the dark, because of an early environment unfavorable to the calling out of the divine potentiality inherent in the human soul.

The narrator of the story meets Miriam, the heroine, in Jerusalem where she has come as secretary to Sir Moses Montefiore on his last journey to the Holy City. The character of Miriam is a noble creation, somewhat too idealistic for reality perhaps, yet none the less effective for the poet's purpose, as it is the ideal that is above and that lures to the heights, which raises man and nations. Miriam's vital thought, her lofty views and broad, sweet spirit attract with irresistible power the truth-seeker from the New World. Many are the happy hours they spend together in the vicinity of the Holy City and on the banks of the once sacred Nile. To the man the woman opens up a new world, showing him that the man "who lives for self alone is a very small man" and that "man must be saved from man." Never before has the Bible glowed with such living truth as now, when its hitherto obscure passages become luminous with new meaning as this stately maiden gives to them the interpretations that have come to her in hours of solitude and meditation; and all the time her teachings and influence are lifting his soul to a higher altitude. She is conquering the lion in the man and awakening the angel in his being. It is in this part of the romance that the poet becomes the mystic. The lion which Miriam subdued in the desert reveals the triumph of the divine over the animal in our nature. It is the driving back to subjection of the wild beast in all of us by the majestic command of the awakened spirit.

Then again, in the superb description of the entrance of the great African lion into the hall of Nimrod in the catacombs at Karnak, we have a step further in the soul's progress outlined. Here, after wandering through devious ways, groping from right to left, and slowly advancing to the room whose walls were said to emit ever a phosphorescent light, the man and woman at length stood before the throne of Nimrod. He, who in ages past as a mighty hunter overcame the beasts of earth, fitly typified the divine power which, outside or above our own spiritual strength, reinforces the high-born soul in the hour of supremest danger. In the hall of Nimrod the lion enters, and so striking in its poetic and dramatic quality is this weird and mystic portrayal, with its profound lesson, that we quote Mr. Miller's words:

"Reverently she approached the foot of the lofty throne and kneeled on the polished red granite below, where reached the staff, the long beam of the hunter's spear, still clutched in his right hand, and ready for use when he should rise again.

"How long they meditated there, in that soft and hallowed light and holy perfume of the past, no one can say. There are times that despise time, that throw time away as a drunken spendthrift throws coins away; and there is an intoxication of the soul and senses at times like this that puts the intoxication of the body, even from the rarest wines, to the blush.

"Suddenly there was a low, slow, deep rumble. It seemed as if the cavern, or court of the kingly dead, began to rock, and roll, and shake and tremble; then a roar!

"It rolled, bounded, echoed, rebounded, filled the place and all places, all the passes, got lost, could not find its way out, came back, bounded from wall to wall, from floor to ceiling, and finally went back and moaned and died in that lion's monstrous jaws and tawny mane.

"He rose up, came forward, and then, as if he had only been jesting at first in a sort of suppressed whisper, he roared again, again and again.

"Five steps of polished red granite of the throne of the mighty dead with spear in hand; but they made it at a single bound, she to the left and he to the right

"The man was about to pluck the spear from the dark and dusty hand and do battle for the woman he deified; but she looked him in the face across the face of the king, and he bowed his head and stepped back in silence, as her now burning hand reached further and fell familiarly on the outstretched left hand of of the mighty hunter where it rested on the arm of the throne.

"Was it a halo about her head? Was it divine fire that flamed from her burning hand? Nay, no questions. They cannot be answered here. We may only know that some subtile essence—fire? magnetism? electricity?—flowed and swept and shot from her hand, from her body, to his body. And then the mighty hunt-

er was on his feet. As the lion laid his long, strong paw on the third step of the throne, with his tail whipped back in the air and his two terrible hinder legs bent low and gathered for a leap at the man's throat, the spear was in place; face to face stood the lion and his master, once more and at last after all these thousands of years! And the lion knew his master. He knew him only from tradition; but the story of his powers had come down to him with his very blood, and he knew his kingly master when he met him, even in the house of death.

"Sullenly, slowly, and with a dignity worthy the occasion and the two mighty kings, the lion dragged, dragged, as if he had to drag it down by force, that great ponderous paw. It literally tore the granite, but he got it down. He got his eyes down from the eyes of the dead; and then sidewise, slowly, gracefully, grandly, with long and stately strides, only the quivering of his flanks telling of his anger, he bowed his head and left the court and crept from the fearful cavern. And when they had ceased to look and listen to make certain he was surely gone, the dead was sitting there as at first."

The man who meets the lion or the animal in life, and overcomes, will not want for aid from the Supreme God in hours of greatest trial; hours when the forces of the lower life advance with confident step to drag the soul from its spiritual eminence. Noble and profoundly true is the mystic lesson of the two lions in the pathway in this story of the ascent of the soul.

When the poet had completed the manuscript of this work, it was submitted to us with the request that we criticize it. After a careful reading we wrote, among other things, the following, which since re-reading the volume we repeat to-day:

"It is one of the most deeply religious works we have ever read. Now having made this remark, it may be unnecessary to add that it is not likely to be favorably received by the defenders of dogmatic or creedal theology. Jesus was the most profoundly religious man of His age; but the high priests of conventional theology charged Him with being a Sabbath breaker and accused Him of blasphemy. Even so, a work so deeply and nobly religious, so full of that vital, eternal truth which impels us upward and compels us to emulate the life of earth's truest benefactors, will not win the favor of those who, heedless of the injunction that the letter killeth and the spirit giveth life, permit the letter to blind them to the spirit of eternal law."

The story divides itself into three grand divisions. The first comprises the meeting of the man and the woman, the development of their friendship and their intercourse in Palestine and Egypt. In the second we follow the Western man in his futile attempt to build a City Beautiful; while the concluding division deals with the splendid success of Miriam in her attempt to emancipate man from the thralldom of injustice, based on privilege, convention and formalism.

In the first division of the work we have a picture drawn by a master-hand, of two souls that are typical in character, struggling toward the light. One, as we have observed, has developed from within,—that is, in accordance with the eternal law of growth that obtains throughout the living universe. Precisely as the bulb of the lily or the seed of the grape holds the potentiality of the perfect flower and the luscious fruit, so in the soul of man is impearled the potentiality of the divine or perfected character, but in each instance the growth must be from within. By profound musings on the higher aspects of life; by contemplation of the ideal, divorced from thought of self; by that meditation that opens the channels of the soul to the eternal verities that sustain the moral order and furnish sustenance to the spiritual life, just as the sun and the air quicken the life-germ in the seed and awaken it to life, to the expression of the divine potentiality that it has held from the beginning,—so this interior development leads to spiritual unfoldment—the growth from within—the florescence of the soul. And herein lies one of the most profound truths, upon the acceptance of which the perpetuation of civilization depends. By a reverent regard for the inner light—the still, small voice resident in all of us—we come *en rapport* with the higher moral consciousness of the universe, are connected as it were with the eternal reservoir of spiritual light, warmth and vitality, which leads to the unfoldment of all that is highest and most divine in man. Now Miriam is the type of this development, as two thousand years ago Christ stood as its supreme embodiment.

On the other hand, the man from the Western world is the type of the soul struggling Godward in an environment that has hampered and restricted it by dogmas, arbitrary rules of convention, customs, laws that are rooted in

PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATION MAGNATE—"DO I COLLECT AUTOMOBILES? OH YES, QUITE A *NUMBER*."

(See Editorial "Lest We Forget.")

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unwarranted assumptions of authority, ancient superstitions, and egoistic concepts that are in open antagonism to the eternal moral verities upon the recognition and acceptance of which depends the perfect fruit of a fully developed character. The man's development has been determined and shaped more largely by external influences than by internal promptings. He is the child of our age and land—the strange admixture that we all are, resulting from the cross-play of the moral verities and the artificial and dogmatic dicta of conventionalism and formalism, which are concerned with the outside of the cup and platter and which exalt the letter and destroy the spirit. All rules, laws, customs and conventions that are antagonistic to the fundamental demands of justice and freedom and the obligations imposed by the ideal of brotherhood born of the law of solidarity—in a word, all things that directly or indirectly antagonize the spirit of the Golden Rule, serve to cramp, hamper, dwarf and deform the soul, preventing its moral development.

Two acorns are plucked from a giant oak. One is planted in the soil of the field, where it may grow in freedom and respond to the influence of the sunshine and the air. The other is placed in a tiny pot which dwarfs its roots and robs them of that freedom which nature demands. The result is that the tree is a small, stunted, gnarled little expression of life, which the gardener frequently so bends and twists as to increase the deformity due to its natural environment. In after years the result is seen in the splendid monarch of the forest whose regal head towers toward the sky, while its brother is a tiny, deformed little dwarf, robbed of its divine birthright to unfold in freedom the divine pattern.

So man, whose development is chiefly the result of conformity to arbitrary rules, dogmatic dicta and the regulations of convention, and who has never been taught to weigh all things in relation to the eternal moral verities, to seek the sanction of the inner voice and to loyally follow the ideal of right and justice that floats before the mental vision, though he may wish to be just and true, is confused in his moral and mental vision, because the bars—the rules and rites that are in opposition to the law of spiritual growth—have bound and fettered him as the little pot has fettered the oak. He has never learned to distinguish between that which is fundamentally true, noble, just and right, and that which is rooted in artificiality, in unwarranted authority, or in ancient customs and superstitions. Many things that are conventionally moral and proper are inherently immoral and degrading. Thus, for example, a pure, high-souled woman, seeing but the better side of a man, weds him. He is a slave to sensual appetites and to strong drink, and he develops into a drunkard and a brutal sensualist, demanding that his wife shall minister at his will to his animal lust, though the result of such yielding will be children who are cursed before they are born and who are destined to curse society and unborn generations yet to come. And yet conventional society and the formalists in the religious world hold such a union to be inviolable and the breaking of it to be immoral, blasphemously assuming that the Divine joined these two and that it is immoral to break a bond that if it remains will prove a fountain whose waters will pollute and curse the civilization of tomorrow. This is a typical illustration of what is conventionally moral, but what in the light of reason cannot be considered as other than fundamentally immoral.

Now, whenever we are in the presence of a development that is chiefly due to outside influences we find the mental and moral vision of the individual and society confused and blinded—a phenomenon which is painfully apparent in our present-day civilization.

In this profound social vision we find in the hero the typical man whose development has heretofore been chiefly from without, and during the period covered by the first division of the romance we see the influence which the spiritually-illumined Miriam is exercising upon him. She succeeds in making him feel and see the shortcomings and short-sightedness, the mental and moral confusion, and the injustice of things as they are. She impresses him with certain great luminous facts, until it begins to appear to him as "hardly fair that the man who laid the brick and mortar, and made the great sewers through the mud and malaria of Paris and London and such like cities, should not be able to eat meat more than twice a week without robbing his children, while the man who did no work at all, but walked about with his face held high in the sweet air, should have meat and wine twice each day—aye, many kinds of meat and wine, if he so desired."

She shows him very plainly that through toil and struggle only can happiness be attained—not through the death-dealing labor of one that ten may idle on the earnings of the toiler, but

that civilization must come to appreciate the significance of God's first declaration after Eden's gates closed: "In the sweat of thy face" [not by the sweat of some one's else] "shalt thou eat bread till thou returnest to the ground."

At last his soul is awakened, but his condition is not unlike that of the man who was blind, when Jesus first touched his eyes, and he beheld "trees as men walking." That is, his vision was still confused. Now, the soul may be awakened, yet if it fails to get its bearings through profound meditation and introspection which encourages the voicing of the divine in the soul and places man *en rapport* with the moral consciousness of the universe, the eye of reason will still remain dim and confusion will often result where only the best intentions are present. Noble moral dicta, to the one not yet spiritually clear-seeing, will often become as sharp-edged tools in the hands of the child. The child would use the sharp chisel which in the hands of the skilled sculptor is instrumental in making the breathing statue, in such a way as to destroy the block of marble and at the same time injure himself.

And this brings us to the second grand division of the work. The man, with heart all aflame with moral enthusiasm but still under the spell of the superficial and the artificial that have before his meeting with Miriam played upon his brain and been the master-influences of his life, sets forth to build the City Beautiful. He does not take sufficient counsel with his soul. Jesus, it will be remembered, frequently fled to the silent recesses of the mountain to come *en rapport* with the Infinite. All great spiritual leaders have gained divine inspiration in the silence, in perfect communion with the divine within their being and with that which enwraps the universe. Our Western city-builder, with heart right but with mental vision confused, attempts to build his city on the heights overlooking San Francisco. Below is the great city, rife with temptations, a lure for the weak who should rise but who are not yet strong enough to resist temptations when they are ever before their eyes. The story of the noble attempt and the failure, of the result which followed the effort to literally carry out high injunctions without interior wisdom, to follow the spirit of the teachings, is one of the most deeply suggestive moral lessons in recent literature. It is a story replete with interest and charm; it is a leaf from the poet's own life experience; it is history no less than romance; and it is vitally valuable because it shows that in the spiritual or moral realm no less than in physical life, wisdom—the interior or divine wisdom—must guide the brain, for it will reveal to the reason the eternal moral verities that have been recognized and accepted by earth's noblest sages, philosophers, prophets and poets in all ages, and upon the full recognition of which depend man's growth and freedom no less than the upward march of civilization. But though from the superficial or external view, the man's high-purposed effort results in a sad failure, here as everywhere noble purpose and true action bring measured recompense. Through his failure the man has grown Godward, because he has been actuated by the divine or spiritual impulses; and this failure so develops his soul that his interior vision is rendered susceptible to the reception of the higher truth and he is enabled to enter the realm of victory and behold the New Jerusalem that is to be on earth—the City Beautiful that shall come, shall surely come, when man is great and wise enough to place moral rectitude above all other considerations; when he yields to the guidance of the basic ethical verities that foster the development of full-orbed character, wherein the light of reason and the warmth of love play on the soul unfettered by artificial bonds as the sunlight and the air act on the plant, wooing forth the perfect flower and fruit.

To us no social vision has yet appeared that is so profound in its philosophy, so rich in most vital truth, as this master-creation of our poet of the Sierras. It is a prose-poem which contains the supreme message for the incoming age, a message teaching that the rise of man is dependent upon the supremacy of the spiritual, possible only through interior development, and which will result in the establishment of conditions so essentially just as to make happiness, prosperity and growth as natural and inevitable as the floral glory that companions spring and the rich fruitage that decks the triumphal car of autumn—conditions so favorable to the absolutely free and untrammeled development of all that is finest in man that the beast that has for millions of years been slowly receding will disappear before the angel of light, the unfolded ideal of divine beauty that is resident in the soul.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Russia. By Théophile Gautier. Translated from the French with additions by Florence MacIntyre Tyson. Illustrated with fifty photogravures. Two volumes. Crown 8vo. Cloth, gilt tops; in cloth box. Price, $5.00. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company.

PERSONS desiring to make a friend possessing literary taste, or a lover of the most artistic creations known to the book-maker's art, a sumptuous Christmas present will look far before they will find a more beautiful or attractive work than the magnificent two-volume set, entitled *Russia*, by Théophile Gautier and other distinguished Frenchmen who were masters in literature as well as famous travelers. The work is further enchanced in interest by some brilliant chapters written by Florence MacIntyre Tyson on Siberia and Russia in the Far East.

As literature, and as a mine of information, these volumes call for special notice. They are written in the charming style for which French men of letters are justly famous, and give a vivid and comprehensive picture of Russia, the land and her people; the customs, habits and peculiarities of all classes of citizens; the cities and country with the peculiarities of each; famous objects of historic interest, the art, the literature and other distinguishing characteristics of this vast empire that stretches over a large part of two continents. All these things are described in so fascinating a manner that the reader is led from page to page, experiencing the delight only possible when enjoying an interesting theme in the hands of master-writers. Much of the information contained in this work might be gathered from histories and books of travel, but we know of no similar work which contains such a fund of information told in so fascinating a manner or in so finished a literary style. The last five chapters of volume two deal with "Siberia," "Smiling Siberia," "The Tea Kingdom," "The Basin of the Amur," and "Russian Policy in the East." In these chapters the great Empire of the Czar that lies in the north and east of Asia is vividly described. The Russian policy in the East is set forth graphically. The aggressions of The Bear in China and the opposition offered by the Japanese Empire, which culminated in the recent war, are all dwelt upon in a clear, interesting and informing manner. This brings the work down to the beginning of the present year and materially increases the reader's interest in the subject.

The art features of the work are in perfect keeping with its literary excellence. Here are found fifty full-page photogravures, reproductions of beautiful photographs printed in delicate tints.

The general make-up of the work leaves nothing to be desired. The text is printed on fine ivory-finished paper. The volumes are bound in the best quality of silk cloth, richly embossed in gold. Each book contains an Italian cloth jacket stamped in gold, and the two books are encased in a cloth-covered box. This work will make one of the most appropriate Christmas gifts of the season.

Versailles and the Court Under Louis XIV. By James Eugene Farmer. 72 illustrations in tint. Cloth. Pp. 550. Price, $3.50 net. Postage, 20 cents. New York: The Century Company.

THE AUTHOR of this work has spent much time in France prosecuting his investigations for authentic data for this volume. His first work, *Essays on French History*, gained for him an enviable position among the younger historians in both Europe and America. Shortly after its appearance he was elected to membership in the Société dé l'Histoire de la Revolution Française. At the present time he is Master of History and Literature in the famous St. Paul's School of Concord, New Hampshire.

This volume is one of the most sumptuous holiday works of the year, a credit to the book-maker's art of the New World, and altogether one of the most beautiful of the many richly gotten up Christmas volumes of the present season. Its content matter, though of special value to those interested in historical research, will prove interesting to all persons

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

of culture, for the court of Louis XIV. was the center of the greatest power of the Europe of the day, the scene of unrivalled brilliancy, of the most lavish expenditure of wealth, and of the most punctilious manners. It was also the scene of those inevitable attendants of vast wealth gathered with little or no regard for the principles of human rights,—corruption, immorality and superficial life; a theater of action where outwardly great attention was paid to religious forms, rites and assumptions, yet where under the cover of religion and conventional respectability, the license and excesses of the grossest materialism prevailed. The court of Louis XIV. was outwardly the most brilliant and seemingly powerful thrones of modern times, yet it was almost wholly wanting in that moral idealism that rejuvenates and gives lasting greatness to nations and civilizations. Its splendor and wealth were gained at the sacrifice of justice and the comfort of the millions, and it made the horrors of the French Revolution inevitable. The vast wealth that was lavished on Versailles, that ministered to the debauched pleasures of the sensual court, and that was used to corrupt the venal statesmen of foreign European nations, was drawn from the people, whose poverty, misery and wretchedness naturally resulted in a condition of progressive brutalization and savagery that found expression in the ferocities of the great Revolution. The long reign of Louis XIV. was to the superficial observer the most brilliant rule in the annals of the French kings. The advance made by the royal arms and statesmanship under the direction of the king long seemed to threaten the integrity of Europe and to indicate a preëminent position for France in the family of nations; and such might have been the result had the foundations been sound. But to the profound student of the day, who from the crown and the sensual court turned to the misery and degradation of the people, it would have been perfectly evident that the splendor of the throne was the glory of the autumn tints that speak of the rapid approach of self-invited death. Nations no less than individuals cannot trifle with the fundamental laws of justice, equity and righteousness without planting in their own vitals the seeds of destruction.

For the reasons just stated, the history and descriptions of the court of Louis XIV. possess a peculiar interest and value, from both the view-point of the historian and that of the political economist. Our author has given us a volume of real value as an admirable pen-picture of the court. He has, perhaps, been rather too detailed for some readers in his description of etiquette and other matters that though of value to historians might be treated, it seems to us, more briefly. Yet on the whole the volume is an admirable work and an important contribution to historical literature. It is divided into four parts, in which the palace, the park, the king and the court receive special consideration. The wonder and splendor of Versailles are unfolded in a most vivid picture as a fitting background for the consideration of the Grand Monarch and his showy if superficial and corrupt court.

The numerous illustrations are of a very superior character and contribute largely to the attractiveness of the work. This is a book that will delight the lovers of the history of monarchal courts who also delight in the possession of books which represent the triumph of the book-maker's art.

Riley Songs O' Cheer. By James Whitcomb Riley. With more than eighty illustrations by Will Vawter. Cloth. Pp. 196. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

James Whitcomb Riley is without question the most popular of the people's singers of to-day. His poems are those simple and heartfelt lays that catch the fancy of the millions and sing themselves into the heart of humanity. Moreover, he is a true artist who, while picturing the country life with photographic fidelity, throws over it the idealistic witchery that a great artist puts into his pictures, but which wholly eludes the camera. In that element in which the idealist is often truer than the realist, Riley excels. The realist, unless he be a great artist possessed of imagination, concerns himself chiefly with the objective things of life. He paints the picture as he sees it with marvelous fidelity and detail. He describes the actions, the conditions and the environment of his characters, but too frequently he fails—most signally fails—in portraying the spiritual atmosphere or the soul life—that interior something which means more than ought else in the experience of every life. Now the true poet, the true artist, the true novelist must be possessed of a degree of imagination that will enable him to enter this Holiest of Holies, to catch that elusive something that gives charm, meaning and capacity for great joy or grief to life and to come in *rapport* with the soul of be-

ing. Now it is in this imaginative quality of Riley's that we find one of the chief charms of his marvelously faithful portrayals of common life in his simple, heartfelt poems. Riley is a true poet and voices the world of sentiment, aspiration and yearning common to the normal life of the people. Hence, he is loved by the millions.

The present volume contains over fifty of the poet's later creations dealing with many phases of the simple life from the cradle to the tomb. As the title would indicate, the poems are for the most part of a cheerful character, though there are others, as should be the case when life in its varying moods is pictured, which voice the deeper notes of yearning and aspiration born of the graver experiences of life, and some of the most beautiful of the poems are deeply pathetic in character.

The volume is illustrated with more than four-score pictures drawn by Will Vawter. Some of them are printed in colors; many are full-page half-tones, and in all the artist seems to have entered into perfect *rapport* with the poet. Indeed, it is not too much to say that these pictures are as excellent in their way as are the poems they illustrate. This is a rare book for a Christmas token of love for one who delights in the poet's faithful mirroring of the common life with its joys, its sorrows, its aspirations and its yearnings.

The Reign of Gilt. By David Graham Phillips. Cloth. Pp. 295. Price, $1.00 net. New York: James Pott & Company.

THERE are two characteristics about everything that comes from the versatile and prolific pen of David Graham Phillips. His writings are sure to be interesting and they are always worth the reading. Such a criticism can rarely be truthfully made in connection with the work of one who writes as much as does this author. His style frequently suggests Victor Hugo. Here we find the simple, crisp and telling short sentences; here is the same bold throwing out of startling thoughts that are calculated to make one stop, think and ask if it is true; and here, also, we frequently meet with striking antitheses such as are a marked feature of the great Frenchman's work. True Mr. Phillips has some of the failings as well as the excellences of the bright, up-to-date journalist. He occasionally slips into slang phrasing or employs expressions that are out of keeping with the general tone of his discussion, but these slips are not sufficiently frequent to seriously mar his work.

Most of his recent writing has been in the field of fiction, but this work consists of a series of brilliant essays dealing with the overshadowing questions of the hour—Plutocracy and Democracy. The first half of the volume deals with plutocracy. With the precision of a surgeon dissecting a human body, our skilful anatomist of present social and political phenomena dissects plutocracy. We do not think that the pitiful, hollow, artificial and essentially soul-destroying struggle of the parvenue gold-pedestaled aristocracy of the New World has ever been so graphically described as in the eight chapters which constitute the first half of this volume and in which such subjects as "Plutocracy at Home," "Youth Among the Money-Maniacs," "Caste-Compellers," "Pauper-Making," "The Made-Over White House," and "And Europe Laughs" are discussed. "The Made-Over White House" is an essay that every sensible American should read, for here Mr. Phillips shows how the present incumbent of the White House has yielded as did none of his predecessors to the pressure of plutocracy and subserviency in the effort of the caste-compellers to make the White House conform to the ideal of monarchal courts.

"The newly evolved notion," he tells us, "of the Presidential office is that it is the center of political, intellectual and sociological authority and also of social honor. Not only must the democratic—or plutocratic—overlord, anointed with the new kind of divine oil, be the embodiment and exponent of the popular will; he must also be the source of honor, the recognizer of merit.

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"Mr. Roosevelt, confident that the people understood and approved him, and full of enthusiasm for his exalted concept of a new Presidency to suit a new era of the republic, boldly ventured where other Presidents had shrunk back. He demanded adequate quarters for the imperial democratic court. The result is a new White House, a fit theater for plutocratic social activities, a fit field for the operations of an energetic and sympathetic Lord Great Chamberlain.

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"The new White House, which is thus in a fair way to become the social center of the republic, is in one sense the first step toward an

entirely new Washington. In every street at all fit for presidential purposes great houses are going up for the leisurely rich, and smaller but attractive houses for the leisurely well-to-do. It is obvious to the most casual observer that to-morrow will see a brilliant and numerous society seated at Washington, a society devoted to luxury and entertaining and revolving around the President, and dazzling and dominating the servants of the people. Of all the bribes, which is so seductive, so insidiously corrupting as the social bribe?

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"It is indeed audacious to be a democratic President with the ceremonial of a king—'a ceremonial more rigid than that of the court of the Czar,' according to the wife of one of the ambassadors.

"The White House demand upon Congress for running expenses has leaped from the former twenty-five thousand dollars to sixty thousand dollars. As the President's salary is just under a thousand dollars a week, and as he evidently believes the people expect the President to spend his salary upon the embellishment of the position, it appears that the new White House, the new court, is now on the average costing in the neighborhood of two thousand dollars a week, half from the pocket of the people, the other half from the President's private pocket.

"As the heavy expense is crowded into five months of the year—December to April inclusive—the probabilities are that the new White House is costing during the season not far from three thousand dollars a week. This means that the new departure has certainly doubled, and perhaps trebled, the cost of the White House court, for most Presidents have contributed about half their salary toward holding court and have called on Congress for a supplementary appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars a year."

Very suggestive are the following observations:

"It still remains true, as when Burke said it, 'the public is poor.' True, the nation has riches, but only a few have wealth. True, wages have not actually increased over what they were *thirty years ago*. True, the incomes of the great mass of Americans are just about where they used to be; true, taxation is to them still a burden, and 'making both ends meet' is still an anxious problem. But our plutocrats and the representatives of kings and other tax-eaters and people-plundered must feel at home when they honor our White House with their presence.

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"And so rapidly is the White House developing that no one need be astonished if it almost immediately becomes the Mecca of the whole American people. Any one who has studied the effect of social life upon political life, of social customs upon politics, will appreciate that that transformation might be of profound and far-reaching importance. It might be significant of a new kind of republic, of a fallen Democracy on this American continent. It might well mean that the dream of all aggressive, self-aggrandizing office-holders had at last been realized; that for the people-ruled public administration contemplated by the fathers and embodied in the Constitution had been substituted a real, people-ruling government.

"For, more powerful than any written laws, are the unwritten laws that bind men in the slowly, noiselessly forged chains of Habit."

The chapter "And Europe Laughs" should be read by every self-respecting American youth. It will tend to awaken his latent manhood and call to life the old-time democratic ideals that made our fathers glory in our being different from the caste-cursed, class-ruling despotisms of Europe.

The second half of the volume is entitled "Democracy." In this division Mr. Phillips considers such subjects as "The Compeller of Equality," "Democracy's Dynamo," "A Nation of Dreamers," "Not Generosity, but Justice," "The Inevitable Ideal," "Our Allies from Abroad," "The Real American Woman," and "The Man of To-day and To-morrow."

Now while depicting plutocracy as it is, while he recognizes "the plutocracy in politics, the plutocracy in business, the plutocracy in society, the plutocracy in the home—in its own homes," as our "peril," still he does not despair for democracy. Indeed, he is thoroughly confident that victory—a victory, indeed, such as even our fathers did not dream of, lies before us. Education, the universal education everywhere going on, in the school, in the street, in the newspapers, magazines and books and by word of mouth—this is the great democratic dynamo that will yet play havoc with the sordid, arrogant, unscrupulous and snobbish plutocracy. He also sees in the hosts of other

lands who refuse to be made slaves and serfs while a land is open that favors freedom of life and thought, another powerful factor for democracy.

He finds the plutocracy rampant in the nation's metropolis and that it is rapidly taking control of the nation's capital; that it is found in every great city, and that its baleful influences have affected society life in almost all of our larger towns. Yet he believes that the great heart of the American people is sound; that the ideal of democracy is inherent in the mighty masses; that though they may tolerate corruption and for a time bow to the "lords of land and money," the time will come—aye, and is hastening onward—when we, the people, will rise as a mighty moral giant and assert the divine dictum of democracy: that the principles enunciated in the Declaration and held dear by all the noblest of our statesmen, shall again become the governing power in the republic. In support of his views he advances many arguments, some of which are very convincing; others do not impress us with special force.

The closing chapter is devoted to "The Man of To-day and To-morrow" and is one of the noblest of the optimistic utterances that have sprung from the brain of an American thinker in recent years. It is a chapter that should be read in every free-school in America, read at every fireside of the republic, read from every pulpit where freedom of thought and the glory of democracy hold sway; for no one can hear it without being stirred by high and holy aspirations or without having his heat kindled with new appreciation for the precious heritage which the snobbish, monarchy-aping and soulless feudalism of the land is seeking to destroy.

Though we think Mr. Phillips underestimates the influence of corrupt wealth in America to-day and the degrading effect of the precedents that are being established, and though we believe that he overestimates the influence for democracy of the kind of education that is everywhere affecting the mind of the people, and while in other respects we fear that his views for the future of democracy are more rosy than the facts warrant, yet the general influence of this work will make for liberty, progress and democracy; for never before has the heinous and hollow character of plutocracy been more effectively laid bare to public view; never before has its presence been more impressively pressed home on the imagination or its baleful effect on the government been more luminously pictured; while seldom has democracy—pure democracy—been presented in so true a guise as in this book. And it is instinct with the true spirit; it is a book that will appeal to the imagination of the young in such a manner as to make for democracy. Therefore we say that he who loves the republic should buy, read and circulate *The Reign of Gilt*. The more such books are circulated, the more certainly and swiftly will come the democratic reaction for which we are all striving.

Washington and the West. Being the diary of George Washington during his journey into the Ohio Basin in 1784, with Introduction and Chapter on "Washington and the Awakening of the West." By Archer B. Hulbert. Pp. 218. Price, $2.00 net. Postage, 12 cents. New York: The Century Company.

COMPARATIVELY few men who win the plaudits of their age live in the love of after-generations and enjoy increasing fame as the years elapse. In our history this rare and unique distinction belongs in a marked degree to three great statesmen, Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. Each of them, noble types of emancipated manhood, died rich in the love of the people and revered by the finest and broadest natures of their times, and in each case the flight of years has but enhanced the luster of their richly-deserved fame. To us one of the most encouraging signs of the hour is found in the increasing interest being felt in the lives, thoughts and deeds of these greatest exponents of pure democracy among our statesmen.

The publication of Washington's diary made on his journey to the West in 1784, with an excellent introduction and the chapter on "Washington and the Awakening of the West," by Mr. Archer Hulbert, adds an important work to the literature which deals with the life of our first President. The work is especially valuable as giving us some strong sidelights on Washington the man. Here also we see, with his proper concern for his own property, which was a determining factor in his going west, the future of the nation is ever present in the mind of Washington, and we note in what perfect harmony were the views of Washington and Jefferson in regard to the vital importance of binding the settlers of the western territory to the eastern states by the strongest possible ties and of holding and developing all that splendid

western expanse possible. Both these great statesmen were expansionists in the high and noble sense of that word. Yet it is safe to say that both would have shrunk in horror from the modern militant dream of expansion by forcible aggression through the subjugation of peoples that have struggled for generations for independence, especially when it is admitted that the lands thus held in subjugation will never become an integral part of the Republic. In the expansion dream of Washington and Jefferson there was nothing inimical to the splendid basic ideals and principles of pure democracy.

The diary here given is of interest and value, but for most persons the introductory chapter and the discussion, which follows, dealing with "Washington and the Awakening of the West" will hold the greater interest. Mr. Hulbert treats the subject on the whole in a thoughtful and instructive manner.

The volume contains a fine picture of the Old Washington Mill in Pennsylvania and some carefully-drawn maps. It is a valuable addition to the literature dealing with Washington, the man and the statesman.

The Northerner. A Novel. By Norah Davis. Pp. 324. Price, $1.50. New York: The Century Company.

THIS bright and absorbing story suggests something of the freshness and virility of plants and trees that grow on the virgin soil. It is nothing if not original and redolent of the life it pictures, and as such it will challenge the interest of readers wearied with hackneyed tales of imitative brains. By this, however, we would not convey the idea that the author is a realist who throws the canons of literary convention to the winds. Far from that. Miss Davis gives the reader two excellent love stories within the cover of her book full of the idealism and romanticism dear to the general reader, but the atmosphere, the setting and the treatment are fresh, new and instinct with a happy blending of idealism and veritism.

The author has lived in the land she pictures. She knows the deep-rooted prejudice of the Southern people on the race question. She knows also the strong and compelling idealism along certain lines which marks our Southern population no less than their impetuosity and their whole-souled love and hate, and all these characteristics have been woven with consummate skill into the web and woof of her romance.

The principal hero, or at least the person who gives the title to the work, is a Northern capitalist—one of those masterful captains of industry who in the field of commercial fuedalism have taken the place of the daring barons of the old-time feudalistic order. This man, Falls by name, goes south to promote certain public utilities for private enrichment. He falls in love with the belle of the Alabama town in which his financial interests are located, but the town falls out with him, and largely because he awakens the strong race prejudice he encounters as stirring and exciting a series of experiences in business and love as a modern knight-errant could desire. Paralleling the experiences of the hero is the other love story in which the steadfast friend of Falls fights his own battles while also contending for his comrade. The end of the tale will not prove disappointing to the lover of romantic fiction. The interest awakened in the opening pages is sustained to the end of the tale, and there are many powerful and highly dramatic scenes. The supreme merit of the book lies, however, in the subtile delineation of Southern life with its love, its fear, its pride, its idealism and its prejudice.

This is the first work of a plucky, typical American girl who, endowed with a splendid courage and independence, achieved success in life from the time when sixteen years of age she was thrown on her own resources, and since which time, as school-teacher, journalist, and as court stenographer, she has made an independent livelihood.

The Social Secretary. By David Graham Phillips. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 197. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS story when published serially appeared, we believe, under a *nom de plume*, and we rather regret that it is now published with Mr. Phillips' name attached, because it is, we think, inferior to his other recent works. True, it is in a lighter vein—a vein that frequently suggests his admirable *Golden Fleece*, one of the most telling and faithful series of satirical pictures of social life in the New World that has appeared, but it seldom reaches the standard of excellence maintained throughout in *Golden Fleece*, while it can in no wise compare with *The Cost*, *The Plum-Tree*, or his

latest serial, *The Deluge*. This is not saying that *The Social Secretary* is not an altogether readable story, but rather that it is not up to the level Mr. Phillips has maintained in his latest works. Hence it is disappointing, coming from so gifted and brilliant a novelist. Having said this, let us glance at the book.

We have yet to read anything from the pen of David Graham Phillips that is not thoroughly interesting. Begin to read any of his books, and you are certain to peruse them to the end; and this charm or quality is present in *The Social Secretary*, which deals with the fortunes of a young lady in Washington, a representative of one of the old aristocratic families who have become financially embarrassed. The girl, who is well-connected, determines to earn an honorable livelihood by becoming the social secretary for Mrs. Burke, the wife of an immensely wealthy United States Senator who has recently come from the West and who has ambitions for the presidency, It is all-important that his home should become a social center in the nation's capital, and the heroine sets to work to accomplish this rather difficult feat, inasmuch as the Burkes are homely western people little acquainted with the frivolous, superficial and artificial life of Washington since that city began to ape the foibles of the monarchal capitals of Europe. In this delicate and difficult task the social secretary succeeds beyond the most sanguinary expectations of the Senator and his family.

In each of Mr. Phillips' novels one character stand out preëminent. This is usually a man, for he has been far more successful in depicting his heroes than his heroines. But in *The Social Secretary* the character in which he has excelled is that of a woman—the wife of the Senator—the lovable, homely, sincere and shrewd "Ma Burke." This character is drawn with great fidelity and is as delightful as it is true to life.

A thread of love runs through the story to its cheerful close, and there are many bits of delightful satire hitting off the absurd and undemocratic customs that are creeping into official Washington life since the government turned its back upon the grand old democratic ideals, became reactionary and military in spirit, and began to ape the monarchal courts of the Old World. Here is an example of this nature. The social secretary has been describing the new innovations in Washington life to the plain, sincere and uninitiated "Ma Burke," who exclaims:

"'How they would rear round at home if they knew what kind of a place Washington is! Why, I hear that up at the White House, when the President leaves the table for a while during meals, all the ladies—women, I mean—his wife, and all of them, have to rise and stand till he comes back.'

"'Yes,' I replied. 'He started that custom. I like ceremony, do n't you?'

"'No, I can't say that I do,' she drawled, 'out at home all the drones and pokes and nobodies are just crazy about getting out in feathers and red plush aprons and clanking and pawing round, trying to make out they're somebody. And I've always noticed that whenever anybody that is a somebody hankers after that sort of thing it's because he's got a streak of nobody in him. No, I do n't like it in Cal Walters out home, and I do n't like it in the President.'

"'We've got to do as the other capitals do,' said I. 'Naturally, as we get more and more ambassadors, and a bigger army, and the President more powerful, we become like the European courts.'"

Mr. Phillips rarely if ever takes up his pen without hitting off some of the undemocratic and reactionary customs and acts in our political life, and the iniquity, the shallowness and essential sinfulness of our present-day sordid commercialism. He among all our present-day novelists, we think, is the most efficient missionary, for he holds the mirror before our political and business-world and lets the people see things as they really are.

Washington. A Compilation of the Principal State Papers of George Washington. In embossed leather binding, designed by Blanche McManus Mansfield. 122 pages, with reproduction of the unfinished portrait of Washington by Gilbert Stuart as frontispiece. Price, in box, $1.00. New York: The Century Company.

One of the latest little volumes in The Century Company's well-known Thumb-Nail Series is entitled *Washington*. It is uniform with the early copies of this series which is a small vest-pocket edition richly bound in embossed leather. This volume contains W. E. H. Lecky's famous essay on "The Character of Washington" taken from his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, "Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the

United States," his "Address to the Officers in 1783," his "Circular Letter Addressed to the Governors of all the States on Disbanding the Army," his "Farewell Orders to the Armies of the United States," and his "Inaugural Address to Both Houses of Congress." Thus we have, brought within the compass of a little volume, matter that should be familiar in every American home—matter that cannot fail to rekindle the spirit of democracy in the heart of the people, and this at the present hour is especially needed, for we have far too little serious study of the fathers, else we would not see everywhere a movement toward reactionary government, bureaucratic aggression and a dangerous centralization inimical to the genius of democracy. If the lofty patriotism of Jefferson, Washington, Adams, Franklin and other of the great Republic-builders can be again infused into the minds of our voters, the rule of privileged interests, of corporate wealth, of ever narrowing classes and the enforcement of arbitrary rulings, not recognized in the organic law passed by the lawmakers, will give place to a rapid rise in power and democratic sentiment that shall re-establish the Republic of the old days and safeguard it by the introduction into the organic law of the nation of such urgently demanded ideal democratic measures to meet present conditions as are offered by the Initiative and Referendum.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

UNCLE SAM'S ROMANCE WITH SCIENCE AND THE SOIL: We desire to call the attention of all our readers to the opening paper in our series of special contributions, dealing with some constructive work being carried forward by the national government for the benefit, happiness and prosperity of all the people, by Mr. FRANK VROOMAN, of Washington. In this series there will be three papers dealing with the work of the Agricultural Department. The first appears in this issue and deals explicitly with the field. The other two will deal with the forest and the stream. These papers will be followed by contributions on the work of the Civil Service Commission and the Congressional Library. Mr. VROOMAN has been peculiarly fortunate in having been materially assisted by the officials of the Agricultural Department in verifying and substantiating his data. These papers, therefore, are authentic as well as highly instructive and interesting. Few writers possess in so eminent a degree as does Mr. VROOMAN the rare power of dealing with statistical subjects in such a way as to make them as interesting as romance.

The Economics of Moses and of Jesus: This month we publish the initial paper of a series of five important contributions from the scholarly pen of President GEORGE MCA. MILLER, of Ruskin University. President MILLER is not only one of the ablest advance educators of the land, but his legal training, his profound interest in social and economic justice and his broadly religious nature fit him in an eminent degree for the important work of bringing before present-day civilization in a clear, concise and interesting manner the economics of the great Hebrew law-giver and those of the founder of Christianity. For years he has made a deep study of this great question, and this series of papers represents the ripened fruition of his exhaustive research.

Mayor Johnson: One of the Strongest Leaders in Municipal Progress in America: Professor E. W. BEMIS is known the land over as one of the most fearless and incorruptible scholars in the field of social and economic research. He has conscientiously held true to the high trust imposed by democracy upon her prophets and servants, and he justly enjoys the love and respect of all friends of progress and free institutions. For many years Professor BEMIS has been intimately acquainted with Mayor TOM L. JOHNSON, of Cleveland, Ohio. Following our policy of securing papers from men especially well qualified to write on special subjects and writers whose reputations give weight to their utterances, we this month inaugurate our series dealing with leaders of the people and standard-bearers of progress with an admirable characterization of Mayor JOHNSON, by Professor BEMIS.

The Evolution of Marriage Ideals: In this issue we publish an important historical summary of marriage ideals. It is a strong, brave and extremely important paper—important to every one who wishes to properly understand the questions of marriage and divorce and to consider these vital subjects in the light of reason unclouded by superstition or prejudice. Our age demands two things above all others—the cultivation of character, or the permeating of the thought-world from which deeds flow with that fine, true, high, moral idealism that makes men brave in the face of all danger and steadfast in the doing of what he believes to be right, not because it will bring him reward or the praise of men but simply because *it is right;* and secondly, we need mental as well as moral courage. We are becoming a race of sycophants, cowards and mental dwarfs, willing to take what others say rather than exercise our God-given reason, and too ready to take up and unthinkingly repeat any shibboleth or cry raised by conventionalism or by classes, which are in many instances beneficiaries of privilege or the children of ancient superstition and unreasoning bigotry, without boldly, bravely and conscientiously

studying the whole question, as is our duty imposed by the Infinite who gave us the divine gift of reason that we might think for ourselves. On few questions is it more important for men and women to think bravely and independently than on those of marriage and divorce. For this reason Mr. SCHROEDER'S paper is a contribution of great value.

The Reign of Graft in Milwaukee: This month we publish another contribution on the corruption of American municipalities through privileged interests and machine politics. Wherever and whenever we find powerful privileged interests or great corporations operating public utilities, we find a corrupting power that acts like leaven in meal. These privileged interests soon find pliant tools who through liberal campaign-funds and other aids are pushed to the front in political parties, so they become the uncrowned kings or political arbiters of the parties in the community. With the wealth of privileged interests seeking political favors and protection in carrying forward plans to drain the wealth of the people into the pockets of the privileged few the boss is soon able to build a powerful machine through the operation of which the people are governed. The ideals of the community are debauched, the public servants are selected from the morally criminal classes, or those whose mental and ethical natures have been so weakened that they place party regularity above principles and moral integrity, and in a short time franchises worth hundreds of millions of dollars to the communities are given away to the masters of the boss who is the master of the machine, and with this evil condition once established corruption, dishonesty and moral degradation rapidly spread in various directions, affecting the whole body-politic and influencing in a great degree the business ideals and social concepts of the whole community. St. Louis, New York and Philadelphia have given us startling illustrations of this reign of graft and corruption. In Milwaukee the same sea of shame has been uncovered, as our readers will note when perusing Mr. MOWRY'S paper prepared for this issue of THE ARENA. Until the people demand and secure the initiative, referendum and right of recall they will be the victims of the most degrading form of despotism—a despotism of lawless privileged classes whose power to rob and debauch rests on corruption and the progressive moral degradation of the so-called people's representatives.

General San Martin: The Washington of South America: In this issue we give an illustrated paper on General SAN MARTIN, the noble liberator of South America. The sketch is from the pen of Professor FREDERIC M. NOA, who is unquestionably one of the best-equipped scholars of this country for the work of intelligently and sympathetically discussing the great men and splendid resources of Latin America. Professor NOA is a fine Spanish scholar—a man of broad education and culture—and he has for years made Latin America the subject of deep research.

Colorado Coal Trust: Every thoughtful American should read the astounding revelations of the spoliation of a great people, the defiance of law and the oppression of labor by a giant monopoly that poses hypocritically as the manifestation of beneficent feudalism which is vividly exposed in this month's issue by the Hon. J. WARNER MILLS. This powerful historical review of the Colorado Coal and Iron Trust is one of the most important contributions to the vital literature of exposure which has been published up to date. No man can afford to be indifferent to the crimes that are being carried forward by the great monopolies through the defiance of law, through the corruption of the electorate, the oppression of labor and the seizing upon and holding of the bountiful stores of wealth which Nature has provided, not for the few but for all the children of the common Father. The revelations made by Mr. MILLS, moreover, are typical of what is going on on every hand.

The Referendum News: We have received the first issue of *The Referendum News* published by the People's Sovereignty League of America. It is a publication that should be in the hands of every man and woman in America, as it is full of important information and news relating to the most vital issue before the citizens of our republic. For years Mr. GEORGE H. SHIBLEY, the editor of this publication and the President of the People's Sovereignty League, has freely given of his fortune while personally laboring with untiring zeal for the restoration of the government to the people through popular sovereignty, direct-legislation or majority-rule. In this work he has displayed the same splendid and unselfish patriotism that marked the course of ROBERT MORRIS when he labored unceasingly and freely gave his fortune in the darkest hours of the Revolutionary war to save the infant republic.

Years ago Mr. SHIBLEY became convinced that the salvation of the republic of the Fathers depended upon the restoration of the government to the people. He discerned, as did many other of our more thoughtful and far-seeing publicists (what the recent revelation of nation-wide corruption and graft in Wall street, in the great insurance companies and in our municipal, state and national government have of late forced upon the easy-going and overlong indifferent public mind of America), that the real government was rapidly passing into the hands of a small plutocracy who, through the corrupt bosses and controlled machines, was becoming the absolute master of the nation and through this mastery was also becoming the master of the people's bread, shelter, sources of warmth and other means of sustenance and comfort. When this alarming fact became clear to him, he at once devoted his life and his worldly goods to the inauguration of a systematic educational campaign for majority-rule. He has fought a splendid battle, and has done as much, if not more than any other single individual to awaken the nation to the importance of this most vital of all present-day issues.

The Referendum News, which is now issued for the purpose of disseminating a knowledge of this advance movement in the interest of popular sovereignty and of furthering the work, contains a vast amount of matter that should be in the possession of all earnest men and women. *The League will send a free copy of The News to every subscriber and reader of* THE ARENA who forwards his name and address within the next thirty days, and we earnestly urge our readers to send for this publication without fail, to read it carefully and to hand it to their friends.

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Some Christmas Suggestions to the Readers of THE ARENA.

WE ARE approaching the season when millions of our people will be racking their brains for happy inspirations to guide them in the search for Christmas presents for bestowing a token of love or friendship.

In speaking to the readers of THE ARENA we are addressing a cultured audience of earnest men and women who value really fine lit-

Da Vinci, Del.

HEAD OF A CHILD.
(Note the *per*-ception of head through hair.)

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loved and discriminating friends. In the selection of gifts certain things should always be borne in mind: (1) the fitness of the gift for the particular recipient; (2) the potential value of the gift to the friend; (3) the appropriateness in connection with the special anniversary which affords the opportunity for

erature presented in the highest style of the printer's art. Hence to you we address a few words that may help you in making a selection of gifts that will delight the loved ones remembered and materially add to or at least develop culture and pleasure.

PROFESSOR STIMSON'S SUPERB MASTERPIECE, "THE GATE BEAUTIFUL."

Among the many works that are richly worth the reading and which are of special value to lovers of art and of nature and to lovers of broad, fine and true culture, we know of no single volume that will yield anything like such pure pleasure and at the same time so broaden and deepen the education of the favored possessor as Professor John Ward Stimson's masterpiece, "THE GATE BEAUTIFUL." This volume is one of the most sumptuously gotten up works produced by master-craftsmen in America. It contains thousands of original and historic drawings and reproductions of rare and famous studies, drawings and paintings of old masters. But fine and attractive as is this wealth of illustration, it is secondary in importance to the subject-matter. The author treats of art in its relation to nature and to man's culture and development, in a manner as luminous as it is fascinating, and the fascination of the work is as great as the spell cast by the witchery of the imagination of a master in romance. To all students of art who aspire to do great work, and to all persons who are working for a great American art, this work is absolutely indispensable. But its value is by no means confined to the working-artist. It is, we believe, the most

Raphael, Del.

MOTHER AND CHILD.

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fundamental and practical treatise on art that has ever been written; and it is far more than this. It presents the vital principles of art as found in nature, and as must be manifest in all great creative work, with all the fascination that is born of the rich imagination of the true poet, painter and man of genius who is also in love with his theme and who through long study has become a master of his subject on the intellectual side. Here are art values, all presented in a masterly manner. Its utilitarian value, its esthetic worth, and its moral influence are presented in such a way as to open new worlds to the reader, be he artist, sage or philosopher. The eminent Episcopalian divine and ripe scholar, Rev. R. Heber Newton, did not in the least exaggerate when in writing of this work he said: "It is to American art what Ruskin's 'Modern Painters' was to the art of England. It is not merely the painter who may find inspiration in this noble work, but the clergyman, the teacher, the thoughtful man and woman in every line of life who would fain to be led into the Interpreter's House and see the inner meaning of things. It is a book to be read and pondered in quiet hours of deepest thought, when the soul would worship."

To the student of art and to any aspiring young person who desires to immensely broaden and deepen his or her culture in a vital and noble way, we believe that this book will prove the volume of volumes that will not only become a fountain of perpetual delight, but also an influence that will enrich the whole of after life. It is an ideal Christmas gift. It is also a sumptuous volume worthy of a permanent place in the libraries of all cultivated Americans.

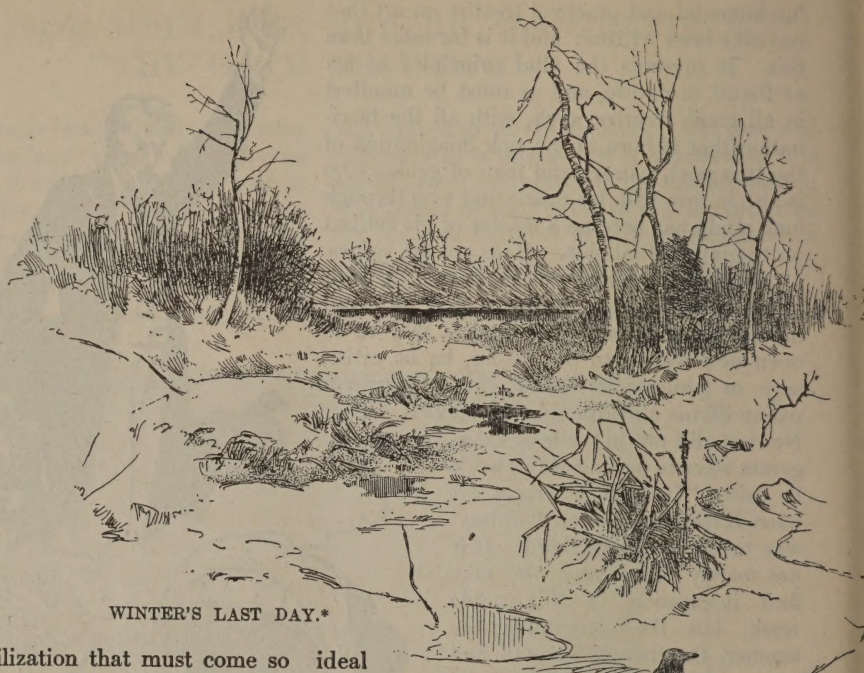
From Dan. Beard's "Moonblight." Copyright, 1904, by Albert Brandt. Entered at Stationers' Hall.

"I hold, if the Almighty had ever made a set of men that should do all the eating and none of the work, he would have made them with mouths only, and no hands; and if he had ever made another class that he had intended should do all the work and none of the eating, he would have made them without mouths and with all hands."—A. LINCOLN.

WHAT ABE LINCOLN DID SAY.

"THE BUILDING OF THE CITY BEAUTIFUL"—OUR NOBLEST SOCIAL VISION.

It is not necessary to call the attention of the regular readers of THE ARENA to the character of Joaquin Miller's social romance and vision, "THE BUILDING OF THE CITY BEAUTIFUL"; but for the hosts of new readers we would say that it possesses almost all the charms and few of the defects of the various social visions that have preceded it. Neither



WINTER'S LAST DAY.*

Mr. Howells' *A Traveler from Altruria*, William Morris' *News From Nowhere*, Mr. Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, nor Sir Thomas More's quaint *Utopia*, can, we think, compare in interest and charm with this marvelous story which is at once a prose poem, a love romance, a master sermon instinct with lofty ethics, and a social vision representing in large way the civilization that must come so soon as man is great enough and wise enough to be just and loving. Mr. Brandt has given the work an appropriate setting. It is handsomely printed on toned, laid-antique, deckel-edge, all-rag paper and contains a beautiful photogravure, on Imperial Japan vellum, of the author and his revered mother. It is hand-sewed, with gilt top, and is bound in cloth with ornamental stamp in gold. It is an ideal Christmas gift for all who love that which is good and pure and beautiful—all who seek to help the world onward and to make life richer, nobler and more grandly worth the while.

"IN NATURE'S REALM"—THE NATURE BOOK PAR EXCELLENCE.

Another volume that is peculiarly appropriate as a Christmas present for lovers of beautiful books, and especially for nature-lovers, is Dr. Abbott's "IN NATURE'S REALM." This is one of the handsomest specimens of the bookmaker's art that has come from the press of an American publisher. It contains, besides a photogravure frontispiece, ninety original drawings graphically illustrating and illuminating the text, which, however, possesses the rare charm imparted by one who loves forest, field and stream and their myriad inhabitants. Dr. Abbott, is, we think, the most gifted and fascinating of the goodly coterie of writers who have enriched our literature with nature works. This volume is printed on deckel-edge, all-rag paper, and is richly bound in cloth, carrying a picture cover in three tints and gold. It is an ideal Christmas gift for any lover of nature who is also a lover of beautiful books.

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"CAPE COD BALLADS"—NEW ENGLAND LIFE IN DIALECT AND SONG.

Have you a friend who is a lover of the homely and expressive dialect of New England, who also inclines to the simple, heartfelt lays which come from the brain of the people's poet? Then you will search far before you can find a volume of verse more altogether delightful than Joe Lincoln's "Cape Cod Ballads." The poems here found are so true to life, so fine and genuine, that they appeal with irresistible force to lovers of the real people who dwell on the farms, in the villages and on the sea-coast of New England. The volume has not inappropriately been termed a symphony in buff and brown. It is printed on a fine cream, all-rag paper and contains twenty-three fine drawings by Edward W. Kemble. It is bound in buff cloth stamped in gold and brown, the whole forming a beautiful little volume admirably adapted for gift purposes.

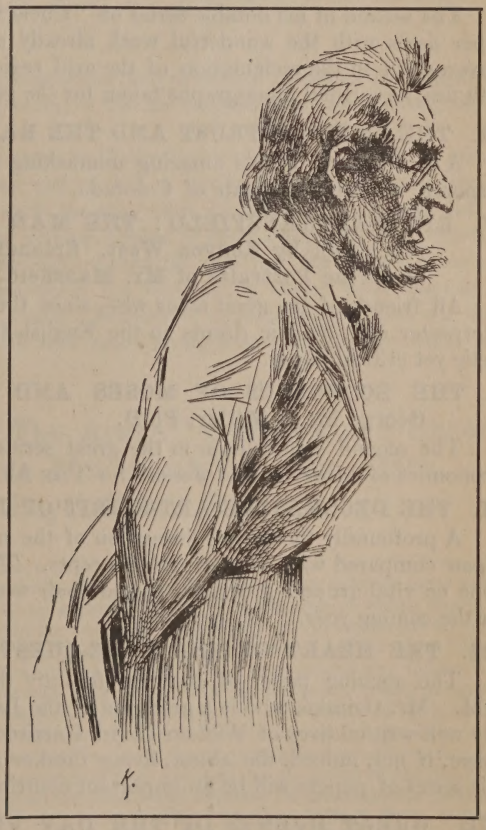
"MOONBLIGHT"—WRITTEN AND ILLUSTRATED BY DAN. BEARD.

Among your friends and acquaintances perhaps you have some social reformer friend who inclines toward the Single-Tax. If so you cannot do better than to present such a friend with a copy of Dan. Beard's "Moonblight." For the famous illustrator and author of this work is one of the most outspoken of the disciples of Henry George, and he has thrown all the enthusiasm of the social reformer into this romance of the coal region, which he has also illustrated with fifty pen-and-ink drawings which represent the artist at his best. "Moonblight" is to the Single-Taxer what Morris' *News From Nowhere* is to the Socialist. For the radical democrat with a leaning to the social philosophy of Henry George "Moonblight" will be a most acceptable present.

All these books represent the highest achievements in the book-maker's art as found in the New World. They are printed on all-rag paper, are hand-sewed and richly bound. More than this, *they can never be bought at "bargain" counters or at "bargain" prices.*

We believe the readers of The Arena will find in this list of books some presents that will be the source of joy and profit to appreciative friends, not for the Christmas season only, but during the long winter evenings and throughout many years that are to come, and that will also prove rich treasure-houses of fine, true thought, stimulating the mental faculties and cultivating high, fine idealism.

B. O. Flower.



"And with—ahem—er—as I said before."

THE SCHOOL-COMMITTEE MAN.

From "Cape Cod Ballads." Copyright, 1902, by Albert Brandt.

THE JANUARY "ARENA"

THE JANUARY "ARENA," which will open Volume XXXV., will be one of the ablest, handsomest and most notable issues of this review which has yet appeared. The following are a few strong features which we expect to publish and which cannot fail to be of interest and value to the more thoughtful and progressive American citizens.

I. THE RAILWAY EMPIRE IN THE UNITED STATES. By Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D., author of "The City for The People," "The Story of New Zealand," etc.

This is the most startling and illuminating paper on the Railway Question that has appeared. It is at once compact yet comprehensive, and is an amazing revelation of the power exerted by a few men over the government of the United States and the people of the republic. Professor Parsons for the last three years has given most of his time to an exhaustive study of the Railway Question, visiting various European nations as well as traveling throughout the republic and getting authentic data. This paper on the theme that is uppermost in Congress this winter should be read by every man who would keep abreast of the times.

II. MAKING THE WILDERNESS TO BLOSSOM AS THE ROSE. A Magnificently Illustrated Paper by Frank Vrooman.

The second of his notable series on "Uncle Sam's Romance With Science and the Soil." This paper deals with the wonderful work already achieved and being wrought by the United States' Government in the reclamation of the arid regions through irrigation. It is splendidly illustrated with finely-executed photographs taken for the government.

III. THE SMELTER-TRUST AND THE RAILROADS. By Hon. J. Warner Mills.

A continuation of his amazing unmasking of the march of plutocracy and the usurpation of corporate wealth in the state of Colorado.

IV. RICHARD MANSFIELD: THE MAN AND HIS WORK. A Critical Study and Appreciation by Kenyon West. Splendidly Illustrated With a Number of Exceptionally Fine Portraits of Mr. Mansfield.

All friends of the great actor who, since the death of Henry Irving, stands preëminent as the interpreter of histrionic drama in the English-speaking world, will be delighted with this sympathetic yet critical paper.

V. THE ECONOMICS OF MOSES AND PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS. By President George McA. Miller, Ph.D.

The second contribution in the great series of papers prepared by President Miller on "The Economics of Moses and of Jesus" for THE ARENA.

VI. THE DECORATIVE ART-SPIRIT OF JAPAN. By Mrs. F. Edwin Elwell.

A profoundly thoughtful discussion of the underlying principles of the decorative art-spirit of Japan compared with Western art concepts. This paper opens THE ARENA'S series of contributions on vital art and great artists and their work, which will be a strong feature of the magazine for the coming year.

VII. THE HEART OF THE RACE-QUESTION. By Archibald H. Grimké, A.M.

The opening paper of three profoundly thoughtful contributions by Archibald H. Grimké, A.M. Mr. Grimké, who is a graduate of the Law School of Harvard and the author of exceptionally well-written lives of William Lloyd Garrison and Charles Sumner, is recognized as one of the ablest, if not, indeed, the ablest, living thinker among the colored men of the United States, and this series of papers will be an important contribution to the vital but vexed race question.

VIII. GREAT EVENTS OF THE DAY VIEWED FROM THE STANDPOINT OF PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY. By B. O. Flower.

This editorial survey will be an extension of THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT and the most comprehensive and complete editorial examination of vital present-day happenings as seen from the view-point of progressive democracy that has yet appeared in THE ARENA. Among the important subjects discussed by Mr. Flower will be the November elections and their significance, important happenings in Europe, Africa and under the Southern Cross and issues that are vital in American social, economic and political life, as well as short articles relating to art, inventions, science, literature and religion.

"THE ARENA"

FOR 1906

B. O. FLOWER, - - - - Editor

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IN NO field of educational activity has steady and rapid progress been so marked as among the magazines. They are to-day as never before among the greatest educators and are unquestionably the most aggressive conscience-force in current literature.

The Arena, since it passed into the hands of the present publisher, has so steadily and rapidly increased in excellence that it is now everywhere recognized by press and readers as having surpassed in attractiveness and in value of subject-matter The Arena even of the early nineties, when its popularity was such that it distanced in circulation all the leading original reviews of opinion devoted to great living issues, with possibly one exception. Marked, however, as has been the improvement during the past year, the magazine has not yet reached our ideal of excellence. We have also appreciated the fact that it wanted some elements of popularity which a review occupying its position should possess. In order to make it conform with our ideal and at the same time to greatly add to its popularity, we have made arrangements for changes which will greatly improve it and increase its attractiveness.

Popular Features That Will Make "The Arena" a Reflex and Chronicle of The Vital and Progressive Movements in City, State, Nation and The World Beyond Our Borders.

While giving special emphasis to political, economic, social and ethical problems, it will also be a mirror of the important advance movements in

Art, Literature, Education, Science and The Drama.

Thus The Arena will be a complete handbook for the more progressive, thoughtful and wide-awake Americans who wish to keep in touch with the vital, progressive and liberal world-movements along all the great highways of human progress.

A Mirror of Progressive Movements and Significant Events the World Over.

This extension of the editorial sphere of The Arena has been arranged for to meet a general demand on the part of our correspondents. During the past year we have received a great number of requests from discriminating readers that The Arena devote more space to an editorial survey of the march of events throughout the world, and especially of the significant happenings at home. It has been pointed out by many friends that there was no liberal and progressive publication except The Arena that attempted to treat contemporaneous history from the view-point of progressive democracy and with the courage and disposition to be fair and just to the various progressive and constructive movements that are seeking to conserve the interests of all the people and to foster the fundamental demands of democracy. The following extract from a letter recently written to the editor of The Arena by one of the ablest thinkers and one of the most eminent lawyers of the West, fairly illustrates, judging from our mail, the sentiment of a large number of The Arena's most active supporters:

"I was a constant reader of The Arena in its early

days. I think I never missed a number when you were its editor, and I recall the enthusiasm it awakened, not only among my own circle of friends, but throughout our state. I have just read the current number. It is doing a grand work and is admirably conducted. Your editorials, as usual, encourage and inspire me."

Another prominent citizen, in speaking of the phenomenal influence being exerted by the magazines of America over the popular imagination said:

"Thirty years ago the editorial pages of the great daily and weekly journals were perhaps the most powerful opinion-forming influences in America,—greater even than the pulpit and the lyceum platform. Since then the advertising patronage has come to be more and more essential to the success of the daily papers, while the great advertisers are so bound up with various outside enterprises that the daily press is no longer the free-lance it once was. Consequently nothing is more marked than the rapid decline in the editorial influence exerted by the daily press. But with this decline the magazines have been markedly rising in their commanding sway over the conscience and intellect of the masses. Many of the magazines are not beholden to privileged interests or the prejudice and caprice of wealth, and the people have turned to them for authoritative utterances. This largely accounts for the phenomenal success of those magazines that are largely editorial in character and that cover the important events of the world with comments on the various noteworthy happenings. The magazines have to-day in a large way become the great public-opinion-arousing and influencing agencies of America. Now," continued this friend, "the growing number who desire to see the city, state and nation rescued from the grip of the grafters, who wish to see privilege give place to just economic conditions for all the people and the level of statesmanship raised, fully appreciate the fact that THE ARENA is grandly carrying forward the standard of democracy and is becoming a beacon-light and a source of unfailing inspiration and encouragement to the friends of free institutions the world over. Many of us, however, feel that all that is now needed to make it an ideal magazine for friends of progressive democracy and economic advance is the extension of the editorial scope, so that it shall each month furnish a complete survey of the more important events and movements throughout the world and be a reflex of the most important utterances of the master-minds in state, school, church, and in the worlds of art, science and literature."

It is to meet this general demand that we have arranged to enlarge the editorial scope of the magazine so as to give our readers a monthly survey of the most notable historic events and utterances, with special reference to the following subjects:

I. Leading Events in the Political, Economic and Social World from the Democratic View-Point.

(*a*) The City.
(*b*) The State.
(*c*) The Nation.
(*d*) The World Beyond Our Borders.

II. Advance in Science, Art, Education and The Drama.

III. Progress in Ethics and Religion.

IV. The Literary World: Men and Women Who are Making the Literature of the Present.

V. The World of Books.

(*a*) Book Studies.
(*b*) Book Reviews.
(*c*) Brief Characterizations of Books and Literary News.

VI. Men and Women Who Are Moving the World Forward: Brief Characterizations and Biographical Sketches.

VII. Hours With Modern Masters: Interviews With Leading Representative Thinkers and Workers. Illustrated.

As has been the case since the present publisher purchased THE ARENA, the Editorial Department will be entirely in the hands of Mr. B. O. FLOWER.

Our Regular Essay Department.

More than ever will this review for 1906 be an arena in which will appear the master-thoughts of the most vital and progressive thinkers of the age, and especially will THE ARENA be a mighty engine for moral and ethical advance—a conscience-force that will appeal to the highest in man, awakening exalted patriotism and actively stimulating the rising tide of civic righteousness while developing all that is finest and best in the individual. As during the past year, so in 1906, our Essays will be authoritative, bold, virile and often startling in their exposures of the corruption that is threatening free institutions and degrading American manhood.

Our Campaign for Awakening the Civic Spirit of The Nation.

The campaign which was inaugurated in THE ARENA by Mr. Blankenburg last January did much to arouse the press and people of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia to throw off the yoke of degrading bondage which had brought shame and dishonor upon their state and city. In Colorado, since the masterly papers of Mr. Mills have begun to appear, there are multitudinous signs of a moral awakening. Already a State Voters' League has been formed for the purification of the politics of the Centennial State, and though the city election of Denver does not take place till next spring, a vigorous municipal agitation has already begun among those interested in saving the city from the continued spoliation of the public-service companies. Mr. Mills' papers during the next six months will be even more vital than they have been in the past. They will deal with:

1. The Smelter-Trust and the Railways.
2. Preliminary Strikes and The Eight-Hour Fight.
3. The Great Metal and Coal Strike of 1903-04.
4. Civil Liberty and the Courts.
5. The Overthrow of the Ballot.
6. The Remedy.

The thorough campaign carried on by THE ARENA to awaken Pennsylvania, and now being carried forward to arouse the civic spirit of Colorado, will be evidenced in other series of masterly papers that will follow those of Mr. Mills, it being our purpose to awaken

the conscience of the whole nation by a systematic educational agitation through the publication of authoritative revelations of conditions as they exist in the city, the state and the nation.

The Most Important Series of Railway Papers of Recent Years.

It affords us great pleasure to announce that we have made special arrangements with Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D., author of *The Story of New Zealand, The City for the People*, etc., etc., to prepare for THE ARENA a series of papers on the Railway Question. Professor Parsons resigned his position as a member of the Faculty of the Boston University Law School so as to be able to give his entire time to the preparation of his great work on the Railways and some other politico-economic treatises on which he had long been engaged. For the last two years he has given the greater portion of his time to the study of the Railway Question, visiting Great Britain and Continental Europe so as to personally acquaint himself with all facts and details of the systems in the Old World, and traveling from the Atlantic to the Pacific collecting authentic data.

This new series of papers will be not only a most timely, but an absolutely authoritative discussion of vital interest to all thoughtful Americans. The first paper will be a leading feature of the Jaunary ARENA and is entitled "The Railway Empire." The full series will be as follows:

I. **The Railway Empire.**
II. **Railway Discrimination.**
III. **Federal Regulation of Railroad Rates.**
IV. **Swiss Railroads.**
V. **German Railroads.**

Many of the facts contained in these papers are of the most startling character, and they contain a vast amount of material that every citizen of the republic ought to be acquainted with; farmer and laborer no less than the merchant and professional man are vitally interested in this question which is luminously presented in this series.

The Economics of Moses and of Jesus.

A series of papers quite as important in their way as those of Mr. Mills is President George McA. Miller's "Economics of Moses and of Jesus," the first contribution of which appears in this issue of THE ARENA. There will be five papers in the series, and we believe that if every Christian minister in this land could be induced to read them they would work an economic revolution that would rejuvenate our nation and make it again the splendid moral standard-bearer of civilization which was its proud distinction for many years after the Revolutionary war. President Miller, in addition to being one of the ablest of our broad-minded educators, is exceptionally well qualified to handle these subjects in a masterly manner, as he brings to his work a thoroughly-trained legal mind and a heart warm with love for justice and the ethics of the Golden Rule. Moreover, he has made the ethics of Moses and of Jesus the subject of profound study for many years. These papers alone will be worth far more than the subscription price of THE ARENA to all earnest Christians who love civic righteousness and to whom the life and teachings of the Founder of Christianity are more than an idle name and an intellectual abstraction.

Constructive Work Being Carried Forward by the Government.

Another series of papers which opens in this issue and to which we desire to call the special attention of our friends has been prepared expressly for THE ARENA by Mr. Frank Vrooman, of Washington. The first of these papers concerns the wonderful work that has been carried on by the Agricultural Department, and appears under the general heading of "Uncle Sam's Romance With Science and the Soil." The first division of the discussion appears in this issue and is concerned with the Agricultural Department's work with "The Field." It will be followed in January by an equally interesting paper on "The Forest," and that in turn will be followed by a paper on "The Stream." Then will come a luminous description of the great national Congressional Library, and finally a paper on the work that is being done by the Civil-Service Commission. Mr. Vrooman is a brilliant writer and possesses the rare charm of being able to invest authentic data and statistical matter with the interest of romance.

The Negro Question Considered Fundamentally.

Probably no question of the day has been more discussed than this problem, yet for the most part these discussions have been either painfully superficial or so colored by prejudice that little real value has attached to them; yet no thoughtful American can fail to appreciate that it is one of the gravest problems that faces our statesmen, and nowhere is it more important that discussions should deal with the fundamental facts involved and that they should be carried on with due regard to the principles of justice. The hope of a democracy, when it is confronted by any grave or perilous problem, lies in the fearless recognition of all the facts involved, the exercise of dispassionate reason, and conformity to the demands of justice; and THE ARENA takes great pleasure in announcing that we have arranged for a series of discussions on this extremely important question during the ensuing year. This series will be opened by some papers which have been prepared with great care by Archibald H. Grimké, A. M., one of the most distinguished and thoughtful representatives of the Negro race in the New World. Mr. Grimké, who after finishing his collegiate education in the Lincoln University, graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1874, is the author of one of the best lives of William Lloyd Garrison that has appeared in this country. His life of Charles Sumner is also regarded as a standard work. We expect to open this series of papers in our January issue.

Direct-Legislation the Safeguard of Democracy.

We regret to say that the paper announced for this issue by Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, A.M., President of the National Direct-Legislation League, has been unavoidably crowded out, but will appear in our January issue and will be the first of a series of strong papers on Direct-Legislation—that all-important democratic provision for the preservation of a government of the people, by the people and for the people which will be a striking feature of THE ARENA for 1906.

Space forbids our dwelling on the many authoritative papers dealing with political, social and economic themes that will appear in early issues of THE ARENA.

In passing, however, we desire to mention a few other striking attractions that will be features of this magazine for the coming year.

Character-Sketches and Conversations.

A feature of THE ARENA for 1906 that will prove of interest and value will be character-sketches of leading poets, artists, sculptors, educators and authors, illustrated and written so as to bring the reader into sympathetic touch with the workers who are adding so much to the idealism, the culture and the finer aspirations of our people. Following these sketches will be conversations with these earnest thinkers on subjects of present interest and practical value to those who wish to broaden their culture and keep abreast of the best thought of our wonderful age. In our January issue we expect to open this series with a conversation given by Edwin Markham, the greatest living poet of democracy.

Art, The Drama and Education.

THE ARENA for 1906 will contain a number of papers devoted to the broadening and deepening of the general culture of the reader and to stimulating interest in a great American art, in a noble drama that shall be worthy of the republic, and in progressive and democratic education.

In the January issue we expect to open the series of papers on art by the publication of a brilliant contribution on "The Principles of the Decorative Art Spirit of Japan in Comparison With Those of Western Countries," by Mrs. F. Edwin Elwell. This is one of the most thoughtful papers we have read in months and is a distinct addition to the vital art literature of the day.

Our series of papers on dramatic art will be opened by a contribution in the next issue, prepared for THE ARENA by the eminent dramatic critic, essayist and novelist, Kenyon West, on Richard Mansfield, who since the death of Sir Henry Irving is the leading histrionic artist on the English-speaking stage. This paper will be magnificently illustrated. It will be followed by another of Professor Archibald Henderson's delightful critical papers. This one will deal with Maeterlinck and his work.

Our educational papers will be opened by a sketch of the life of and the great work being carried on by Mr. Wilson L. Gill, A.M., the founder of the School City and the man who will rank with Pestalozzi and Frobel as one of the great masters and pioneers in the field of progressive education. A fine portrait of Mr. Gill will accompany this paper.

Civilization-Builders.

Another popular feature of THE ARENA for next year will be the brilliant biographical sketches and pen-pictures of men and women who have wrought nobly for civilization. There will be three series of these papers: "Civilization-Builders Who Have Passed From View"; "Present-Day Leaders of Pure Democracy"; and "Champions of the People Against Corporation Despotism and Machine-Rule." The series dealing with democratic leaders of the present is opened in this issue of THE ARENA by Professor Bemis' admirable pen-picture of Mayor Johnson of Cleveland. Next month we expect to publish, as the inaugural contribution in our series on Civilization-Builders Who Have Passed from View, a noble and inspiring paper on the late Samuel M. Jones, the Golden-Rule Mayor of Toledo, the man and his message, written expressly for THE ARENA by a brilliant writer who was for many years a neighbor and an intimate friend of the simple, fine, true man who lived the Christ-life and left an influence for good that will never die. A fine portrait of Mayor Jones will accompany this paper.

Among the first contributions that will appear in the series on leaders who are fighting the people's battle against corrupt corporations and machine-rule, will be a sketch of Governor Robert M. LaFollette, United States Senator-elect from Wisconsin. A fine portrait of Governor LaFollette will also accompany this paper.

Among the Cartoonists.

Our popular series of illustrated sketches dealing with leading American newspaper cartoonists, and giving portraits and examples of their best drawings, will continue to be a feature of THE ARENA during the ensuing year. We shall also publish a number of original full-page cartoons drawn expressly for this magazine be leading cartoonists, such as Garnet Warren and Ryan Walker, and each month we shall also reproduce the cream of current cartoons from the daily press.

Popular Features: Art, Fiction, Biography.

Finely-executed illustrations printed on smooth paper will be an attractive feature of THE ARENA for next year and will add greatly to its popularity. It is our purpose to print two forms of smooth paper in each issue, thus enabling us to publish a number of pictures in addition to the full-page portraits that have given such general satisfaction during the past year.

In recent months we have given considerable space to well-written short stories of American life, and this feature will be a marked characteristic of THE ARENA during the coming year, as we desire to give such variety and interest to the content-matter of the magazine as to make its monthly visits eagerly anticipated by all members of the home circle.

Another popular feature will be fascinating biographical sketches, handsomely illustrated, dealing with the lives, thought and work of the really great men and women of the past and present. This series is opened in the December number by Professor Noa's brief but admirable sketch of General San Martin, the hero and liberator of South America.

These are but a few hints of the good things that are in store for our readers.

It has been the policy of THE ARENA under the management of Mr. Brandt to perform far more than we have promised, and in closing we wish to say that we have a number of strong features and important improvements in mind which we believe will go far toward making the next year the most brilliant in the history of THE ARENA.

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Two Irish Plays from the Gaelic Originals:
1. Riders of the Sea.....*J. M. Synge*
2. The Twisting of the Rope....*Douglas Hyde*
The Irish Literary Drama.....*Vida D. Scudder*
The English of Lafcadio Hearn.....
Charles Woodward Hutson
The Rationale of the Short Story according to Poe
John Phelps Fruit
Shakespeare's Influence on Goethe.....
Edwin Watts Chubb
Rossetti's Treatment of Love...*Emma L. Hellings*
A Short Story of Richard III...*Katherine G. Blake*
The Religion of Schiller.....*Elizabeth Kingsbury*

AUTUMN 1905.

Summer Folk (Datchniki).....*Maxim Gorki*
Das Trunkne Lied.....*Friedrich Nietzsche*
The Novels of A. Palacio Valdes.....
S. Griswold Morley
An Italian Landscape.....*Gabriele D' Annunzio*
The Symbolism of the Flame of Life.....
Florence Brooks
Recent German Criticism:
Hermann Sudermann..*Warren Washburn Florer*
The Motivation of Wagner's Parsifal.....
Paul H. Grummann
Modern German Literature..*John Scholte Noller*
Some Curious Versions of Shakespeare.....
Frederick W. Kilbourne
Mr. Howell's Philosophy and The Son of Royal Langbrith.....*E. S. Chamberlayne*

SUMMER 1905.

Joyzelle.....*Maurice Maeterlinck*
The Wooing of Damayanti...*Amy H. W. Bullock*
Walt. Whitman and Arno Holz..*Amelia Von Ende*
A Poet of Italy.....*M. W. Arms*
The Stirrups of Eros.....*Isabella Howe Fiske*
Pulse in Verbal Rhythm, *Mary Hallock-Greenewalt*
The Symbolism of Tennyson's Holy Grail.....
Eugene Parsons
Japanese Poetry Again.....*Elizabeth Balch*
Recent German Criticism.....*Paul H. Grummann*

WINTER 1905.

A Night's Lodging (Nachtasyl).....*Maxim Gorki*
The Chains.....*Sully Prudhomme*
From the Nomad Palaces.....*Gustave Kahn*
The Epigram and Its Greatest Master.....
E. B. R. Hellern
Songs from Le Bonne Chanson.....*Paul Verlaine*
"A. E." The Neo-Celtic Mystic.....
Julia Ellsworth Ford
Attar and Sanai, after Shams u' Tabriz.....
Ameen Rihani
Henry James, Artist.....*Anna Blanche McGill*
German Criticism:
Frederich Spielhagen, Veteran Novelist.....
A. B. Faust
Hauptmann's der Arme Heinrich.....
Paul H. Grummann
I Puritani.....*A. Palacio Valdes*
Swinburne.....*Irene Moore*
The Real Hamlet and the Hamlet Oldest of All...
Alice Williams Brotherton

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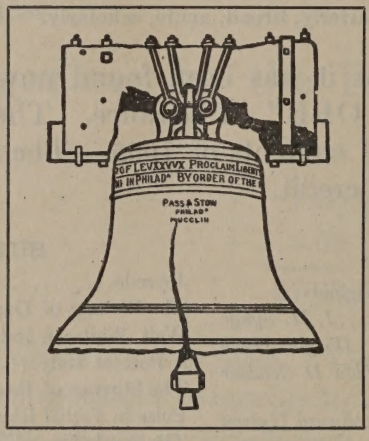

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Arizonia.

Phoenix—Phoenix Sta. & News Co.

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Student's Coöperative Society.
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R. H. White & Co.
Cambridge—Harvard Coöperative Soc., Dane Hall.
Geo. H. Kent.
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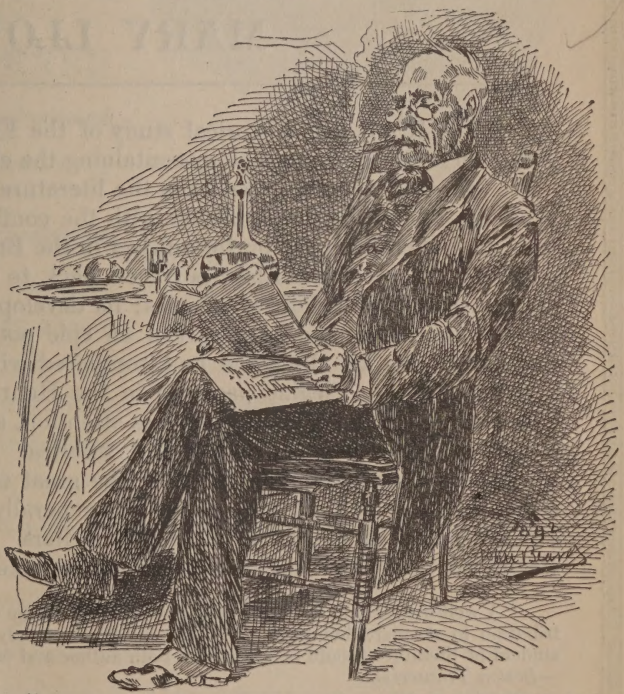

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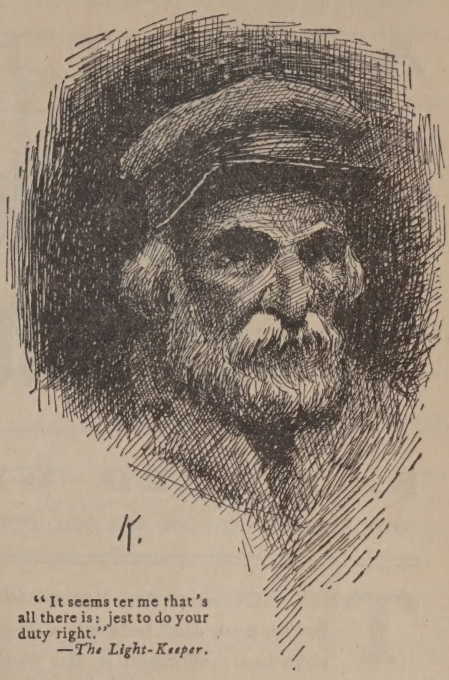

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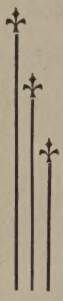

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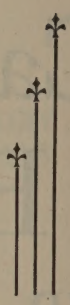

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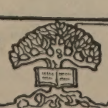

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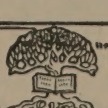

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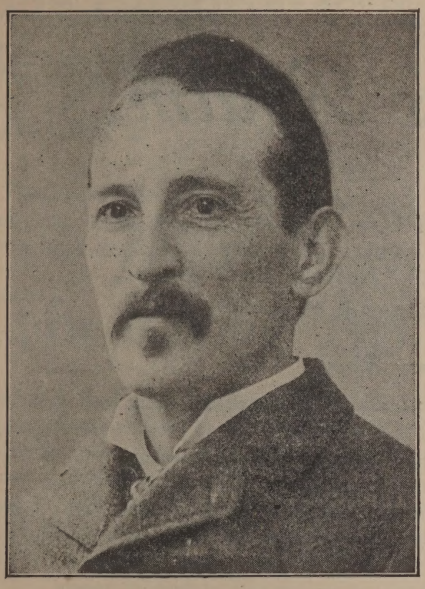

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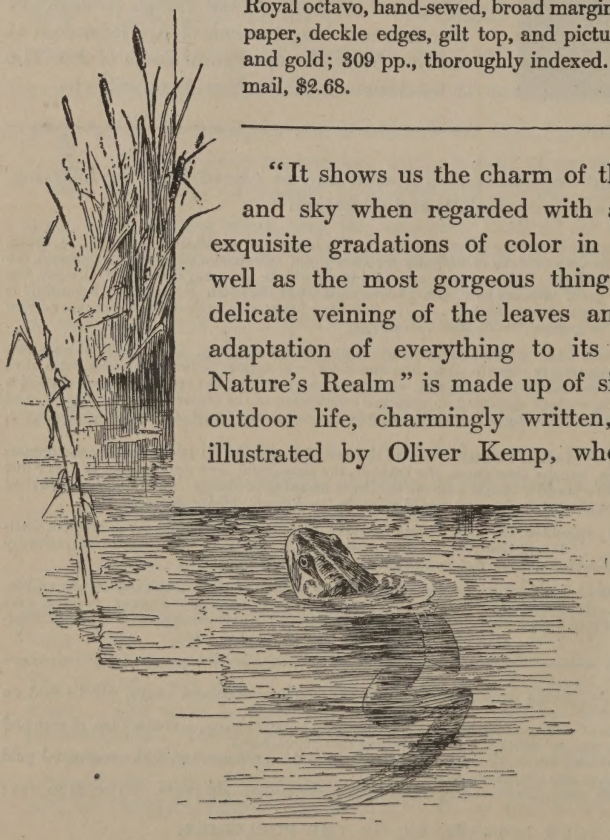

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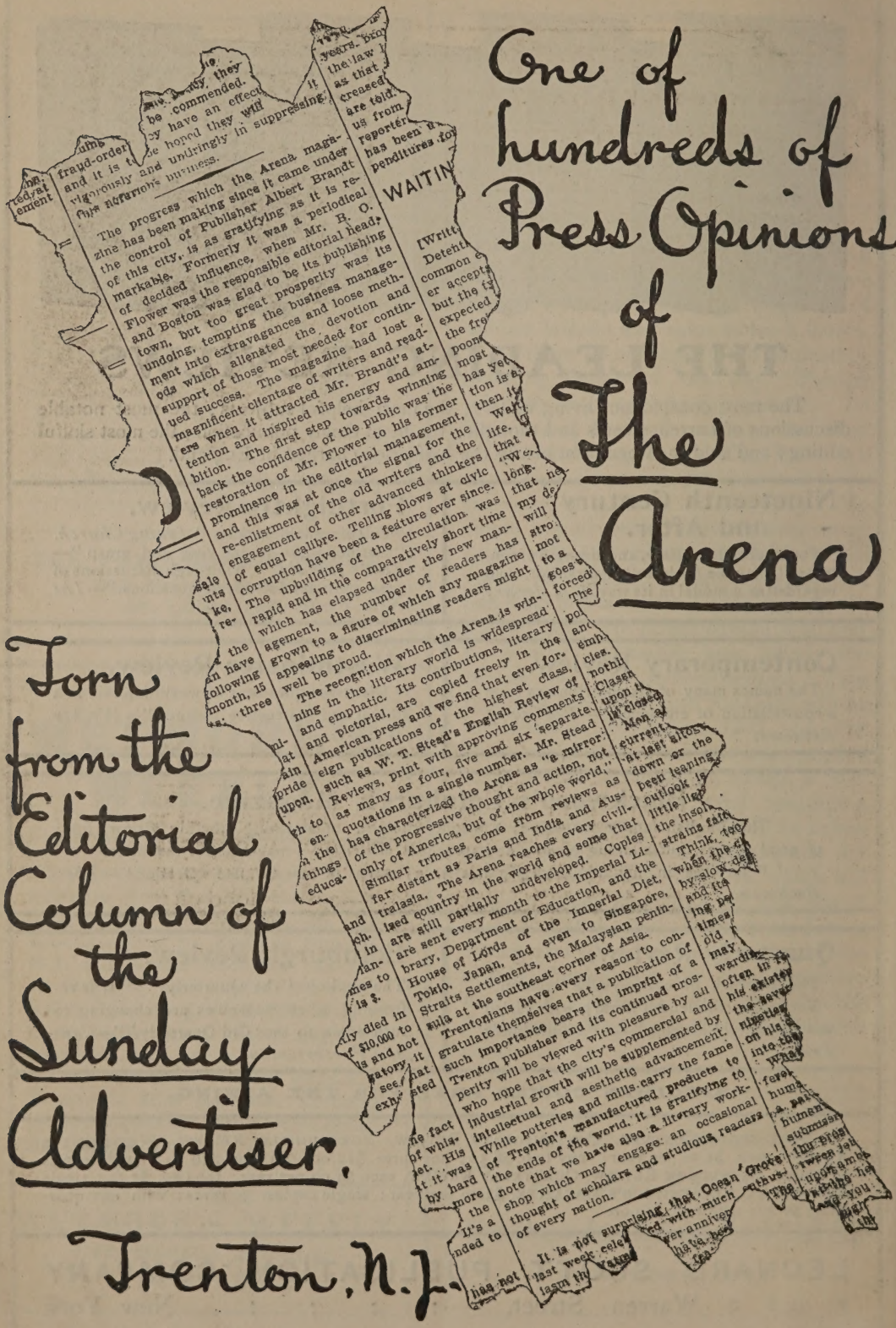

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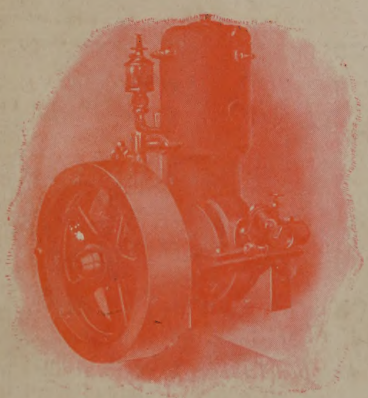

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